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THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

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OF THE ORATORY.

VOLUME V.

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"Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit."

—Leo I.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

	PAGE
Preface	vii
List of complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. V. and VI.	xi
Table of Contents	xlvii
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lxix
Introduction	3–226

BOOK I. INNOCENT VIII., 1484–1492.

Election of Innocent VIII.	227–248
Quarrels between the Pope and Ferrante of Naples	249–270
Troubles in the Romagna. Disputes and final Reconciliation between Rome and Naples	271–287
The Eastern Question. The Turkish Prince Dschem. Death of Innocent VIII.	288–321
The late Pope as Patron of Art and Scholarship	322–333
Defence of the Liberties and Doctrines of the Church; its Moral Condition	334–372

BOOK II. ALEXANDER VI., 1492–1497.

Election of Alexander VI.	375–419
Death of Ferrante of Naples. Alliance between Alfonso II. of Naples and the Pope. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.	420–433
Dismay and Helplessness of Alexander VI.	434–449
Charles VIII. in Rome and Naples. Flight of the Pope.	450–481
Expulsion of the French from Naples. The Pope's Schemes of Reform	482–523
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	527–563
Index of Names	565–576

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PREFACE.

ACCORDING to my original plan the present Volume* should have extended to the close of the Lateran Council in 1517, but the amount of matter to be dealt with has proved so large that, in order to keep it within reasonable dimensions, I have been obliged to break off at the death of JULIUS II. in 1513. A cursory treatment of two such marked Pontificates as those of ALEXANDER VI. and JULIUS II. could not be satisfactory; and the wide divergencies of opinion in regard to their characters, as well as the extent and variety of the now available documents relating to them, make it necessary to enter into details as much as possible. Many of these documents, especially those in the Consistorial Archives, and the Bulls and Briefs of ALEXANDER VI. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, have hitherto been inaccessible to modern historians. For the last three hundred years no one has been allowed to see the *Regesta* of the latter Pope. In the spring of 1888, through the kind, good offices of the late lamented Cardinal HERGENRÖTHER, I obtained the necessary special permission from his Holiness LEO XIII. to examine these documents, with full liberty to make use of them; for which I again tender my devoted thanks to the noble Pontiff who has opened the Secret Archives of the Vatican to historical research.

The Ambassadorial Reports in the Italian Archives, especially those in Mantua, Modena, and Milan, afford extremely valuable

* The above-mentioned volume (Vol. III. of the original German) forms Vols. V. and VI. of the English Translation.—F. I. A.

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supplementary matter. Of course they have been used by Gregorovius and Balan, but by no means exhaustively. Thus, I found a document in the Gonzaga Archives in Mantua, which makes it impossible to represent Lucrezia Borgia's conduct as *absolutely* blameless.

The papers preserved in the Milanese Archives which, besides the Despatches of the ducal Envoy, contain the whole of the correspondence (partly in cypher) between Cardinal ASCANIO SFORZA, who was completely in the confidence of the Borgia family, and his Brother, Duke LODOVICO MORO, are extremely important. Gregorovius purposely ignored this collection, in spite of its great value for the history of the Borgia, on account of its unarranged condition. Writing in the *Allg. Zeitung* (1876), No. 76, Supplement, he says: "I found it impossible to pick out the Despatches of the Milanese Orators, which no doubt contain many valuable bits of information, from the mass of unclassified bundles of papers in which they are at present buried." I found myself amply rewarded for the labour of hunting through these documents by the treasures which I found in them.

Thus, in the composition of this work, three most important sets of Archives have, for the first time, been thoroughly investigated and used, together with other Archives and collections of MSS., and the very extensive printed literature relating to the subject.

Though therefore it is not impossible that some fresh documents bearing on the history of the Borgia Pope may yet still appear, it does not seem probable that anything new remains, in regard to essentials, to be discovered. In any case the documents produced and cited in these Volumes amply suffice to justify a conclusive judgment on the main points. In many matters of detail, of course, the last word has not yet been spoken, and there is plenty of room for further investigation. But from henceforth it is clear that the rehabilitation of ALEXANDER VI. is a hopeless task.

For the Pontificates of INNOCENT VIII. and JULIUS II. I found an equally rich mine of unprinted materials. I was more

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especially successful in finding much interesting unprinted matter bearing on JULIUS II.'s artistic undertakings, and in particular on the history of the building of S. Peter's, and Bramante's relations with the Pope, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, and the State Archives at Modena. I had the advantage of being permitted to discuss the descriptions of the immortal works executed for this Pope by Raphael and Michael Angelo, some of which have not been described before, with my honoured friend the Prelate FRIEDRICH SCHNEIDER completely, and partially with JAKOB BURCKHARDT. Both agree in endorsing the modern interpretation of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro. To both of these, and to all others who have kindly helped me in my work, which was rendered more difficult by being out of reach of any large library, I desire in this place to repeat my heartfelt thanks.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

15th August, 1895.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

	PAGE
The Renaissance a period of transition, especially in Italy	3
Great development in Literature and Art	3
As also in material civilisation	4
Corruption in political life. Worship of success	4
Misery caused in Italy by the Condottieri	5
And by the wars resulting from the invasion of Charles VIII.	5
The constant prevalence of pestilences and other natural calamities	6
Recourse to the intercession of the Saints. Its effect on Art	7
No common effort made for the protection of Italy from the Plague	8
Difficulty of appreciating the moral and religious character of the time	9
The history of the Renaissance derived chiefly from the Humanists	10
Purity of family life during this period	11
The correspondence of Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi	12
Her Christian piety and resignation	13
The piety of Francesco Datini and Feo Belcari	13
Belcari's letter on humility	14
The family note-book of Giovanni Morelli	15
The genuine piety and faith of the age of the Renaissance	16
Giovanni Rucellai; his generosity as a citizen of Florence	17
His note-book and its revelation of his inner life	18
The monographs of Vespasiano da Bisticci	19
His relations with Nicholas V. and the Medici	19
The diary of Luca Landucci	20
His spirit of charity and resignation	21

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Pious practices and the reading of Holy Scripture . . 21
General observance of the precepts of the Church . . 22
And the Liturgical spirit of the people 22
The fasts of the Church strictly kept 23
Charitable contributions to religious houses . . . 23
Piety shewn in the forms used for drawing up wills . . 23
The will of Giovanni da Empoli 24
Giovanni Dominici on the government of the family . . 25
His instructions to Bartolomea Alberti 25
On the careful training of children 26
The respect to be shewn by them to their parents . . 27
The "Opera a ben vivere" by S. Antoninus . . . 28
Its piety and the practical wisdom of his advice . . . 29
The true Renaissance in harmony with the reform of the Church 29
The good influence of Vittorino da Feltre 29
Works on education by the Christian Humanists . . 30
Dangers of the spirit of the Renaissance in the education of women 31
Successful combination of intellectual culture with purity of life 32
Description of the Court of Urbino by Baldassaro Castiglione 32
The importance of the intellectual and literary training of women 32
Some famous women of the Renaissance 33
The religious manuals of the time 34
Questions for confession applied to different classes . . 34
The religious spirit of the guilds and brotherhoods . . 35
Their strict rule of life 35
The patron Saints of each guild 36
Their care for the poor and sick and prisoners . . . 36
Their charity to the dead 37
Confraternities for good works—their patronage of Art . 37
The Confraternity of the Misericordia founded in Florence 39
Other associations for help in the time of the Plague . . 40
The Confraternity of the Annunziata in aid of poor girls . 41
The various Confraternities in Florence and in Rome . 42
New associations founded in the 15th Century . . . 43
The Confraternity of the Misericordia for the assistance of condemned criminals. 44
The trade guilds of Rome—their churches and hospitals . 45
The national brotherhoods and hospitals 46
The development of religious poetry and drama in the 15th Century 46
The Lauds or Hymns of Praise 46
Developed into mystery plays or "Divozioni" . . . 48

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Their first beginning in Umbria—their connection with the guilds 48
The "devotions" for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday 49
Their development into the religious drama . . . 51
Which was essentially religious—with some secular touches 52
Religious lyrics and dramas—the Roman Passion Play . 53
Performed in the Colosseum on Good Friday night . . 54
Confraternities of the Rosary and of Tertiaries . . . 55
The institution of Third Orders in the Middle Ages . . 55
The Third Order of S. Francis 56
Widely spread in Italy, among the most distinguished men of the age 57
Sanctioned and approved by the Holy See . . . 58
Development of the Third Order of Regulars . . . 58
The Third Order of S. Dominic 58
The brethren of the Misericordia at Florence . . . 59
Their presence at funerals in the present day . . . 59
Foundations for the relief of the poor—their variety . . 60
The great hospitals of the 15th Century 61
Especially in Florence and Rome 62
The care of the Popes for the sick and poor . . . 62
Their patronages of charitable foundations . . . 63
Charity of the smaller cities of Italy 64
Luther's praise of the Italian hospitals and foundling asylums 65
List of charitable foundations in Italy in the 15th Century. 66
Christian Art in Italy during the Renaissance . . . 67
The development of Architecture, Painting, and handicrafts 68
Revival of the classical style in architecture and sculpture . 68
The antique forms inspired by Christian Art . . . 69
Magnificence of the new churches throughout Italy . . 69
List of the principal works of Art executed during the Renaissance 70
Danger of the revival of classical Art 77
Comparison between Renaissance and Gothic Architecture 77
Development of the Italian National School of Painting . 78
Its inspiration by the spirit of religion and devotion to the Mother of God 79
Large proportion of religious, compared to classical, pictures 80
The advance in realism the cause of doubtful innovations . 81
The spirit of the Dominican painters 81
The Architecture of the Renaissance essentially Christian . 82
Art, as displayed in the churches, the exponent of Faith . 83
Saintly Cardinals and Bishops of the Renaissance . . 84
List of the Saints during the time of the Renaissance. . 86
The devout spirit of the people—as shewn in times of calamity 89

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Processions during the outbreak of Plague in Bologna . 89
And also in Venice after the defeat of Agnadello . . 90
Reverence felt for the office of the Pope—as distinct from his personality 90
Trust felt in the Sacraments by great sinners . . . 91
Death-bed repentances—edifying death of Lorenzo de' Medici 92
The punishment of the Church still dreaded . . . 92
Belief in the intercession of the Saints—devotion shewn to their relics 93
Veneration of the Blessed Virgin—universal devotion to her 94
The magnificence of the festivals of the Church in Italy . 94
The processions of Corpus Domini, in which the Popes took part 95
Growing veneration for the Blessed Sacrament . . . 95
The daily prayers of the period, including those for Mass and Confession 96
The public evening devotions of the guilds of workmen . 96
Pilgrimages to famous shrines,—especially those of the Madonna 97
Attraction exercised by the preaching Friars . . . 97

II.

The sharp contrast of the Christian and Pagan Renaissance 98
The unrestrained individualism of the pseudo-renaissance . 98
The Pagan ideal of life, as contrasted with that of Christianity 98
The craving for personal glory—the Pagan Elysium restored 99
The cultus of great men instituted. Spirit of vain-glory . 99
Great crimes the result of the desire to achieve notoriety . 100
Increase of luxury and immorality in Italy. 101
Denunciations of Roberto da Lecce and other preachers . 101
Municipal statutes against luxury and ostentation . . 102
The taste for display stimulated by prosperity and Art . 103
The great wealth of Italy—especially Venice and Florence . 104
Extravagance and prodigality of living in Florence . . 105
Denunciation of usury by S. Bernardino of Siena . . 106
Extortionate and fraudulent practices of usurers. . . 107
Treatise of St. Antoninus against usury 108
Foundation of the Monti di Pietà by the Italians . . 108
First established in the Papal States by Pius II. . . 109
Denunciation of the Jews by S. Bernardino da Feltre . 110
A Monte di Pietà established in Florence by Savonarola . 111

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Disputes as to the lawfulness of a percentage on loans by Monti di Pietà 111
Decision of Leo X. on the subject 112
Prevalence of gambling in Italy 112
And of immorality during the age of the Renaissance . 113
Most of the rulers of the day illegitimate 114
Cruelty and vindictiveness of many of the great Italian families 114
The immorality and cruelty of the Courts of Milan, Ferrara, and Naples 115
Lorenzo de' Medici, his cruelty and immorality . . . 116
Joined with his patronage of Art and Literature . . 116
Bad example of the Doge and nobles of Venice . . 117
The sins of the great condoned by the disciples of culture . 117
Immorality of the Humanists at the various Courts . . 118
Higher tone of morality in the bulk of the population . 118
Realism in Literature the cause of corruption . . . 119
The evil influence of the false Renaissance on family life . 120
Bad effect of the writings of Bojardo and Ariosto . . 121
The revival of the Pagan Drama at Ferrara by Pomponius Laetus 122
Classical plays acted in Rome before Cardinals . . . 123
Encouraged by Alexander VI. and Leo X. . . . 124
The plays of Machiavelli—the "Mandrágola" . . . 124
The sacred Drama gradually superseded by the classical Drama 125
Disastrous consequences of the importation of slaves into Italy 126
And of their introduction into great families . . . 127
Increased numbers of courtesans in the towns . . . 128
The revival of the Hetæræ — their culture and social position 129
Efforts made by the Church and the mission preachers to check it 130
But with little success till the Catholic Reformation . . 131
Revival of the national vice of the Greeks 132
Guilt of the Humanists 133
Frequency of murders and of political assassination . . 134
Irreligious tone of the literature of the day 135
The resuscitation of Pagan thought and ethics . . . 135
But actual atheism or formal heresy very rare . . . 136
Death repentances of many Humanists 137
The writings of Pontano and Galateus 138
Christian thought disguised in Pagan language . . . 139
Passion of the Humanists for antiquity 140
Sannazaro's medley of Paganism and Christianity . . 141

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Heathen terms used in Theology by Cortesius . . . 143
Corneto's work "On true Philosophy," in opposition to the Humanists 144
Its extreme character 146
Difficulty of drawing the line between the true and false Renaissance 147
Spread of Oriental superstitions in the age of the Renaissance 147
Study of Astrology; belief in the influence of the planets . 148
Entertained by many of the Popes of the time . . . 149
Astrology believed by Pontano to be an experimental science 150
Astrological ideas expressed in Art 150
Astrology opposed by the mission preachers . . . 151
And most successfully by Pico della Mirandola . . . 151
Subsequent decline of Astrology in Italy 151
Belief in demonology and magic 152
The Platonism of Plethon and Ficino 153
The philosophy of Pico della Mirandola 154
The Aristotelians of Padua — their dangerous doctrines concerning the soul 155
Condemned by Leo X. at the Lateran Council of 1513 . 155
Pomponazzi teaches the mortality of the soul . . . 156
Leo X. calls upon him to recant 157
His deliberate suicide 157
His views refuted by Agostino Nifo and others . . . 159
Paganism of Niccolò Machiavelli 160
Coarseness and immoral principles of his writings . . 161
"The Prince." Politics severed from Christian principles . 162
Its advocacy of fraud and cruelty 163
Machiavelli's political heathenism 164
His hatred of the Popes 165
And of Christianity itself 166
His attacks upon the Church 167
Corruption of the Italian Clergy of all ranks . . . 169
Beginning with the Popes and the Cardinals . . . 170
Unpriestly lives among the religious orders and secular priests 171
Deplorable condition of many monasteries . . . 172
Efforts for reform—influence of the Benedictines . . 173
Zeal and success of the preaching Friars 175
Especially during the penitential seasons of the Church . 176
Their effect increased by dramatic representations . . 178
Social and moral reforms effected by the Friars . . . 179
Pagan philosophy introduced into the pulpit . . . 180
As well as so-called prophecies and revelations . . . 181

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Fra Girolama Savonarola 181
His poem on the decay of the Church 182
Sent to preach in Florence, where he is coldly received . 183
His belief in his divine mission 184
His success at S. Gimignano and Brescia 184
His return to Florence, where he achieves a triumph . . 184
The Scriptural character of his sermons 185
The severity of his denunciations 186
His relations with Lorenzo de' Medici—the forbearance of Lorenzo 186
His stringent reform at S. Marco 187
His Advent sermons in 1493 and in Lent 1494 . . . 188
He denounces the corruption of the clergy 189
His prediction of the triumph of Charles VIII. . . . 190
Savonarola as Ruler of Florence during the exile of the Medici 190
His political reforms in Florence 191
Christ proclaimed as King of Florence 192
Savonarola believes himself to be an inspired prophet . 193
His visions and revelations 193
His extravagant attacks upon the ancient philosophy . . 193
Though not really opposed to science itself . . . 194
He denies that he is the enemy of poets and poetry . . 194
Savonarola's opposition to the Pagan false Renaissance in Art 195
And to naturalism and realism in religious Art . . . 196
Sensual tendency of Italian Art in the 15th Century . . 197
Personal friends of the artist painted as Saints . . . 197
Even when of notoriously immoral character . . . 197
The use of the nude in religious Art 198
And the introduction of mythological subjects . . . 198
The "Temple of Malatesta" at Rimini 199
The influence exercised by Savonarola upon artists . . 200
A certain unreality found in the works so produced . . 202
The extravagance and violence of his social reforms . . 202
The religious excitement caused in Florence by his sermons 202
The exaggeration and narrowness of his government . . 203
His inquisitorial proceedings 205
And employment of children as inquisitors . . . 206
The peace of family life destroyed 206
Theatrical character of the "burning of vanities" . . 207
Extravagance of his political prophecies 208
His political fanaticism 209
And attempt to establish a theocracy in Florence . . 210
His claim to be a prophet the cause of his ruin . . . 210
The shallowness of his reform in Florence. . . . 211

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Failure of his schemes of universal reform 212
Which depended upon Charles VIII. 212
His defiance of Alexander VI. 212
Its consequences, as shewn among his disciples. . . 213
The preaching of Martino di Brozzi 214
The sectaries of Pietro Bernardino 215
Who were either burnt or exiled 216
Hieronymus of Bergamo and other prophesying friars . 217
Regulation of preaching by the Lateran Council under Leo X. 218
The prophecies of Francesco da Montepulciano. . . 219
And of other monks and friars 220
Savonarola's predictions long believed in Florence . . 221
Portentous prophecies—Francesco da Meleto . . . 221
Whose book was condemned by Leo X. 222
The lay preacher—Hieronymus of Siena 223
Fra Bonaventura, the "Angelic Pope" 224
Who is imprisoned by Leo X. 225
The ferment in men's minds and need of reform . . 225
The prestige of the Papacy seriously shaken . . . 226

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF INNOCENT VIII.

A.D.
1484 Disturbances in Rome during the vacancy of the Holy See 229
Devastation of the palace of Girolamo Riario . . 229
Caterina Riario holds the Castle of S. Angelo . . 230
Girolamo Riario arrives with his troops before Rome 230
But shortly after retreats to Isola Farnese. . . . 230
Enthusiastic reception of Cardinal Colonna in Rome. 231
Obsequies of Sixtus IV. Confusion in Rome . . 231
Order restored by the interference of Cardinal Marco Barbo 232
The Cardinals in Conclave—large number of electors 233
Preponderance of Italian Cardinals 233
Deplorable consequences of the appointments of Sixtus IV. 233

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1484	The Election-capitulation drawn up by the Cardinals	233
	Prospects of the election	234
	The personal ambition of the Cardinals	235
	Efforts of Alfonso of Calabria and Ludovico Sforza to influence the election	236
	Parties among the Cardinals—intrigues of Cardinal Borgia	237
	Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere promotes the election of Cardinal Cibò	238
	Election of Cardinal Cibò	239
	Who takes the name of Innocent VIII.	239
	The appearance and family of Innocent VIII.	239
	His previous career and friendship with Cardinal Giuliano	240
	His gentle and amiable character	241
	The unbounded influence of Cardinal Giuliano on Innocent VIII.	242
	The coronation of Innocent VIII.	243
	The difficulties of the Holy See, and good intentions of the Pope	245
	The Pope's desire for peace, and efforts to preserve it	246
	Appointment of the Cardinal Legates	247
	Illness of the Pope	247
	Disputes between the Colonna and Orsini	248

CHAPTER II.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE KING OF NAPLES.

1484	Alfonso of Calabria demands the annexation of Benevento	249
	Which is refused by the Pope	249
1485	Innocent VIII. withdraws the canonical penalties imposed on Venice	250
	Ferrante refuses to pay tribute and despoils the clergy	251
	Commencement of the Barons' war at Naples	251
	The Barons appeal to the Pope for aid	252
	Ferrante sends Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona to Rome	253
	Who dies there of the Plague	253
	The Holy See declares war against the King of Naples	254
	Ferrante declares himself the protector of the Orsini	254
1486	And with Mathias Corvinus threatens a general Council	255

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1486	Hungary and Milan declare for the King of Naples	255
	And are followed by Lorenzo de' Medici	255
	The Pope concludes an alliance with Genoa	256
	Roberto Sanseverino enters the Papal service	256
	The enemy before Rome—disorders in the city	257
	Violence of Virginio Orsini	258
	Successes of Roberto Sanseverino	258
	Cardinal Orsini is reconciled to the Pope	258
	False report of the Pope's death—sufferings in the Papal States	259
	Efforts of Ferdinand and Isabella and the Duke of Brittany on behalf of peace	260
	The Pope turns to the Duke of Lorraine—disputes in the Sacred College	260
	The Pope determines to apply to the French for help	260
	Roberto Sanseverino defeated by Alfonso of Calabria	261
	Who marches on Rome. The Papal States in danger	261
	Intrigues of Florence against the Pope	262
	Mathias Corvinus prepares to invest Ancona	262
	Arrival of the Envoys of Charles VIII. and Duke René in Rome	263
	The Pope makes peace with Ferrante	263
	Favourable terms granted by Ferrante	264
	Who violates the treaty in a few months	265
	The revenge taken by Ferrante upon the Barons	265
	He refuses to pay tribute to the Holy See	265
	Irresolution of Innocent VIII.	265
1487	Negotiations with Lorenzo de' Medici	265
	Who assists the Pope against the rebel Boccolino	266
	Ferrante formally repudiates the Treaty with the Holy See	267
	His insolence to the Nuncio, Pietro Vincentino	268
	Ferrante appeals to a Council	269
	The marriage of Lorenzo's daughter Maddalena with Franceschetto Cibò	269

CHAPTER III.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROME AND NAPLES.

1488	Troubles in the Romagna—murder of Girolamo Riario at Forli	271
	The citizens desire to place themselves under the Holy See	272

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1488	The Pope abstains from interference	272
	On account of the opposition of Lorenzo de' Medici	273
	Further disturbances in the Romagna	273
	Maurizio Cibò appointed Governor of Perugia	274
	Conflicts between the Oddi and the Baglioni—expulsion of the Oddi	274
	Cardinal Piccolomini pacifies the Baglioni	274
1489	Insolent hostility of Ferrante to the Pope	275
	A foreign invasion averted by Lorenzo de' Medici	275
	The King of Hungary supports Ferrante and seizes Ancona	275
	Innocent VIII. hopes for assistance from France and Spain	276
	The Pope proclaims Ferrante's deposition	277
1490	Obstinacy and insolence of Ferrante, who refuses the tribute	278
	Distress of the Pope, who threatens to leave Italy	279
	Illness of the Pope and report of his death	281
	Franceschetto Cibò endeavours to seize Prince Dschem	282
1491	Isolation of the Pope in Italy	283
	The Pope makes overtures of peace to Ferrante	284
1492	Conditions of peace arranged	284
	The imprisoned Barons to be tried by the Pope	284
	Complete transformation of Ferrante's behaviour to the Pope	285
	Arrival of Ferdinand of Capua in Rome	285
	Betrothal of Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò	286
	Negotiations concerning the marriage of Charles VIII. to Anne of Brittany	286
	Charles VIII. attempts to hinder the investiture of Ferdinand	286
	The Neapolitan succession regulated by a Papal Bull	286

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

1484	Turkish progress. Encyclical of the Pope to the Christian States	288
	Personal efforts of the Pope; indifference of Florence	289
1485	The Pope appeals to Spain	289
	But the disputes in Italy interfere with the Turkish war	290
1486	The Pope proposes a Crusade, and levies a tax on ecclesiastical benefices	291

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1486	To be collected by Raymond Peraudi and Gratiano da Villanova	291
	Noble character of Peraudi—his zeal for the Crusade	292
	Resistance to the tax in Germany	292
1487	The Pope turns to France, and sends Cheregato and Florez as Nuncios	293
1488	Lionello Cheregato's address to Charles VIII.	294
	Difficulties created in France by the Interdict laid on Flanders	295
	Raymond Peraudi sent to France	295
1489	Convocation of the States-General at Frankfort	295
	Brief sent by the Pope—its success	296
	A truce arranged between the Emperor and the King of Hungary	296
	The Pope obtains possession of Prince Dschem	297
	Who was in the hands of the Knights of S. John	297
	Concessions made by the Pope in order to obtain possession of the Prince	298
	Anger of the King of Naples	298
	Arrival of Prince Dschem in Rome	299
	His reception by the Pope	300
	Impression made by Prince Dschem in Rome	301
	Preparations for the Crusade	303
1490	The Sultan attempts to poison the Belvedere fountain	303
	Failure of the plot and execution of Magrino	304
	The Pope proposes a Congress	304
	Which meets in Rome—Venice taking no part in it	305
	Address to the Congress by the Pope	306
	Reply of the Envoys, who thank the Pope for his exertions	307
	The constitution of the army	307
	Reply of the Pope, who insists on the importance of immediate action	308
	Death of Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary	310
	Maximilian of Austria disputes the succession with King Ladislaus	310
	Revival of the quarrel between Maximilian and Charles VIII.	311
	Hopelessness of the Crusade — faithlessness of Venice	311
	Bajazet makes proposals to the Pope, who accepts a pension for Dschem	312
	The Sultan a tributary of the Pope	313
1492	The fall of Granada—faithlessness of Ferrante	314
	Rejoicings in Rome, both religious and secular	315
	Ferrante takes counsel with the Pope against the Turks	315

Digitized by Google

A.D. PAGE
1492 Bajazet sends the head of the Spear of Longinus to Rome 316
Reception of the Holy Spear in Rome . . . 316
Death of Lorenzo de' Medici 317
Illness of the Pope—his state declared hopeless . 318
Disorders in Rome 319
Death of Innocent VIII. 320
His tomb by Antonio Pollajuolo 321

CHAPTER V.

INNOCENT VIII. AS PATRON OF ART AND SCHOLARSHIP.

1492 Few works of Art executed in his reign . . . 322
Innocent VIII. continues the work of Paul II. in the Vatican 322
Restorations effected in Rome 323
And in other parts of the Papal States . . . 323
The Vatican Belvedere decorated by Pinturicchio and Mantegna 325
Whose works have been almost entirely destroyed . 326
Other artists employed by Innocent VIII. . . 327
His encouragement of Art manufactures . . . 328
Innocent VIII. compares unfavourably with Sixtus IV. in Literature 328
But gives encouragement to scholars . . . 329
The secretaries of Innocent VIII. 330
His liberality in permitting the use of manuscripts . 330
Discoveries of a sarcophagus and its contents on the Appian Way 331
Good preservation of the body; excitement in Rome 332

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT VIII. AND THE DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH.

1485 Ecclesiastical disputes with Venice—the See of Padua 334
The Patriarchate of Aquileia. Ermolao Barbaro exiled 335
Attacks on the rights of the Church by Florence, Bologna, and Milan 335
Insolence of Mathias Corvinus towards the Church . 336

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1485	His nomination of Ippolito d'Este as Archbishop of Gran	336
	The Pope forced to give way	336
1488	But insists on the liberation of the Bishop of Kalocsa	337
1485	Attacks on the rights of the Church in France	337
	As also in England and Portugal, which are resisted by the Pope	338
1484	He makes concessions to Ferdinand of Spain on political grounds	338
1485	Canonisation of the Margrave Leopold of Austria	339
	Privileges granted by Innocent VIII. to the Cistercian Order	340
	As also to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians	340
	He unites the Order of Lazarists to the Knights of S. John	340
	Innocent VIII. defends the Faith against the Waldensian and Hussite heresies	341
1486	Pico della Mirandola in Rome	342
	Condemnation of his propositions by the Pope	343
	Pico della Mirandola's apology and explanation	343
	He is accused of breaking his oath of submission	344
	He devotes himself to a life of prayer and retirement	344
	Alexander VI. gives him absolution in an autograph Brief	344
	Trouble given to Innocent VIII. by the Jews in Spain	345
1484	The Inquisition introduced into Aragon	345
	Disturbances in consequence. The Inquisitor mortally wounded	346
1492	Ferdinand requires the Jews to become Christians or to leave Spain	346
1484	Innocent VIII.'s Bull on witchcraft	347
	Belief in witchcraft of long standing in Germany	347
	Two Dominican professors appointed Papal Inquisitors	348
	The Bull contains no dogmatic decision on witchcraft	349
	And only confirms the jurisdiction of the Inquisitors	350
	No reform of ecclesiastical abuses under Innocent VIII.	350
	Calumnious accusations of Infessura against Innocent VIII.	350
	Discovery of forged Bulls in Rome	351
	Which are the source of Infessura's accusations	351
	Evil effects of the sale of offices in Rome	352
	The number of the College of Secretaries increased in order to raise money	352
	Creation of the College of Piombatori with an entrance fee	353

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1484	The disorder produced by the corruptibility of officials	353
	Scandalous life of Franceschetto Cibò	354
	Opposition of the Sacred College to the creation of new Cardinals	354
1489	The nomination of new Cardinals	355
	Including Giovanni de' Medici, still a boy	356
	Whose ecclesiastical career had begun at the age of seven	356
1492	He takes his seat in the Sacred College after three years' study	357
	Lorenzo de' Medici's letter of advice to his son	358
	Worldly tone among the Cardinals	361
	Many of whom lived as secular princes	362
	The character and life of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia	362
	Vanozza de Cataneis and the Borgia children	363
	Ecclesiastical career of Cæsar Borgia	365
	Jacopo da Volterra's account of the splendour of Cardinal Borgia	366
	Ostentation and wealth of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza	367
	Cardinal de La Balue	367
	Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere—his force of character	368
	And influence during the reign of Innocent VIII.	369
	The Courts and followers of the Cardinals	370
	Their encouragement of Literature and Art	370
	The denunciations of the mission preachers	370
	Prophecies of impending judgment	371
	Especially those of Savonarola	371

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF ALEXANDER VI.

1492	Cardinal Raffaele Riario preserves order in Rome	375
	Cardinals Sanseverino and Gherardo admitted to the Conclave	376
	Beginning of the Conclave—address by Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal	377
	Prospects of the next election	377
	Intrigues among the Cardinals	378
	Disagreement among the Italian powers	378

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1492	Ferrante and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere	379
	Report of the Envoy of the Duchess of Ferrara	380
	Also from the Ambassador of Milan	380
	Opening of the Conclave	381
	Promises of Cardinal Borgia	382
	He secures the majority of votes by simony	384
	Election of Alexander VI.	385
	Popularity of the election	386
	Personal appearance of Alexander VI.	387
	Indifference of public opinion to his moral character	388
	But indignation aroused by his shameless bribery	389
	The election welcomed by many in Italy and abroad	389
	Splendour of the Coronation of Alexander VI.	390
	Satisfaction felt in Milan at the election	391
	Rejoicings in Florence at the election	392
	Views of Naples, Spain, and Venice	393
	The Envoys of the League in Rome	394
	Good opinion of the Pope in Germany	395
	The Pope's economy and strict administration of the laws	396
	His good intentions and desire of peace	397
	Nepotism of Alexander VI. Arrival of his relations in Rome	398
	His affection for his children. Character of Lucrezia Borgia	399
	Her personal appearance	400
	And betrothal to Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotignola	402
	Character and appearance of Cæsar Borgia	403
	Ferrante fears the influence of Milan with the Pope	404
	And sends his son Federigo to Rome to arrange an alliance with the Pope	405
1493	Failure of the scheme. Intrigues of Ferrante with Virginio Orsini	405
	Protest of the Pope against Virginio's occupation of Cervetri and Anguillara	406
	Opposition of Giuliano della Rovere to Ascanio Sforza	406
	Giuliano della Rovere retires to Ostia	406
	Alarm of the Pope, who fortifies Civita Vecchia	407
	Negotiations of Ferrante with the Pope	408
	League concluded between the Holy See, Milan, Venice, Mantua, and Ferrara	408
	Ferrante on Alexander VI.	409
	Marriage of Lucrezia with Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro	410
	Remonstrances of the Spanish Ambassador	411
	Menacing attitude of Ferrante. Federigo of Aragon in Rome	412

Digitized by Google

A.D. PAGE
1493 Ferrante's proposals of family alliance with the Pope 412
A reconciliation effected between the Pope and Giuliano della Rovere 413
The Pope comes to terms with Virginio Orsini . . 413
The French Envoy fails to obtain the investiture of Naples for Charles VIII. 414
Marriage of the Duke of Gandia to Maria of Aragon . 414
And of Jofré Borgia to Sancia, daughter of Alfonso of Calabria 414
Political success of Alexander VI. 415
Temporary disgrace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza . . 415
The creation of new Cardinals 416
Annoyance of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere . . 418
And of the other Cardinals of the opposition . . 418

CHAPTER II.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALFONSO II. OF NAPLES AND ALEXANDER VI.

1493 Ferrante's complaints against the Pope . . . 420
1494 Death of Ferrante. The question of investiture . 421
Charles VIII. sends an Embassy to Rome . . 421
And seeks the friendship of Giuliano della Rovere . 421
The Pope decides in favour of Alfonso of Naples . 422
But sends the Golden Rose to Charles VIII. . . 422
The Bull containing the Pope's decision read in Consistory 422
Astonishment and anger of Charles VIII. . . . 423
Alliance between Charles VIII. and Giuliano della Rovere 424
Flight of Cardinal Giuliano from Ostia, which capitulates to the Pope 424
Coronation of Alfonso II. in Naples by Cardinal Juan Borgia 425
Cardinal Giuliano joins Charles VIII. 425
And demands a Council for the reform of the Church 426
Terror of the Pope on account of his simoniacal election 426
Charles VIII. sends Envoys to demand the investiture of Naples 426
Cardinal Ascanio Sforza brings about the defection of the Colonna 427
The Pope endeavours to propitiate Bajazet in favour of Alfonso 428

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1494	Failure and isolation of the Pope. King of Naples	430
	Plan of operations against the enemy	430
	Disloyalty of many of the Cardinals	431
	Charles VIII. enters Italy	431
	Personal appearance of Charles VIII.—the strength of his army	432
	Ambitious designs of the French King	433

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES VIII. IN ITALY.

1494	Savonarola's prophecies of a new Cyrus	434
	Enthusiastic reception of Charles VIII. in Italy	434
	Victory of Louis of Orleans over Federigo of Aragon	435
	March of Charles VIII. on Rome	435
	Death of Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan	435
	Consternation in Rome—alarm of the Pope	436
	Revolt of the Colonna and Savelli. Occupation of Ostia by the French	436
	The Pope declares war against the rebels	436
	Charles VIII. assumes the protection of the Colonna	436
	Conspiracy of the Colonna to seize Prince Djschem	437
	Charles VIII. in Tuscany. Submission of Piero de' Medici	437
	The Medici driven from Florence — their palace plundered	438
	Charles VIII. refuses to see Cardinal Piccolomini at Lucca	438
	Meeting of Charles VIII. and Savonarola — the French in Florence	439
	Manifesto of Charles VIII.—his declared object the overthrow of the Turks	440
	Difficulties and helplessness of Alexander VI.	441
	His fear of a Council and of his deposition for simony	442
	But he refuses to abandon Alfonso	442
	Cardinal Peraudi sent to Charles VIII., who wins him to his side	443
	Rapid advance of the French upon Rome	444
	Alexander VI. implores the help of Maximilian	444
	Excitement in Rome. Blockade of the city by the Colonna	445
	Imprisonment of Cardinals Sforza, Sanseverino, and Lunati	445

Digitized by Google

A.D. PAGE
1494 Helplessness and irresolution of the Pope . . . 446
Preparations for flight 446
Fall of Civita Vecchia. The Orsini join the French King 447
The Pope resolves to permit the French to enter Rome 448
Terms of the agreement between Charles VIII. and the Pope 449

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES VIII. IN ROME AND NAPLES.

1494 Entry of Charles VIII. into Rome 450
Demands of Charles VIII., which are refused by the Pope 453
1495 Panic and disorder in Rome. The Pope takes refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo 454
Charles VIII. and the Reform of the Church . . 455
The deposition of the Pope beyond his power . . 456
The Pope accepts the terms of Charles VIII. . . 457
Terms of the agreement. Cæsar Borgia a hostage to the French King 457
The investiture of Naples not included . . . 458
Vexation of the Cardinals of the opposition . . 458
Meeting of the Pope and Charles VIII. . . . 459
Favours bestowed by the Pope upon the French . 460
Charles VIII. marches on Naples—abdication of Alfonso II. 461
Remonstrances of the Envoys of Ferdinand the Catholic 462
Disappearance of Cæsar Borgia 462
The Fort of Monte S. Giovanni taken by the French 463
Victorious march of Charles VIII. on Naples . . 463
The Crusade given up. Charles VIII. remains in Naples 464
Sudden death of Prince Dschem 465
Alarm caused in Italy by the successes of Charles VIII. 465
Conclusion of the Holy League between the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, and the Italian Powers, . 466
Charles VIII. delays his retreat from Naples . . 468
Retreat of half the French army. Alarm of the Pope 468
Papal negotiations with Charles VIII. Excitement in Rome 469
The Pope retires to Orvieto, and Charles VIII. re-enters Rome 470

Digitized by Google

A.D.		PAGE
1495	The Pope refuses to meet the French King, who continues his retreat	471
	Meeting of Charles VIII. and Savonarola at Poggibonzi	472
	Battle of Fornuovo. The escape of the French with the loss of their baggage	473
	Rejoicings in Italy. The French troops driven out of Naples	474
	Charles VIII. returns to France	475
	Disastrous flood in Rome. Distress in Rome and the Campagna	476
	Excitement of the people—portentous stories	480
1496	Prophecies of Savonarola	481

CHAPTER V.

TROUBLES IN ITALY.

1496	Virginio Orsini takes service with the French in Naples	482
	Anxiety of the Pope, who supports Ferrantino	483
	Assistance sent to Ferrantino by Venice	483
	Capitulation of the French at Atella	484
	Success of the League, which is joined by England	484
	Maximilian I. in Italy—opposition of Venice to the Emperor	485
	Ineffectual remonstrances of the Pope	485
	The Emperor retires to the Tyrol	486
	Alexander VI. takes measures against the Orsini	487
	Virginio Orsini the prisoner of Ferrantino	488
	The Duke of Gandia appointed Commander-General of the Papal troops	488
	First successes. The siege of Bracciano	489
	Which is relieved by Vitellozzo of Città di Castello	490
1497	Defeat of the Papal troops at Soviano	490
	Ostia taken by Gonsalvo de Cordova	491
	The Pope decides to deprive Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere of his benefices	491
	And his brother Giovanni of the Prefecture of Rome	491
	Return of Gonsalvo de Cordova and the Duke of Gandia to Rome	491
	The Pope's Spanish proclivities — more Spanish Cardinals	492
	Favours bestowed on the Duke of Gandia	493
	Murder of the Duke of Gandia	494
	Whose body is found in the Tiber, and is buried at S. Maria del Popolo	495

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A.D.		PAGE
1497	Distress of the Pope	496
	Suspicions and rumours in Rome	497
	The palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza searched	498
	His letter to the Duke of Milan	498
	The Pope resolves to reform his life, and makes large gifts to churches	499
	He promises a Reform of the Church in Consistory	500
	Apologies for the absence of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza	501
	Official announcement of the death of the Duke of Gandia to foreign Powers	501
	The Pope receives the Envoys of the League and of Federigo of Naples	502
	Estrangement between the Pope and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza	503
	Who is believed to be the murderer of the Duke of Gandia	503
	Cardinal Ascanio retires to Genazzano—his letter to his brother	504
	Suspicions of Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro	505
	The Orsini charged with the murder—for which they had good motives	506
	Impossibility of attaining certainty on the subject	507
	Cæsar Borgia believed to be the assassin	509
	But he had no sufficient reason for the crime	510
	Nor is the suspicion justified by facts	511
	Good resolutions of the Pope	512
	The Reform Commission. The Borgia desired to leave Rome	513
	Good work done by Cardinals Costa and Caraffa	514
	The Bull of Reform drafted	515
	Provisions of the Bull	516
	The work of Reform put off. The Pope returns to his old life	518
	Cæsar Borgia in Naples for the Coronation of Federigo	519
	He desires to resign his cardinalate and marry	520
	Dissolution of the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza	520
	Scandal given by the dissolution	521
	Accusations brought against the Borgia	522
	Superstitious stories in Rome	522
	Explosion in the Castle of S. Angelo	523

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan	528
II.	„ „ „	528
III.	Pope Innocent VIII. to C. Bandinus . .	529
IV.	„ to Roberto Sanseverino .	530
V.	„ to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere . . .	530
VI.	J. P. Arrivabene to the Marquess of Mantua .	530
VII.	B. Arlotti to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara . .	531
VIII.	Report from Milan on the balance of parties in the College of Cardinals	532
IX.	Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to the Duchess Eleonora of Ferrara . .	533
X.	Valori to Florence	535
XI.	Ambrosius Mirabilia to Bartholomaeus Calchus	536
XII.	Thadeus Vicomercatus to Milan . . .	537
XIII.	Pope Alexander VI. to the Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza	537
XIV.	Giacomo Trotti to the Duke Ercole of Ferrara .	538
XV.	Pope Alexander VI. gives the Bishopric of Valencia to Cæsar Borgia . . .	538
XVI.	„ nominates Juan Borgia to the Cardinalate .	539
XVII.	„ to Jofré Borja . .	540
XVIII.	Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua	541
XIX.	Pope Alexander VI. to Jofré Borja . . .	542
XX.	Stefano Taberna to Milan	542
XXI.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan	543
XXII.	Stefano Taberna to Milan	543
XXIII.	„ „	544

Digitized by Google

		PAGE
XXIV.	Pope Alexander VI. to Franciscus de Sprats, Papal Envoy to Spain	544
XXV.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan	545
XXVI.	Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua .	546
XXVII.	Pope Alexander VI. to Fabrizio Colonna .	546
XXVIII.	Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua .	547
XXIX.	„ „ „ .	548
XXX.	„ „ „ .	548
XXXI.	„ „ „ .	549
XXXII.	Floramonte Brognolo to „ .	549
XXXIII.	Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna . .	550
XXXIV.	„ creates four new Cardinals . . .	550
XXXV.	„ to Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan .	551
XXXVI.	Letter from an unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio	552
XXXVII.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan	552
XXXVIII.	An unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio .	554
XXXIX.	Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan	555
XL.	Paulus Bilia to Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan	556
XLI.	Scheme of Reform of Pope Alexander VI. .	558

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INTRODUCTION.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ITALY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE. — CHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE.

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INTRODUCTION.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ITALY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE.—CHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE.

DURING the second half of the 15th Century and the beginning of the 16th, the whole of Europe, and Italy more especially, was passing through a period of transition from the old ways of living to other forms hitherto untried. A revolution was in progress, producing startling contradictions and a seething unrest in all the relations of life, political, social, literary, æsthetical, and ecclesiastical, which announced the dawn of a new era.

While the splendid discoveries of maritime explorers had so surprisingly enlarged the material horizon, on the intellectual side the Renaissance movement had equally opened out a new and marvellous world. In both fields of discovery Italy had played an important part; but the Renaissance in Literature and Art, in its origin and early development, was almost entirely its work. The modern world, looking back upon that period, stands amazed at the number of distinguished scholars and artists produced by Italy in such a short space of time, a number which, in the whole history of mankind, has never been equalled, except, perhaps, in Greece in the age of Pericles.

The material civilisation of the country kept pace with its intellectual culture. "The husbandry which enriched the fertile meadows in the plains, was carried to the summits

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of the hills. Governed only by native rulers, Italy rejoiced in a teeming population and abounded in wealth of all sorts. At the same time, her numerous, powerful and generous Princes shed additional lustre on the land to which had been granted the unique privilege of containing the centre of Christendom."*

In this picture of Italy in 1490 Guicciardini lets no hint escape of the reverse side of the medal, of the political degeneration which had already begun and was destined so soon to bring about the ruin of this beautiful country. In the second half of the 15th Century, a thoughtful observer could not fail to be struck by the alarming corruption which pervaded Italian political life. Statecraft was developing more and more into an organised system of overreaching and bad faith; to consider any engagement binding was looked upon as a mark of imbecility. Treachery and violence were the order of the day. No one expected anything else, and all relations between the various States and Princes were poisoned by envy and suspicion.

With a cynicism which is almost grand in its audacity, Machiavelli openly recommends a policy "which sets aside all considerations of morality and Christianity, or of Divine providence or judgment, simply assumes that the end justifies the means, and bows down with unwavering allegiance before the idols of success and the accomplished fact."† All the prominent men of that time, Francesco and Lodovico Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici, Alexander VI., Cæsar Borgia, Ferrante of Naples, pursued this corrupt system.

In military matters the baleful influence of the Condottieri reigned supreme. Armies, instead of being composed of citizens or peasants fighting for hearth and home, consisted

* GUICCIARDINI, I., c. 1.

† HIPPLER, Geschichts-Auffassung, 72.

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now entirely of mercenary bands who sold their services to the highest bidder and changed sides from day to day. These men were a veritable scourge to the country, plundering and wasting in all directions. Serious battles were rare, but these undisciplined and greedy marauders kept up a perpetual succession of raids and disturbances, of which pillage was the only object. We read in the narratives of the time, of "sieges of wretched villages which lasted thirty days, of battles in which one man was killed, smothered by his heavy armour." All private life was at the mercy of the caprice of the ruling classes, and the administration of the law was often harsh and cruel in the extreme. In many States the citizens were crushed under the burden of unequal and ever increasing taxation, which they had no power to resist. No doubt similar political and social evils were to be found more or less in all the States of Europe; but "in no other country were these abuses so artistically systematised, and the ancient liberties of the people so completely annihilated" as was the case in Italy.*

It was not surprising that, when the storm began with the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., there was no power to withstand it. For many years the most civilised country in Europe became the arena of the most sanguinary of wars, the prize for which France and Spain, only recently developed into modern monarchies and states of the first class, contended as for life or death. It ended in the demolition of the national Italian political system and the complete hegemony of Spain in the peninsula.

To the ravages of war were added unusual calamities in the natural order. The Chronicles of the 15th Century, more especially those of its latter half, are filled with accounts of portents in the heavens, storms, failures of

* REUMONT, Caraffa, I., 23; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 85 *seq.*, ed. 3; PÖHLMANN, 17, 140; and GISI, 4.

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crops, scarcities, inundations, earthquakes, and plagues.* All infectious diseases were at that time, and indeed till much later, classed together under the one name of the Plague, while the common people called them simply the death (*la moria*).

The misery consequent on incessant wars, the close packing of the population during prolonged sieges, and the absence of police regulations or any attention to cleanliness in the towns, produced very unfavourable conditions from a sanitary point of view. Added to this was the danger from the constant unguarded intercourse with the East, with the result that Italy was never wholly free from infectious diseases smouldering in one place or another, and ever ready to burst forth into flame.†

At no time in the whole course of her history was the country so frequently desolated by pestilence as during the much belauded golden age of the Renaissance. The ghastly picture of the procession and chariot of Death painted by an artist of that day, Piero di Cosimo, was taken from the life.‡ Like an unextinguished fire, sometimes burning low, but perpetually flaring out afresh, the scourge lingers on through the whole of the 15th Century

* SCHNURRER, II., 7 *seq.*, professes in his Chronicle to record not only plagues but also all the other troubles; but his work is extraordinarily incomplete, *e.g.*, he says nothing about the great famine of 1496 (*cf.* MATARAZZO, 49 *seq.*). MASSARI, 43 *seq.*, confines himself to epidemics; *cf.* COPPI, 47 *seq.*; Vita Italiana, I., 115 *seq.*; HÄSER, III., 185 *seq.* The great work of CORRADI, Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia dalle prime memorie fino all' anno 1850 (8 vols., Bologna, 1865–94), is much fuller, including dearths and meteorological phenomena. *Cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X., 422 *seq.*, and PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 74, 84 *seq.*; III., 360 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 67.

‡ Described in detail by VASARI. See WOLTMANN, Geschichte der Malerei, II., 185.

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and on into the 16th. It was not only the large and low-lying places that suffered; even such salubrious situations as Orvieto were not exempt, and again and again were turned into pestilential charnel-houses.* Whenever the dreaded sickness appeared in any place, every one who could, fled. Large bonfires in all the open spaces were supposed to constitute the best preservative for those who were left behind. The pious spirit of the time manifested itself in processions, public acts of penance and prayers to appease the Divine displeasure. Recourse was had especially to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of S. Sebastian, who, from its earliest days, had always been regarded throughout all Christendom as the great protector against pestilences. Many beautiful votive pictures, such, for example, as Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco, painted in 1464, in the Church of S. Agostino in S. Gimignano, date from these days of distress. The partiality for S. Sebastian as a subject, displayed by so many painters, as, for example, Antonio Pollajuolo, Mantegna, Foppa, Perugino, Becchietta, and Benedetto da Majano, though partly due to artistic considerations, derived an additional impulse from faith in his power to preserve his clients from infectious diseases. A similar efficacy was attributed to the prayers of S. Roch. On the banner painted for the Church of SS^ma^ Trinità at Città di Castello by Raphael, both Saints are depicted, with uplifted eyes, beseeching the Holy Trinity to protect the land from pestilences and plagues.† In some

* See the death-rolls in the Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, beginning with the year 1482, published in Orvieto in 1891.

† PASSAVANT, Raphael, I., 60–61 (French ed., II., 7); MÜNTZ, Raphael, 81; WOLTMANN, Gesch. der Malerei, II., 181. Of the pictures mentioned here, that of A. Pollajuolo is now in London; Perugino's (1505) is in S. Sebastiano at Panicale (Reproduced by the Arundel Society). Perugino painted another S. Sebastian in 1518. Mantegna's, with the name of the

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places, even in those days, really rational precautions were adopted by energetic municipalities and intelligent physicians; "but these were purely local, each Commune acting only for itself. No sort of common effort was made to protect the peninsula as a whole from the desolating enemy." Although towards the end of the century a system of local quarantine was instituted, sanitary commissioners appointed, special plague doctors and hospitals set apart in the large towns, and measures taken and carefully carried out for disinfection, no sensible diminution could be perceived either in the diffusion of the malady or in the frequency of its outbreaks.* The merciless germs found a too favourable soil in the blood-sodden fields of Italy. It was a terrible time. If for a short space the Plague seemed to have died out and men began to breathe freely again, only too surely somewhere would the well-known symptoms reappear; the most certain and the most dreaded being the blueish-black boil under the arm-pit, or on the palm of the hand.

Contrasted with the brilliant literary and æsthetic culture and the tasteful luxury which prevailed more or less in all the many States of Italy, and more especially in Rome and Florence, "the Plague, with all its horrors and the misery that accompanied it, appears as something more than a mockery of all that shining pageant; it seems a ghastly

master signed in Greek, is in the gallery at Vienna; B. Foppa's in the Brera at Milan; the one painted by Fra Bartolomeo in 1515 has disappeared; see WOLTMANN, II., 606. Becchietta's S. Sebastian for the Cathedral at Siena was painted in 1478. Benedetto da Majano's is in the Church of the Misericordia in Florence (Phot. Alinari, Nr. 4901).

* See UFFELMANN, Oeffentl. Gesundheitspflege in Italien, in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege, XI., 177 (Braunschweig, 1879). *Cf.* also HÖRSCHELMANN, Ueber die grossen Epidemien in Italien während der Renaissancezeit, in the Allg. Zeitung, 1884, No. 177 *seq.*, Supplement.

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invention of some Dantesque imagination;"* but the descriptions and lamentations of those who lived through it, and the long death-roll in the Chronicles, leave no doubt of the appalling extent of its ravages.

That the age of the Renaissance was steeped in moral turpitude is one of those broad statements which are easily uttered and readily believed. A conscientious historian, however, in judging of the religion and morality of this period, must take account of the lights as well as of the shadows, and confine himself within the limits of facts which are substantiated by historical investigation. It is incontestable that in many respects there was a great deterioration in morals during this period. Such terrible calamities and such uprootings and changes as have been mentioned above could not fail to have an injurious effect on the nation at large. But we may still see reason to question whether the corruption was so radical and hopeless, or the paganisation of all the relations of life so universal as has been maintained.

In the nature of things it must be extremely difficult to present a truthful picture of an age which witnessed so many revolutions, affecting almost all departments of human life and thought, and abounded in contradictions and startling contrasts. But the difficulty becomes enormously increased if we are endeavouring to formulate a comprehensive appreciation of the moral and religious character of such an epoch. In fact, in one sense, the task is an impossible one. No mortal eye can penetrate the conscience of a single man; how much less can any human intellect strike the balance between the incriminating and extenuating circumstances on which our judgment of the moral condition of such a period depends, amid the whirl of conflicting events? In a rough way, no doubt, we can

* HÖRSCHELMANN, *loc. cit.*

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form an estimate, but it can never pretend to absolute accuracy. "In this region the more clearly the facts seem to point to any conclusion, the more must we be upon our guard against unconditional or universal assertions."* The greatest caution is needed here, because the completeness of the historical data for the various classes of the population depends so much upon accident. In the story of the Renaissance, the Humanistic literature contributes a quite disproportionate amount of the evidence we possess in regard to the life and manners of the time. There can be no doubt that in these circles and among the clergy there was a great deal of immorality. Still an unprejudiced student even here must take care not to paint the state of things during the Renaissance blacker than it really was. In nature, preservative forces are always at work side by side with those that make for destruction. Their action is not so noticeable, because the beneficent principle works in silence, and that which develops itself in accordance with its law neither attracts the curiosity, nor compels the attention which the law-breaking violence evokes.† For this reason the records of all nations mostly consist of the story of crimes. Virtue goes quietly on her way; vice and lawlessness are always making a noise; the scapegrace is the talk of the town; the honest man does his duty and no one hears of him. If we are to present a true picture of the history of culture, we must bear in mind its conservative and harmonious as well as its revolutionary and licentious side. Amongst the Italians both were strongly marked. A political writer of the 15th Century concludes an extremely able *résumé* of the pathological phenomena connected with culture among the nations of Europe, by

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 199, ed. 3.

† KAUFMANN, Cæsarius von Heisterbach, 125, ed. 2. Köln, 1862.

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saying that the Italians had no moderation, their good and their bad were always extreme, but on the whole the good preponderated.*

I.

Throughout the Middle Ages a deep conviction of the truth of religion was a fundamental characteristic of the Italian nation; and in many circles this was maintained through the dangerous period of transition and into the 15th Century.† The salutary influence of the Church, in spite of the corruption of some of its members, made itself felt in every department of society. A glance at the family life of this period shews at once, how much that was good and estimable still held its ground, through all the storms of the time and the ferment of the Renaissance.

In Tuscany, the very focus of Italian culture, the picture presented by domestic life, on the whole, is a very pleasing one. Although painful exceptions were not wanting, still in general, morality, order, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and tender solicitude in the bringing up of children, were the rule. Noble and capable women, whose portraits lend a singular grace to the frescoes of the Florentine painters of that day, kept guard over the religion and morals of the

* A. MARINI, *cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., c. 3 (Engl. trans.). Considerationes in THOMAS, Zur Venet. Geschichtsforschung in the Allg. Zeitung, 1876, Suppl., No. 358.

† All the ablest historians, such as Burckhardt, Reumont, Rösler, Gaspary, Müntz, Torraca and Guasti, whatever their leanings may be, are agreed as to this. Further proofs will be found in the course of our narrative; *cf.* also PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 39 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); STERN, I., 152; PRÖLSS, I., 1, 20, 36; GRUYER, 173; VISCHER, Signorelli, 125, 128; GABOTTO, Un poeta beatificato, 7 (Venezia, 1892); CIAMPI, Lorenzo il Magnifico e G. Savonarola (Estratto dalla N. Antologia, 1875, Gennaio, p. 14); and CESAREO in the same periodical, 1894, Vol. CXXXV., p. 102.

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household. The type of womanhood portrayed in the charming biographies by the worthy Florentine bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci, and in the work of Jacopo da Bergamo on the famous ladies of his time, is an eminently beautiful and noble one.* The extensive private correspondence, fortunately preserved, of this period proves that the pictures are not overdrawn.

From this point of view, the correspondence of Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, a noble Florentine lady (1406–1471), is of great value. These intimate letters not only give us a large insight into the domestic life of the period, but also reveal a beautiful soul in the much-tried mother whose whole life was devoted to her children's welfare after the early death of her husband. The sorrows and joys, the hopes and disappointments of a life-time are spread before the reader. Their tone throughout is that of a deep and genuine piety. Writing of her son Matteo, who had died in a foreign country, she says:—"I know now that on the 23rd of August it pleased Him who gave him to me to recall him to Himself, in the full possession of his faculties, and after having received all the sacraments, as befitted a good Christian. It is a bitter grief to have been deprived of such a son and, apart from my own natural feelings for him, I hold his death to be a great loss to you, my two surviving sons. I praise God and thank Him for all; for I am convinced that He perceived that this was best for the good of his soul, and what you have told me of his ready acceptance of death, confirms me in the belief; and though in my heart I experience a more piercing anguish than any I have ever felt before, still I am conscious of two great consolations. The first is, that he

* REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitung, 1876, Suppt., No. 191; LORENZO, II., 326, ed. 2; and Kleine Schriften, 55 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*; BRAGGIO in the Giorn. Ligustico, 1885, XII., 35 *seq.*

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was with you; because this gives me the certainty that all that doctors and medicine and human care could avail was done to save his life, and thus that if this failed it was purely the will of God. The second is, that our Lord before his death gave him the grace to perceive and confess his sins, and, as I understand, piously to ask for Extreme Unction and the Holy Viaticum, which I regard as a token that God has graciously received him. So now, since I know that we all have to tread this path, but that whether we shall be able to do so in the manner that has been vouchsafed to my beloved Matteo is most uncertain; for many die suddenly, and some are cut to pieces, and some lose both body and soul at once, I resign myself in peace, considering that God might have sent me something so much harder to bear. If in His mercy He will still preserve you, my two sons, I will not complain of anything." A little later Alessandra returns again to the subject and writes:—"We must humbly resign ourselves to what we cannot alter; God knows what is best for our sanctification. Arm yourself with patience and pray for him. Let us be prepared for sorrows. God strikes us, and men strike us too. We must be ready for all things and bear all that comes, in peace." *

Piety of this stamp was not confined to women, but is equally to be found in many men of all ranks and conditions. What a grand figure is that of the rich and energetic Florentine merchant, Francesco Datini (ob. 1410), the friend of Giovanni Dominici, who, in the evening of his day, went into retirement in his native village, leaving all his property to the poor. His widow became a Dominican Tertiary. A similar character was another

* GUASTI, Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi. Lettere di una gentil donna Fiorentina del sec. XV. ai figliuoli esuli (Firenze, 1877). REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 73–5, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art., I., 15 *seq.*

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Florentine, Feo Belcari, one out of the many which the 15th Century produced to balance the one-sided spirit of the Renaissance. Like Datini, his life was an active one; he filled several public offices, sat, in the summer of 1454, on the Bench as one of the Priori, was a Commissioner of the public debt, and died in 1484. His devotional writings and private letters bear splendid testimony to the spirit which animated a large body of laymen during this time. His letter on humility to his daughter Orsola, a nun in the Convent of Il Paradiso in Florence, is one of the gems of the spiritual literature of the day.*

"Humility," Belcari writes, "is an inestimable treasure and a Divine gift. Humility is an abyss of self-abasement before which the powers of Hell recoil; a tower of strength before the face of the enemy. Humility is a Divine assistance and protection which draws a veil across our inward eye, so that we do not see our own excellences and virtues; it is the perfection of all that is true and pure. Penitence raises the soul, compunction enables it to touch the gates of heaven, humility flings them open. Love and humility are the soul's best conductors, the one teaches it to soar, the other prevents it from falling. The Fathers say that bodily toil is a means of gaining humility, and S. John Scholasticus recommends obedience and simplicity, and everything that contradicts our pride. Poverty, pilgrimages, a habit of concealing our attainments, simplicity in speech, begging for alms, manual labour, renunciation of dignities, reticence, putting little trust in man and confiding in God only, are all means of becoming humble. Also a constant recollection of death and the judgment, and of our Lord's Passion. Humility makes the soul pliable, gentle, devoted, patient, peaceful, cheerful, obedient, sympa-

* On Datini and Belcari, see REUMONT, Briefe, 82, 153 *seq.*, and LORENZO, I., 432 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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thetic, above all, it enables it to be strenuous without sadness and to watch without weariness. In conclusion, let me enumerate the fruits of humility in the words of S. Bernard. 'If you desire to glorify God, be humble; if you want to obtain the forgiveness of your sins, be humble; if you would win the grace of God, be humble; if you have temptations to overcome, or an enemy to conquer, be humble; if you want to guard and cherish virtues, be humble; do you wish to attain to the apprehension of Divine mysteries, to penetrate the meaning of Holy Scripture, be humble; if you aspire to win true glory, to deserve the favour of God, to keep your soul in peace, be humble. May our sweetest Lord Jesus Christ grant this virtue to us and to all who need it. Pray for me who am not humble.'

"Written at Florence, Oct. 19, 1455. FEO BELCARI." *

The same pious tone of thought pervades the numerous private memoirs of which Florence possesses a large store. It was the custom there to keep family note-books in which births, marriages, deaths, and events of all sorts, were recorded for the benefit of its members. Interspersed amongst these entries which concerned the private history only of the family, are often to be found narratives of contemporary events, both at home and abroad, notes of books read, practical rules of life, and general observations. A book of this kind containing notes extending from the beginning of the 15th Century up to 1421, written by a Florentine, Giovanni Morelli, has been preserved.† Morelli relates the history of his own life and fortunes for the guidance of his son in the pursuit of true happiness. The

* Printed in MORONI, Lettere di F. Belcari (Firenze, 1825). Translated by REUMONT, Briefe, 155-8.

† Cronaca di Giovanni Morelli, as a supplement to MALESPINI, Istoria di Firenze (1718), 217-354. *Cf.* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 68 *seq.*

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narrative reveals a model Christian father whose solicitude for the welfare of his children, both temporal and spiritual, begins with early infancy and follows them throughout their lives, and even beyond the grave. We may fairly consider that the great majority of Florentine families were brought up in this sound and truly Christian spirit. In spite of all its aberrations the age of the Renaissance was an age of faith and of genuine piety.* It is noticeable that Morelli attaches an almost exaggerated importance to the study of the Classics, in which point he says his own education was defective; at the same time, he subordinates this to higher aims, and especially to the study of religion. His child-like faith is well expressed in the following passage, which occurs in a panegyric on his father, who died early:— "Oh, if only we could be faithful Christians and true friends of God, how plainly we should be able to see His power and His supreme justice (in His providence) from day to day; but our sins blind us and cause us to be much more inclined to attribute all our good and ill fortune to chance, or to our own prudence or imprudence, rather than to the will of God; but this is false, for all comes from Him and in accordance with our deserts. Therefore, I say: the good fortune of the wise consists in this, that they acknowledge God, and do good, and help themselves with all the strength they have. Thus God requires you to attain to perfection by your own toil and efforts, as you may plainly see by the example of my father Paul." In another touching passage he describes the way in which he spent the anniversary of the death of his eldest son, in prayer and penance at the foot of the Crucifix. "May it please Thee," he exclaims, at the close of his long prayer, "in Thy goodness to accept my petition and in Thy mercy to grant it for the salvation, the enlightenment, the joy, and the blessedness of the departed

* Opinion of RÖSLER, *loc. cit.*, 73.

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soul of my sweet child. I desire far more to know that he is in peace in the eternal mansions, than even, were this possible, to have him back again here on earth." Then he turns to the Mother of God and, after reciting the *Salve Regina*, thus pours out his heart to her. "Sweetest Mother," he says, "Dwelling of the Son of God, grant to me, I entreat Thee, a share in thy sufferings and sorrows, that, justified by this participation, I may deserve to receive the pledge of that bliss which thy Son has purchased for us on the Cross. Make me worthy of the grace which I have implored from thy most gracious Son, and commend me and the soul of my son to the living Source of all justice. I am encouraged to make this prayer to thee, O Queen of Heaven, by the hymn which I have just recited in thy praise and honour, in which thou art called our Advocate."*

Giovanni Rucellai was another layman of the same stamp as Morelli. He had been successful in business, and had amassed great wealth, which he generously employed for the good of the Church and his city. His name is still to be seen on the marble façade of the Church of S^ta^ Maria Novella, which was completed for him by the celebrated Leon Battista Alberti. The same master built his house, the Palazzo Rucellai in the Via della Vigna, which is considered one of the finest examples of Tuscan early Renaissance.† Not far from this stands the Oratory of S. Sepolcro, also erected by Alberti, by order of Rucellai, in 1467. It contains an exact reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre, constructed from a drawing procured by the architect from Jerusalem. In his latter years, Rucellai kept a note-book of the kind described above, which reveals much of the inner life of the time.

"I thank God our Lord," we read here, "that He has

* RÖSLER, *loc. cit.*, 72–3.

† Engraved in BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 63.

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created me a rational and immortal being; in a Christian country; close to Rome, which is the centre of the Christian faith; in Italy, the noblest country in Christendom; in Tuscany, one of the noblest provinces of Italy; finally in Florence, the most beautiful city not only of Christendom, but, by common consent, of the whole world. I thank Him that He has granted me a long life and such perfect bodily health, that I do not remember in the course of sixty years to have had to remain in the house for a single month on account of illness; for health is the greatest of temporal blessings. I thank Him also for the success in my affairs by which I have been enabled from small beginnings to acquire riches and the confidence of all men, and that it has been given to me not only to amass wealth honourably, but also to spend it in like manner, by which greater merit is obtained than in the getting of it. I thank Him that he has ordained for my earthly life in Florence a time which all allow to be the most prosperous that she has ever enjoyed, the time of our illustrious citizen Cosimo de' Medici, whose fame fills the world, a time of undisturbed peace, which has lasted ten years, the benefits of which are all the more keenly felt by contrast with the burdens and troubles of past times. I thank Him for an excellent mother, who, though only in her twentieth year at the time of my father's death, refused all offers of marriage and devoted herself wholly to her children; and also for an equally excellent wife, who loved me truly, and cared most faithfully for both household and children, who was spared to me for many years, and whose death has been the greatest loss that ever has or could have befallen me. Recalling all these innumerable favours and benefits, I now in my old age desire to detach myself from all earthly things in order to devote my whole soul to giving praise and thanks to Thee, my Lord, the living Source of my being."

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Thus wrote Giovanni at the close of a long life which had not been devoid of trials, though they were coupled with many consolations. And the book to which he confided his thoughts and feelings contains the following entry added by his two sons:—"In remembrance of him by whom this book was written, we, his two sons Pandolfo and Bernardo Rucellai, hereby testify that we have been told by the friends of our family, that from its origin till now no one has won for the House of Rucellai so much honour and glory, or has deserved so much praise, as this Giovanni, our father." *

Again, the same note rings through the charming monographs of the Florentine bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci. Springing from a middle-class family, Bisticci lived during the most brilliant period of the Italian book-trade, and corresponded on the most intimate terms with a great number of illustrious persons. Amongst his special friends may be counted the Medici, the Duke of Urbino, and, pre-eminently, Pope Nicholas V. Vespasiano held himself aloof from the votaries of the false renaissance; the pious Gianozzo Manetti was his ideal Humanist.† In his latter years he gave himself up entirely to the study of the Fathers, which he preferred to the Classics, "because they are helpful to the soul." A series of devotional and ascetical writings resulted from these studies.‡

The Diary of the Apothecary, Luca Landucci, who certainly never dreamed that it was destined one day to appear in print, furnishes another proof of the good elements which existed in middle-class circles in Florence. It contains a delightful medley of family and city history. His

* REUMONT, Lorenzo de' Medici, I., 328–9, ed. 2.

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 40 *seq.*; II., 166 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ FRIZZI, Di Vespas. da Bisticci (extract from the Annali della R. Scuola Normale Sup. di Pisa, 1880), p. 95 *seq.*

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domestic life seems to have been an ideal one. Speaking of the death of his wife, he says that in the course of a union which lasted forty-eight years she had never once made him angry. In all misfortunes he recognised a just punishment for the sins of men. Penetrated with the thought of the transitory nature of all earthly glory, the wealth and pomp with which he was surrounded in Florence had no attractions for him.

While the splendid Palazzo Strozzi was in course of building, its owner died, on the 15th May, 1491, and never saw its completion. Entering the event in his Diary, Landucci observes:—"Here we see how precarious are all earthly anticipations. Man appears to be the lord of all things, but in reality the reverse is the case. This Palace will last for ages, and how many masters it will outlive. We are only stewards of outward things, not lords, and our stewardship lasts as long as God pleases and no more." A year later came the death of Lorenzo de' Medici il Magnifico. "How vain," exclaims Landucci, "is our earthly life. In the judgment of men, Lorenzo was the most famous, the richest, the most powerful man in the world. His friends boasted that he held the fortunes of Italy in his hands; in truth he was rich; he was successful in everything. He had just achieved what for many years past had been beyond the reach of any of our citizens; his son had been made a Cardinal; and yet all this could not obtain the prolongation of his life for a single hour. O man, what hast thou to do with pride?"*

Landucci follows the course of events in general, and especially the fortunes of his native city, with sympathetic attention, but without partisanship. The beneficent influence of his conciliatory and forgiving spirit, and of his kindly interest in the welfare of all with whom he came in

* LANDUCCI, Diario, 62, 64-5.

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contact was immense. When the Medici were banished in 1494, all his sympathies went forth towards the young Cardinal, whom he had seen at the window of the Palace, with clasped hands, commending himself to God. In 1497, when Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who had been implicated in a conspiracy, was executed, Landucci wept. An earnest adherent of Savonarola, as long as he believed that he was preparing the way for a better state of things; he turned from him at once when the Dominican friar came into collision with the Church. Whether his punishment were just or unjust, he held that he was bound to submit.* The unshaken trust in God and genuinely Christian resignation which he displays under misfortune are most touching. "On the 2nd of August, 1507, it was the will of God that a fire should break out in my house which destroyed everything, so that my loss amounted to 450 gold ducats. I and my sons had to fly for our lives with nothing on but our shirts; my son Battista had to spring naked out of his bed which was burning; but I am resolved to accept all things whether good or bad from the hand of God and to give Him thanks for all. May He only forgive my sins and grant me such things as I need for His glory. Praised be the Lord of all creatures! By this means we are victorious over all pain and privation. Let us learn from Job who said: The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!"†

This solidly religious spirit manifested itself also in a great variety of other ways. No house was without a crucifix or pious picture, more especially one of the Blessed Virgin, before which a lamp was kept burning; nearly all the larger houses contained a small chapel.‡ The numbers

* *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 1 (Engl. trans.).

† LANDUCCI, Diario, 283–4.

‡ See RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 217. The woodcuts

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of New Testaments printed during that time shews that, besides books of devotion, amongst which the Fioretti di S. Francesco was specially popular, Holy Scripture was very much read.*

The precepts of the Church were conscientiously observed because they had become for the most part completely interwoven with family life and customs. Numerous books explaining its rites and ceremonies† enabled the people to understand their significance and enter into their poetical beauty, while the almost universal familiarity with the Latin language made it easy for all classes to take part in the services. Even now in Italy the common people join readily in the Liturgical offices. The observance of Sundays and holidays was strongly inculcated in books of religious instruction, and to those of the Church many of

representing Saints were mostly fastened on the doors, and thus the reason why early Italian Xylographs are so rare. In the cabinet of copperplates in Berlin there are a number of fragments of very early Italian woodcuts which were taken from the wall of a room in an old house in Bassano, which was pulled down. *Cf.* LIPPMANN'S valuable paper on Italian woodcuts in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 316. A few Italian woodcuts with other engravings are to be found in W. L. SCHREIBER, Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au 15me siècle (Berlin, 1891 *seq.*), *e.g.*, N. I. (proof), 85, 86, 90, 167-9, 320, 598, 636 (637), 753-5, 771, 830, 994, 995, etc. Here, too, SS. Roch and Sebastian are often repeated. See N. 1670-76.

* *Cf.* the Testament of Benedetto Majano, in LEADER, La Parrochia de S. Martino a Maiano (Firenze, 1875). In regard to Italian translations of the Bible, see Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie, 1895, p. 341 *seq.* On the spiritual and devotional books of that time see also LIPPMANN, Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 306 *seq.*

† A book of this description (Lucidarius), which "was read from Vesuvius to Hecla," had already passed through seven Italian editions before the year 1500. See an excellent treatise by SCHMIDT, Der Einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark, 15. Freiburg, 1894.

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the trade guilds added days of obligation of their own.* The fasts also were strictly kept. Machiavelli remarks on the bad impression produced upon the Florentines by the laxity of the Duke of Milan's retinue on his visit to the Medici in the beginning of 1471. That any one should disregard the commandments of the Church on this point had never been seen before.† The relations between the laity and both the secular and regular clergy were of the closest. Charitable contributions towards the support of churches and convents were so liberal that Directors often warned their penitents against bestowing alms on convents where the rule was not strictly observed, and even against too great lavishness towards good religious, lest they should be tempted to relax the strictness of their life.‡ In the making of wills a certain proportion was almost invariably bequeathed to some church or charitable foundation, with a provision for masses and prayers for the soul of the testator. The forms employed in drawing up wills are another proof of the pious feeling of the time. They almost all begin by invoking God and the Saints, or by commending the soul of the testator to God and the Saints.§ The will of the celebrated traveller Giovanni da

* LANDUCCI, Diario, 38.

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 136 *seq.*

‡ RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 23.

§ PASOLINI (III., 537 *seq.*) has published the will of Caterina Sforza, made in Florence in 1509. In proof of what is stated in the text I will give some specimens of commencements of Venetian wills. (1) Will drawn up by the notary Pietro Arrivabene, Sept. 1, 1474. "Al nome de Dio dovendo mj Alvixe de Lion andar in Fiandra et considerando el viazio longo . . . perhò ho determinado voler ordinare," etc. Other wills, *e.g.*, one of May 28, 1475, begin with the name of the testator, but in the body of the document we find, "Committo animam meam altissimo Jehsu et B. Mariae et S. Ursulae," etc. (2) The wills drawn up by the notary Niccolò Riga, who was working up to 1505, almost all begin with the words: "In nomine Dei aeterni. Amen." One

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Empoli begins, "I commend my soul to Almighty God and His glorious Mother B. Mary ever-Virgin, to the Holy Apostle and Evangelist S. John, to SS. Jerome and Blasius my patrons, and all the Saints in Paradise, that in their kindness and mercy they may intercede for me with God and His Mother, praying that on the day in which I am called away, I may be admitted into their holy company. Although I am a sinner and deserve severe punishment, yet God will not despise a broken and contrite heart; for we are His children and destined to enjoy eternal beatitude. I trust to God and His glorious Mother to grant me grace to serve Him in this vale of misery, and afterwards to participate in that glory which is prepared for all true Christians. May they grant me the grace that this will may serve for the unburdening of my conscience, and that my soul may remain pure and free from guilt."*

of these of Feby. 4, 1475, begins: "Al nome sia de miser Jehsu Christo et de la sua madre santma Madonna S. Maria et de tutta la corte celestiale. Amen." (3) Wills drawn up by the notary Bernardino Ranemi (1471–79) begin with the name of the testator, but a recommendation of the soul to God, the B. Virgin, and the Saints is hardly ever omitted. Some have, as a preamble, "Al nome sia dello eterno Iddio padre et fiol et spirito santo et della gloriosa vergine," etc. (4) Wills by the notary Pasino Grattaroli up to 1508, all begin with the formula: "In Dei aeterni nomine. Amen." (5) Wills by the notary Cristoforo Colonnino (1513–28) almost all begin: "Quoniam humanum genus non est stabile, sed devenimus ad finem et nescimus diem neque horam animoque prudenti hoc pertinet, ut semper mortis periculum cogitetur eventus, hic est quod praedicta considerans Ego . . . in primis animam meam commendo altissimo Deo creatori." A few wills begin: "In Christi nomine. Amen." (6) Wills by the notaries Francesco Zorzi and Bartolomeo Raspi (1515–25) begin: "In nomine Dei aeterni." Later, *e.g.*, in the wills by the notary Domenico Baldigara (1530–40), the beginning is in Italian: "In nome del Sig. nostro Gesù Cristo." State Archives, Venice. Sezione notarile.

* GIORGETTI has published the text of this will in the Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, XIV., 324 *seq.*

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All the best intellects on the side of the Church were keenly alive to the extreme importance of the maintenance of Christian family life during this period of danger and turmoil. It was in the early part of the 15th Century, when the influence of the Renaissance was just beginning to make itself generally felt in Italian society, that B. Giovanni Dominici wrote his admirable book on the government of the family. It was composed for the instruction of a noble and pious lady, the wife of Antonio Alberti. In terse and vigorous language the zealous Dominican sets her duties before her. Nothing can be more practical, and at the same time more truly Christian, than his teaching, in which the harmony between nature and grace is admirably set forth. "While the Humanists propose an ideal of life which is unattainable for the majority of mankind and wholly alien to Christianity, Dominici's rules can be practised by all, and teach the Christian not only to act as a reasonable man in every situation in which he can be placed, but also to aim at that which alone is necessary. Dominici combines the highest ideal in religion with the most perfect common sense."* Addressing Bartolomea, he says, "You have offered yourself, your body and soul, with all your possessions and your children, as far as they belong to you, to God our Lord, and now you want to know how to make the best use of all these good things for His glory." In correspondence with this division the treatise is in four parts, describing how the powers of the soul, the faculties and senses of the body, and all temporal goods are to be used, and children trained, so as to attain the end willed by God. The third and fourth sections are the most important, and may be classed among the finest works produced by the literature of that period. In the introduction to the right use of temporal goods, it is impressed upon

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 18.

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the mother that it is her duty to see that the property which her children are to inherit, is preserved intact. In regard to that of which she is free to dispose, she is to look upon herself as God's stewardess, and in poverty of spirit to dispense it for the good of her neighbour; but as all men have not equal claims on her charity, an order of precedence in regard to those who require help is laid down.

In treating of the bringing up of children, Dominici marks five points. Children are to be trained, 1st, for God; 2nd, for their father and mother; 3rd, for themselves; 4th, for their country; 5th, for the trials of life. The house should be adorned with pious pictures in order that the love of virtue, the love of Christ, and the hatred of sin should be infused into the children's minds from the moment they begin to observe. The love of the Saints will lead them to love the Saint of Saints. The reading of Holy Scripture should be begun as soon as they are sufficiently prepared to understand it. In the education of boys, she must endeavour to guard against the abuse of heathen writings. In matters of dress, children should be trained from their earliest youth to modesty and decorum. "Be careful with whom they associate; none of the things that God has confided to you are so precious in His sight as your children. Their souls are worth more in His eyes than heaven and earth and the whole of the irrational creation, and you do Him a greater service in bringing up your children well than if you possessed the whole world and gave all away to the poor. It will be hard for you to save your own soul, if, in consequence of your neglect, the souls of your children should perish; on the other hand, if by your care you have secured their salvation, you may rest in peace as to your own."

Dominici's counsels as to how children should be trained to fulfil their duties towards their parents are equally admir-

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able. They should be taught to be extremely respectful in addressing them. He specially insists upon three points. (1) When a parent corrects a child, the correction should be received with thanks. (2) Children should be silent in the presence of their parents. (3) When spoken to, they must answer with modesty. Honour must be shewn to parents also in the use of temporal goods, and in demeanour. "In the presence of their parents, children should not sit down unless desired to do so; they must stand in a respectful attitude, humbly bow the head when any command is addressed to them, and uncover when they meet their parents." He lays great stress on a practice which he says will greatly conduce to the happiness of the household. Twice at least in the course of the day, at night before retiring to rest, and in the morning before going out, each child should humbly kneel down before one or other of the parents and beg a blessing. "I should prefer," he says, "that this should also be done on going out again after the mid-day meal, but for daughters and those who stay at home, the morning and evening will suffice. You on your part should give your blessing with great humility, willingly accepting this mark of respect not as for yourself, but for the good of your children. When the child, kneeling, says *Benedicite*, you should give the blessing in whatever phrase appears to you to be most agreeable to God and suitable to the child who asks for it. As, for instance, 'May God bless thee with an everlasting blessing,' or 'May the grace of God be always with thee,' or 'May God replenish thee with His holy blessing in body and soul,' or 'May God give thee favour in His sight and in that of men,' or, finally, 'May God make thee perfect now and for ever.' Thus you may vary the blessing according to circumstances. As the child rises after having received your blessing he should kiss the hand that has

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bestowed it; and then he may go forth with the firm conviction that nothing can happen to him that will not be for the good of his soul. But now look to yourself and see that you shew to your Father in Heaven the same respect that your children are to shew to you, and more especially in this matter of bending the knee. You should ask His blessing on your knees not only twice or thrice in the day, but whenever you change your occupation. Also make the sign of the Cross with your finger on the ground, the table, the wall, whatever is nearest to you, and kiss it. Be careful never to utter anything in the shape of a curse or ban on your children, either in anger or in jest, or to frighten them, or on any pretext whatsoever, nor should you curse any creature or send them to the devil, for such curses from the lips of a father or mother may take effect, and in any case are hurtful."

In the last section: "How to bring up children to be good citizens," Dominici's counsels reflect the state of Florence at the time. Above all things he warns against party spirit. "Nothing can be more deleterious," he says; "for the partisan, instead of building up the commonwealth, rends and destroys it."*

The "Opera a ben vivere," which is attributed to the great Florentine Bishop S. Antoninus, though written a generation later than Dominici's treatise, is very similar in character. Though S. Antoninus' letters to Diodota degli Adimari are not directly concerned with education, they contain a great deal of advice on this subject. They treat of the rule of life, demeanour, intercourse with others, Church-going and devotional practices, and in their practical good sense and strict yet simple piety, breathe throughout a spirit which is the very opposite of all exaggeration or cant. "All prayer," he writes, "is pleasing to God, and that

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 25-66.

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which comes most from the heart is most pleasing; but I have no objection to your saying the Office. Prepare yourself to endure sickness, poverty, or any other privation, contempt or persecution, household cares or temptations. Go to confession every month, and to communion every two months, on some feast-day. In society, even among relations, speak as little as possible and only when it is necessary. Be careful about your children; see that they live a good life, and guard them from dangerous company. Avoid evil not only in your actions but in your thoughts. Be watchful, keep yourself in hand; if bad thoughts come, turn away your mind to something else. When you are tempted to be proud think at once of your sins. When you are discouraged and inclined to despair, recall to mind the infinite goodness and mercy of Christ, and think of the story of the publican. It is easier to begin a good work than to persevere in it; but what is the use of beginning if the end is not reached. Fortify your soul by frequent spiritual reading and diligence in meditation. There is no harm in conversing with pious women, but do not trust every one too readily. Vows once made must be fulfilled as soon as possible. May God grant you His blessing."*

The votaries of the true Renaissance are entirely at one in principle with such saintly church reformers as Dominici and S. Antoninus. These men saw that it was possible to engraft the wisdom of the ancients on the root-stock of Christianity. The noble and pious Vittorino da Feltre was an eminent example of this school. Though he has left no writings behind him, the salutary influence of his famous College at Mantua was immense, and very

* REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 27, and Briefe Hl. Italiener, 140 *seq.*; RÖSLER (Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 67–8) doubts whether S. Antoninus really was the author of the "Opera a ben vivere." Firenze, 1858.

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widely diffused.* Hardly inferior to him was Agostino Dati, a native of Siena (ob. 1479), whose great worth as an instructor has been specially brought out by recent authors. Antonio Ivani is another of these illustrious schoolmasters; his treatise on education in the family is truly Christian in its spirit. Francesco Barbaro, at the early age of 17, wrote a work on marriage, the family and education, which was much admired by his contemporaries; its tone is lofty and pious.†

The most important work on education produced by the Christian Humanists of the 15th Century was written by Maffeo Vegio, a friend of Pope Pius II. In his six books on this subject, first printed at Milan in 1491, we find nothing that is not practical and fruitful. For a course of instruction for developing the reasoning powers, Vegio borrows his method from the sages of antiquity, while he derives the principles of Christian education from revelation, Holy Scripture, the works of the Fathers, and the example of the Saints. He strongly insists on the necessity of carrying out the precepts of Christian faith and morals in daily life. He lays great stress on the power of a living example, and in addressing parents repeatedly points to S. Monica and her noble son as a demonstration of the effects of a truly good and religious education. The "sweet and eloquent" Confessions of S. Augustine was a favourite book with all the Christian Humanists. "The good example of parents," he says, "gives efficacy to their instructions, and their prayers bring down the blessing of God." In point of style Vegio's book is admirable. "There is a genial warmth in his writing

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., p. 44 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† RÖSLER in his Dominici's Erziehungslehre, etc., 150 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*, 214 *seq.*, has written admirable descriptions of these great teachers. In regard to Ivani, *cf.* also A. NERI, Notizie die A. Ivani. Sarzana, 1868.

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which springs from conscious sincerity and earnest conviction, and sometimes kindles into enthusiasm. In every word and line we feel that he is penetrated with the importance and greatness of his subject."*

These numerous treatises, formulating with such unanimity sound principles of Christian education, did much to counteract the dangers which the spirit of the Renaissance, permeating all the relations of life, brought with it. These dangers were especially manifest in its effect on the education of women, in breaking through the restraints which had hitherto encompassed their lives in the Middle Ages. The process could not fail to have a deleterious influence on morals, and we find the writings of the adherents of the Christian Renaissance full of warnings on this subject. Vespasiano da Bisticci sets examples of distinguished women before the Italian mothers, and exhorts them to "bring up their daughters in the fear of God and to live soberly and piously. Do not give them the Hundred Tales or any of Boccaccio's works to read, nor yet Petrarch's Sonnets, for though these may not be immoral, still they are not suitable for pure minds, which ought only to love God and their husbands. Let them read devotional books, Lives of the Saints, and history, so that they may learn how to live and behave and turn their thoughts to serious things and not to frivolity."†

In consequence of the disregard of these warnings, the movement in the direction of emancipation was attended with much that was unseemly and immoral. Nevertheless there were many who perfectly succeeded in harmonising

* From the Preface of KOPP'S M. Vegius' Erziehungslehre, 20 *seq.* (Freiburg, 1889). See also the same author's excellent work: M. Vegio, ein Humanist und Pädagoge des XV. Jahrhunderts, 12 *seq.* (Luzern, 1887); and KÖHLER, Pädagogik des M. Vegius, Schwäb. Gmünd, 1856.

† REUMONT, Kleine Schriften, 25.

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the new tendencies with the eternal principles of the Christian religion. "Both amongst the princely and noble families and in the burgher class in the 15th Century, we find many women who combined the highest intellectual culture with the most perfect womanliness and purity of life. Equally in the 16th Century, when the old restraints had become still more relaxed, if not wholly broken through, admirable examples of the noblest type of womanhood were not wanting." *

In the "Cortegiano" written by Raphael's friend, the well-known scholar and diplomatist Baldassare Castiglione, we have a vivid description of the Court of Urbino, and of the society which assembled there, in what was probably the first example of the modern *salon*. Nothing can be more charming than this picture of the influence of a beautiful and noble woman, as it is portrayed in this classical book.†

Castiglione lays down as a fundamental principle that the education of a lady in the higher circles should be such as to place her intellectually on a level with her husband. She should be sufficiently familiar with all the various branches of Science and Art to form an intelligent judgment on any subject that comes before her, though not herself a proficient in it. She should be equally well-versed in current literature; and thus equipped at all points, the refinement of her taste will shew itself, in her dress, which will be

* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 100.

† *Cf.* Dr K. FEDERN'S delightful article, Ein Salon der Renaissance, in No. 11,003 of the morning edition of the N. Fr. Presse, April 12, 1895. S. MARCELLO, La cronologia del "Cortegiano" di B. Castiglione, Leghorn, 1895 (per nozze Crivellucci-Brunst), is of opinion that the three first books of the Cortegiano were composed at Urbino between April 1508 and May 1509, and the fourth at Rome, between September 1513 and December 1513.

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always becoming, in her conversation, which, alternately grave and gay, will never be too free or flippant; finally, in the grace and dignity of all her movements. At the same time, the domestic virtues must not be sacrificed to these intellectual attainments; she must care for her household and her children, and, while rivalling her husband in intelligence and knowledge, retain the grace and charm of womanly ways. Women, he maintains, though physically weaker than men, are not inferior, because they understand so much better how to control and apply the powers they possess. Hence in all the various departments of life, in government, in war, in science, in poetry, women have achieved fame.*

In addition to the greater frequency with which women appeared in public, and made their individuality felt in the age of the Renaissance, the attainment of distinction in scientific pursuits by such women as Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Cecilia Gonzaga, Cassandra Fedele, may be claimed for this period as something hitherto unknown and entirely new. Antonia de' Pulci and Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, won laurels in poetry, and it is characteristic of the time that all their compositions were religious. Veronica Gambara and Vittoria Colonna belong to a later period. The first was not exempt from the frailties of the day. The second, the most celebrated poetess of Italy, was so admirable in every respect that she is called the Saint of the Renaissance by its special historian.†

The Sacrament of Penance was one of the most efficacious means of securing the spiritual development of the

* REUMONT, Vittoria Colonna, 100–101; J. BURCKHARDT, Die Cultur der Renaissance, II., 134 *seq.*, ed. 3; H. JANITSCHEK, Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien, 50 *seq.* Stuttgart, 1879.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 126, ed. 3.

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individual and the family, and preserving both from the dangers of this period. All the manuals on Confession of that day, amongst which that of S. Antoninus * seems to have been the most popular, enjoin that the people should be questioned on the Creed, the Our Father, the Ten Commandments, and the precepts of the Church. S. Antoninus recommends that children should be examined on their conduct towards their parents, and equally that care should be taken to impress on the parents a sense of their duties towards their children and servants. Children are to be strictly brought up in the fear of God, servants are to be allowed time to fulfil their religious duties, and are to be taken care of and supported in sickness.†

The manuals also contain special questions suitable for the different ranks and classes of the population. In that of S. Antoninus there are questions for judges, for advocates (whether they have defended an unrighteous cause or failed to protect the poor); for teachers, for physicians (whether they have attended the poor); for merchants, innkeepers, butchers (whether they have sold bad meat or given light weight); for bakers, for tailors (whether they have kept back remnants of cloth, or worked unnecessarily on Sundays); for smiths, weavers, goldsmiths, servants and day-labourers.‡ No class was too insignificant to claim the

* See GEFFCKEN, Der Bilderkatechismus des XV. Jahrhunderts, I., 34 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1855). Detail also regarding other manuals on Confession, of this time, p. 108.

† Confessionale D. Antonini archiepiscopi Florentini, 1508, f. 74b *seq.*, et 43.

‡ Confessionale D. Antonini, etc., f. 69 *seq.* In the Diocese of Acqui there was a rule, which was confirmed by a synodal decree of the Bishop Luigi Bruno on August 22, 1499, that every confessor should possess and diligently study either the Summa of S. Antoninus or the Manipulus Curatorum. This decree explains the large number of copies

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maternal care of the Church ; we see what a zealous watch was maintained over the lives of the people, and how lovingly she strove to meet and counteract the failings and frailties of all classes.

The solicitude of the Church for the welfare of all her children, and the religious spirit that prevailed amongst the people, are strikingly displayed in the manifold development of the numerous guilds and brotherhoods.

The immediate objects of the guilds were mainly secular, but religious and charitable foundations were almost invariably associated with them. Their trade-marks always bore a religious character. Every guild had its own church or chapel and its own chaplain.* The statutes breathe a deeply religious spirit, and frequently the guild owed its origin to a desire to maintain a lamp before a certain altar, to honour the feast of some special Saint, to possess a private chapel for the use of the members. There were strict rules in regard to the observance of their religious duties. They were bound to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays, and to attend a Mass in the chapel of the guild at least once a month. There were rewards for frequent attendance in church. The statutes often enjoin reverent behaviour in the House of God, and members are forbidden to leave the church before the end of the service. Some of the statutes require members to go to confession at least thrice in the year, and no allowances are to be granted to the sick until they have fulfilled this duty. Some guilds have a rule against profane language. Great stress is laid on the observance of Sundays and holidays. Each craft

of both these works which were printed during the last thirty years of the 15th Century ; see Allg. Deutsch. Biog., XX., 591.

* In regard to the following passage, see RODOCANACHI, I., lxxv. *seq.*, xcix. *seq.*, and also GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrbuch, XVI., 130 *seq.*

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had its patron Saint, connected in some way through legend or history with the trade or occupation exercised by its members. Thus in Rome S. Eligius was the patron of the farriers and goldsmiths, S. Nicholas of the sailors, the tanners had S. Bartholomew, the husbandmen S. Isidore, the millers S. Paulinus of Nola, the coopers S. James, the wineshops S. Blasius, the innkeepers S. Julianus, the bricklayers S. Gregory the Great, the stone-masons the four crowned Martyrs, the money-changers S. Mark, the shopkeepers S. Sebastian, the wool-merchants S. Ambrose, the shoemakers S. Crispin, the barbers and physicians SS. Cosmas and Damian, the apothecaries S. Lawrence, the painters S. Luke.*

The patronal-feast was celebrated by a solemn Mass and procession, which all the members had to attend. All the guilds in Rome assembled to take part in the great procession on the eve of the Feast of the Assumption from the Lateran to S^ta^ Maria Maggiore. This feast was regarded in Rome as the special *festa* of the industrial classes.†

It was the influence of this spirit of solid piety which pervaded the guilds in Rome and in all the other Italian cities, which created and preserved amongst the working-classes those sentiments of fraternal charity and mutual goodwill, and that lofty sense of honour and probity which we find expressed in their statutes. Care for the poor and the sick and for prisoners is especially enjoined. Each guild had its own physician and its hospital. Guild officials were appointed to visit and relieve the sick, and such members as were in prison through misfortune rather than misconduct; and the superior officers were bound to see personally to the fulfilment of these duties by their

* RODOCANACHI, I. et II. *passim.*

† ADINOLFI, I., 2; RODOCANACHI, I., ci.

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subordinates. Many guilds provided pensions for needy members and for widows and orphans, and in some cases contributed substantial sums to the marriage portion of girls. Even beyond the grave, members were not forgotten; all the associates were bound to attend their funerals, the poor were buried at the expense of the guild, Masses were said for each member at his death, and on certain days throughout the year all were remembered at the Altar.*

Both beside and within the guilds, numerous associations existed which aimed at the spiritual and moral advancement of their members by means of various good works, either for the honour of God or the good of their neighbours. These brotherhoods had also their special patron Saints and particular chapels. The alms of the members were devoted to the relief of the poor, dowries for poor girls, the sick, or the burial of the dead.†

The more wealthy Confraternities spent a portion of their funds on the erection or embellishment of churches of their own, on gifts of paintings or carvings, or perhaps a Holy Sepulchre to other churches in their city; on having special banners designed and executed for the association, or on building and decorating a hall for their meetings, called a *Scuola.*‡

In Venice in the year 1481 the Confraternity of S. John the Evangelist built a Scuola with a richly decorated Atrium, and employed Gentile Bellini to paint the miracle of the finding of the true Cross for it, in three divisions. These pictures are now in the Venetian Academy. S. Mark preaching, by the same master, now in the Brera,

* RODOCANACHI, I., XCV. *seq.*, and GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*

† *Cf.* in a general way, MORONI, XVI., 117 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien, 182-5, where several instances of this kind are mentioned.

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was painted in 1485 for the Confraternity-hall of the brotherhood of that Saint.* Carpaccio painted for the Congregation of S. Ursula his masterpiece, the history of the Saint in nine pictures, 1490–1495. The Confraternity-houses of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni and of S. Stefano are also adorned with paintings by this master.† The Confraternity of the Scuola di S. Rocco, in 1489 built a church dedicated to their patron Saint. In 1517 Bartolomeo Bon began the building of a magnificent Confraternity-house which afterwards became one of the most sumptuous creations of Venetian architecture, and was adorned by Tintoretto with fifty-six colossal Biblical pictures.‡ Two of the most remarkable buildings in Padua were the Scuola del Santo, embellished later with sixteen frescoes of the legend of S. Antonio by Titian and his pupils, and the Scuola del Carmine.

In Siena the Confraternities of S. Bernardino and S. Catherine built two beautiful Oratories close to each other, with Sodality-halls attached.§ The Church of the Misericordia at Arezzo was adorned with a magnificent façade out of the surplus of the alms received by the brothers.‖ The Confraternity of the Annunziata employed Piero degli Franceschi in 1466 to paint a banner for their church; unfortunately, this has disappeared.¶

In Florence, many of the Confraternities possessed buildings of their own. One of the most beautiful of these is that of the Confraternity dello Scalzo (so-called because in their processions the brother who carried the Crucifix

* BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 184; WOLTMANN, II., 287.
† WOLTMANN, II., 298-9.
‡ BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 184.
§ *Ibid.*, 186.
‖ *Ibid.*, 183.
¶ WOLTMANN, II., 216; Giorn. degli Archiv. Tosc., VI., 11.

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walked barefoot), which contains ten frescoes of scenes in the life of S. John the Baptist by Andrea del Sarto (painted 1511–1526).*

The Scuole of S. Niccolò di Foligno and the Annunziata had a large number of pictures and banners painted for their use.† The wealthy Confraternity of S. Bernardino decorated the façade of their church,‡ and had a splendid banner painted by Benedetto Buonfigli in 1475.§ The guild of the soap-boilers of S. Gregorio in Assisi possessed a splendid banner which is now in Carlsruhe.‖ In 1518 Timoteo Viti painted the *Noli me tangere* on a banner for the Confraternity of the S^ti^ Angeli at Cagli.¶ One of the most beautiful chapels in Rome with its pillared court is that which belonged to the Scuola of S. Giovanni Decollato.**

Thus, in the pursuance of their works of charity, these numerous corporations have rendered no little service to Art.

Every city, and indeed almost every village, in Italy possessed one or more of these sodalities. One of the oldest is that of S. Leonardo at Viterbo, which founded the Ospedale Franco in 1144.†† Just a hundred years later the well-known Confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy, and generally called the Misericordia, was founded

* WOLTMANN, II., 614.

† *Ibid.*, 211.

‡ BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 183.

§ WOLTMANN, II., 214.

‖ *Ibid.*, 212.

¶ *Ibid.*, 323.

** BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 185.

†† The Statute of this Confraternity has lately been published by PINZI, Gli ospizi medioevali e l'ospedale grande di Viterbo, V. (1893). This discovery upsets MURATORI'S views (Antiquit. Italiae Diss., 75) in regard to the date of the first appearance of these brotherhoods.

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by a Florentine day-labourer. The duty of the brothers was to take sick or injured persons to the hospitals and to bury the dead. During the Plague of 1325 the brothers of the Misericordia rendered most valuable services, and from that time it became customary for men of all ranks and avocations to enrol themselves in the Confraternity. In 1425 the Misericordia disappeared, in consequence of its union with the Compagnia di S^ta^ Maria di Bigallo, which was not bound to any works of charity. In 1475 it was revived, and in the Plague of 1494 again proved most valuable.*

More than once during the course of the 15th Century some startling word from a mission-preacher, or the terrible ravages of the Plague, caused fresh associations of this kind to be formed. Thus, in 1415 in Venice,† the Confraternity of S. Rocco was instituted and proved an invaluable blessing during the repeated visitations of the Plague. Wealthy citizens, the nobility, and even some of the Doges enrolled themselves in this sodality, which in consequence became so rich that over and above what was needed for the poor, it was able, as has been already mentioned, to spend large sums on the patronage of Art.

In 1448, when the Plague was raging in Rome, the German confessor at S. Peter's founded the Sodality of Our Lady of Dolours for his own countrymen, which is still in existence.‡ Another of these Confraternities which still survives is that of the Buonuomini di S. Martino, an association of Florentine citizens founded by S. Anto-

* P. LANDINI, Istoria della Archiconfrat. di S. Maria della Misericordia (Firenze, 1843, e Livorno, 1871); C. BIANCHI, La Compagnia della Misericordia (Firenze, 1855); Dublin Review, CXIV. (1894), 333 *seq.*

† On the erection and importance of the Venetian Scuole, see SANSOVINO, Venezia, 99 *seq.*

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 85, note (Engl. trans.).

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ninus in 1441, with the object of finding out and assisting persons who had seen better days and were ashamed to let their poverty be known. In a very short time from its institution, the brothers had already ministered to 600 families; but the Saint could not be satisfied with vicarious almsgiving, and S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, Patriarch of Venice, relates that he personally visited the poorer quarters of the city, bringing help and comfort to all who were in need.* In Vicenza the B. Bernardino of Feltre established two foundations for the benefit of reduced persons of noble family and others who shrank from making known their necessities, which have been perennial fountains of blessing for many centuries.†

In 1460 the learned Cardinal Torquemada founded the Confraternity of the Annunciata, and gave it a chapel of its own in S^ta^ Maria sopra Minerva. Its object was to provide dowries for poor girls.‡ During the 15th Century associations devoted to this particular work of charity, which in a special way combines chivalry with Christian prudence, sprung up in many other cities also. Thus in Parma in 1493 an association was instituted to facilitate marriages between young men of good character and poor and virtuous girls.§

Florence and Rome contained a larger number of these brotherhoods than any of the other Italian cities. In Florence at the beginning of the 16th Century there were seventy-three municipal Associations or congregations for

* *Cf.* RATZINGER, Armenpflege, 376; SKAIFE, 186, and especially N. MARTELLI, I Buonuomini di S. Martino (extract from the Rassegna Naz.), Firenze, 1884. See also Correspondant, Juillet 1889, 396, and GUASTI in the Rosa d'ogni mese, Calendario Fiorentino, 1864.

† Acta Sanct., Sept., VII., 869.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 9 (Engl. trans.).

§ KOBLER, Kath. Leben, II., 839.

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religious objects; there were also Confraternities for children, shewing how intimately the practices of religion were bound up with family life. Those for children assembled to assist at Vespers on all Sundays and holidays. Some of the associations for men included amongst their objects entertainments of various sorts, others were devoted entirely to works of charity, others to penance. One Confraternity undertook to prepare condemned criminals for death, and attend them on the scaffold.*

A clearer notion of the nature of these Confraternities can be formed by studying their development in Rome itself—the metropolis of Christendom. The most distinguished of those in Rome was that of the Gonfalone, later erected into an Arch-Confraternity and still flourishing. It was formed in the year 1264 by twelve noblemen, who assembled first in S^ta^ Maria Maggiore and afterwards in S^ta^ Lucia della Chiavica, and called themselves La Compagnia de' Raccommandati di Madonna S^ta^ Maria. Innocent VIII. gave it the name of 'del Gonfalone,' because of the banner which was carried in their processions. He affiliated five other Confraternities to it. It was devoted to various pious practices and to works of charity, as was more or less the case with all these associations in Rome. Alexander VI. also favoured it.†

The institution of the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost goes back as far as the reign of Innocent III. Popes Eugenius IV. and Sixtus IV. enlarged its scope and gave it a fresh impetus. Many Cardinals and almost all the

* VARCHI, Storia Fiorentina, I., 393-4 (Milano, 1845); REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 317 *seq.*, ed. 2; SKAIFE, 186; D'ANCONA, I., 405 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* RUGGIERI'S interesting Monograph, L'Archi-Confraternità del Gonfalone (Roma, 1866), where the rescripts of Innocent VIII., taken from the Archives of the Confraternity, are given, p. 49 *seq.*

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Court belonged to it, and by the 15th Century it had become customary for foreign Princes, when they came to Rome, to inscribe their names in the book of the Confraternity, which has thus become, in its way, a unique collection of autographs.*

Equally famous was the Confraternity of S. Salvatore, which was the earliest to be erected into an Arch-Confraternity. This congregation venerated in a special manner the ancient picture of our Saviour in the Sancta Sanctorum Chapel. On the Feast of the Assumption the brothers carried it in solemn procession across the Forum to the Church of S^ta Maria Maggiore, while the miraculous picture of the Madonna belonging to that church was brought out to meet it.† The Confraternity of the Seven Dolours of our Lady in S. Marcello was founded in the 13th Century, those of S^ta Maria del Popolo, S. Bernardo and S. Anna de' Parafrenieri in the 14th.

The 15th Century was specially fruitful in new associations of this description. Under Eugenius IV. the brotherhood of S. Bernardo alla Colonna Trajana was founded; under Pius II. the Confraternity of Priests of Santa Lucia de' Ginnasii, which was renewed by Julius II. Cardinal Torquemada's foundation for poor girls already mentioned belongs to the same Pontificate; the Confraternities of the Immaculate Conception in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and of S. Ambrogio belong to that of Paul II.‡ In the reign of Innocent VIII., in 1488, some pious Florentines formed

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 353 *seq.*, and IV., 461 (Engl. trans.).

† PIAZZA, 361 *seq.*; B. MILLINO, Dell' oratorio in S. Lorenzo del Laterano detto Sancta Sanctorum (Roma, 1666); G. MARANGONI, Istoria dell' Antichissimo Oratorio . . . Appellato Sancta Sanctorum. Roma, 1747.

‡ PIAZZA, 556 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, 523 *seq.*, 514 *seq.*, 510 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 429 *seq.*, 423 *seq.*; and MORONI, II., 295 *seq.*

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themselves into a Confraternity in S. Giovanni Decollato, called the *Misericordia*, which had for its object to provide spiritual consolation and Christian burial for condemned criminals. This brotherhood was approved by the Pope and endowed with various privileges in 1490, and had a chaplain of its own. Whenever any criminal was condemned to death, two of the brothers went to him to prepare him for his general confession and for Holy Communion. When he was led out for execution, the whole brotherhood accompanied him to the scaffold, carrying a cross draped with black, and singing the penitential Psalms. After the execution they conveyed the corpse to their own burial-ground. The brothers wore black garments and hoods, on which was stamped an effigy of the head of S. John the Baptist, their patron.*

In the year 1499, Alexander VI. established the Confraternità di S. Rocco e di S. Martino al Porto di Ripetta. This society, which soon built a church and a hospital of its own, took charge of the poor sailors and lodging-house keepers in that quarter of the city. Leo X. conferred special Indulgences on it. The brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and the Five Wounds of Christ, which grew and flourished very rapidly, also dates from the time of Alexander VI. Its members escorted the Holy Viaticum in procession whenever it was carried to the sick and dying. They had a chapel of their own at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which was soon splendidly decorated. Julius II. was an especial benefactor of this society. A brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament was also formed under Leo X. in the church of S. Giacomo Scossacavalli in the Borgo. Two other new congregations belong to the reign of this Pope, the Archi-Confraternità della Carità at S. Girolamo and the brotherhood of the Holy Cross at S. Marcello. The former,

* Bull., V., 343 *seq.*; PIAZZA, 502 *seq.*

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founded by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, devoted itself specially to the sick and dying; Leo X. also committed penitent fallen women to its care.*

The beneficial effect produced by these brotherhoods, and, above all, the influence they exercised in fostering religion and morals among the middle and working classes, can hardly be over-estimated. The history of the Oratory of the Divine Love, begun in Leo X.'s time, shews how important such societies could become, as well to the religious life of Rome as in much wider spheres.†

But we are still far from having come to the end of the religious societies in the Eternal City. The national brotherhoods and the trades guilds have also to be considered. The latter (Confraternità dell' Arti) existed in those days for bakers, cooks, barbers and surgeons, apothecaries, saddlers, gold- and silver-smiths, painters, masons, weavers, gardeners, fruiterers, cheese- and sausage-mongers (Pizzicaroli).‡ These guilds usually had hospitals of their own, close to the churches and chapels which belonged to them. No expense was spared in adorning the guild-chapels; nearly all the churches were remarkable for their grandeur and for their rich ornamentation, which usually contained some ingenious allusion to the trade pursued by the members. Thus the garlands in S^ta^ Maria dell' Orto in Rome remind us of the fruiterers. This church was planned by Giulio Romano. The bakers' church, S^ta^ Maria di Loreto, near the forum of Trajan, was erected under Julius II. after a design by Antonio da Sangallo.

A no less brilliant and varied array meets the eye when

* MORONI, II., 300 *seq.*; PIAZZA, 429 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*

† The forthcoming volume of the present work will furnish further particulars on this subject in connection with ecclesiastical reforms.

‡ PIAZZA, 605 *seq.*

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we glance at the national brotherhoods, which were founded mostly for the benefit of craftsmen. Thus there were in Rome special associations for the German cordwainers and German bakers. The head-quarters of the universal German Confraternity were at the German national hospital, S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima. In like manner, French, Portuguese, Sclavonians, Spaniards, Sienese, Lombards, and Florentines all had their societies in close connection with the hospitals of their respective nations.*

An important part was played by the guilds in the development of popular religious poetry and drama, both of which flourished greatly during the 15th Century.

The vibrations of the inspired chords struck by S. Francis and Fra Jacopone da Todi were prolonged and expanded in the popular hymns. Besides being fostered and cultivated by the guilds, religious poetry in a great measure owed its origin to them. The brothers, particularly in Tuscany, had an ancient custom of assembling at the hour of the Ave Maria, after their day's work was done, either in their chapels or at the street corners before the images of the Madonna, to pray and sing hymns of praise, called Lauds. A company of Laud-singers (Laudesi) was formed in Florence at the end of the 12th Century, an example followed in time by all the many brotherhoods and the companies of Or San Michele, S^ta^ Maria Novella, S^ta^ Croce, the Carmine and Ognissanti. The singing of Lauds was formally prescribed in their statutes. The people sang out of the fulness of their hearts, and saw nothing strange or repugnant in adapting common secular tunes to sacred words. The composer of these Lauds frequently belonged to the highest and most cultivated classes of society.

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 248 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); Zeitschr. d. hist. Ver. für Bamberg, XXXVII. (1875), 73 *seq.*; and PIAZZA, 296 *seq.*, 298 *seq.*

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Thus we find among the Laud-writers, Cardinal Dominici, the learned Lorenzo Giustiniani (ob. 1456), Antonio Bolognini, Bishop of Foligno (ob. 1461), Castellano Castellani, professor at Pisa, 1488–1518, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, and finally Lorenzo himself.*

The hymns were sung at processions and on pilgrimages as well as at private and public worship. Many gems of true poetry and sincere piety are contained in this vast treasury. Though the perpetual recurrence of the same motive tends to become wearisome, we marvel at the countless variations and at the exquisite tenderness of feeling so simply expressed. This is especially true of the most conspicuous of these religious poets, Feo Belcari,† who is never tired of his one, inexhaustible theme—the love of God. A collection of his poems was published in 1455 for the Compagnia de' Battuti di Zan Zanobi at Florence. Belcari, the 'Christian Poet,' died in 1484. His pupil, Girolamo Benivieni, thus laments his master:—

Perduta ha 'l cieco mondo quella luce,
Che pel dubio camin gran tempo scorta,
Fu già de' passi miei ministra e duce.
Tace 'l celeste suon già spinta e morta,
E l' harmonia di quella dolce lyra
Chel mondo afflitt' hor lascia 'l ciel conforta.‡

The earlier Lauds were probably purely lyrical, but soon,

* Besides GASPARY, II., 194 *seq.*, 663, *cf.* also REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 429 *seq.*, ed. 2; II., 22 *seq.*, ed. 2; STERN, I., 145 *seq.*; VISCHER, Signorelli, 134 *seq.*; CREIZENACH, I., 305 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 112 *seq.*, ed. 2. The best collection of Lauds was published by Galletti: Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzi, etc. Firenze, 1863.

† See *supra*, p. 14 *seq.*

‡ REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, I., 431–3, ed. 2.

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in sympathy with the dramatic ritual of the Church,* they assumed more and more the character of the drama. Poems in dialogue soon turned into regular religious plays, called *devozione* (devotions). It was not by accident that the Italian mystery play should have begun in Umbria, in Southern Tuscany, and in the northern districts of the Papal States. Here in the secluded rocky vale of Rieti,

* This point is too little insisted on. It appears to me to be of the greatest importance. GUIDO GÖRRES, in his clever essay on the mediæval stage, says, with much truth :—"How dramatic is the ritual of the central point of all Catholic worship, the office of the Mass, the whole service being at once a memorial celebration, and an unbloody repetition of the greatest and holiest of earthly scenes—the Passion and Sacrifice of Christ. Each division of the Mass represents the progress of the sublime tragedy, which is unfolded, as it were, in five acts, before the eyes of the worshippers. First in the Introit and up to the Creed we see the preparation and sanctification of the celebrant as he ascends the holy mount, then the oblation, till we come to the Canon, where we behold the unbloody sacrifice itself in the Consecration and as far as the Paternoster, then in the Communion we have the entombment, and finally the thanksgiving and the benediction. Moreover between the actors in the Mass, the priest with his assistant Levites and the people, there is a frequent interchange of address and response ; also, the colour and shape of the priest's vestments and of the altar, even the cruciform of the Church itself, are all symbolical. Then again Vespers, being more reflective and lyrical in character, resemble the chorus of the ancient tragedies. Here also the antiphones, little chapter and responses are divided between the priest at the altar as the leader, and the people, who form the chorus. Thus it was by no chance accident that the finest works of our Christian musicians were based upon a ritual so arranged. Hand in hand with the music, the sacred drama of the Middle Ages unfolded itself, adhering of necessity to the form of its model, the Mass, in the dramatic celebration of which the congregation were in some places allowed to take part. At the present day, in the Catholic Church the Gospel of the Passion is still chanted dramatically, in parts. She still appeals to the senses in processions—in her commemorations of the deposition from the Cross and Resurrection, and in many other symbolical ceremonies."

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S. Francis had made the first manger of Bethlehem for the instruction of the neighbouring shepherds, and the child-like spirit of the Saint still survived in the hearts of a profoundly religious population. Neither was it by chance that the guilds were the earliest and most zealous promoters of the mystery plays. Their processions, with lighted torches and waving banners, were in themselves a religious spectacle. The new method soon spread far and wide, as is proved by the dramatised lament of the Blessed Virgin in the dialect of the Abruzzi.* Here and in the probably Umbrian "devotions" for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday,† we see a marked advance. Both plays certainly belong to the 14th Century, perhaps to the first half of it. They are closely connected with the Liturgy, and the representations took place in the church, their object being to make the people understand the words spoken by the priest at the altar and in the pulpit.

The "devotion" for Maundy Thursday is rich in touching passages of singular beauty. Most pathetic are the lines in which Mary implores her Son not to return to Jerusalem where He is threatened with death! The Saviour, in order to spare His mother, has told only S. Mary Magdalene what He intends to do. But she reads in His face what is about to happen. She asks Him why He is so troubled; her own heart throbs with anguish; she is choked with fear.

Dimelo Filgio, dimelo a me
Perché stai tanto afanato?

* D'ANCONA, I., 116 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† First published by PALERMO, I Manoscritti Palatini di Firenze, II., 279 *seq.*; then by D'ANCONA in the Riv. di Filol. Romanza, II., 1 *seq.* *Cf.* EBERT in the Jahrb. für Roman. Literatur, V., 51 *seq.*; KLEIN, IV., 156 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 184 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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Amara me, piena di suspiri
Perche a me lo ai celato?
De gran dolore se speziano le vene,
E de dolgia Filgio me esse el fieto
Che te amo Filgio con perfeto core,
Dimelo a me, o dolce segnore.

Then Christ tells her that He is going to die in order to redeem the world. Mary faints and falls to the ground. When she comes to herself she cries, "Call me no more Mary, because I have lost Thee my Son." Mary desires to accompany the Saviour. This He allows. At the gates of Jerusalem she blesses her Son and falls senseless; when she revives He has vanished, and in her agony she cries:—

O Filgio mio tanto amoroso
O Filgio mio due se' tu andato?
O Filgio mio tuto gracioso
Per quale porta se' tu entrato?
O Filgio mio asai deietoso
Tu sei partito tanto sconsolato!
Ditemi, O dove, per amore de Dio
Dove andato lo Filgio mio.

Immediately after this comes the scene on the Mount of Olives, where our Lord is taken prisoner.

The devotion for Good Friday begins when the preacher comes to the passage in which Pilate gives the order to scourge Jesus. It is a complete representation of the Passion; the lamentations of the Madonna which are introduced from time to time are full of exquisite poetry. After Christ's prayer for His enemies, she addresses the Cross: "Bend thy boughs, O Cross, and yield some rest to the Creator."* The entombment is most dramatically

* Inclina li toi rami, o croce alta.
E dola [dona] reposo a lo tuo Creatore
Lo corpo precioso ja se spianta;
Lasa la tua forza e lo tuo vigore.

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portrayed. Mary consents to the burial, but desires to clasp her Son once more in her arms. S. John stands at His head, the Magdalene at His feet, Mary between the two. One by one, she kisses His eyes, His cheeks, His lips, His side, His feet, letting fall broken words at intervals. Finally, she turns once more to the people, and shews them the nails, while S. Mary Magdalene exhorts them to forgive their enemies, as Christ forgave His.

After the middle of the 15th Century, the religious drama—now called Rappresentazione Sacra—appears in Florence in other and more highly developed forms, but still in connection with the guilds. Now we have real mystery plays, resembling the sacred dramas of other countries.* The performances were no longer held in church but in the open air, the action becomes more varied, and the mounting of the piece more elaborate. Instead of simple Laud-writers, we have real poets like Lorenzo de' Medici and Belcari. Many of the latter's mystery plays are preserved: for instance, Abraham and Isaac (acted in 1449), the Annunciation, S. John the Baptist in the Desert, the Last Judgment, etc. The authors of many of the pieces are unknown. The subjects are taken either from Scripture or from the legends of the Saints; the treatment is as realistic as possible, everything is calculated to stir the feelings of the audience. Religious plays were very popular among all ranks of society throughout the Peninsula during the 15th Century, but nowhere so much so as in Florence, the city of Art, *par excellence*, in the Italy of

* *Cf.* D'ANCONA, I., 217 *seq.*, ed. 2, and also the judicious observations of STIEFEL in Gröber's Zeitschr. für Romanische Philologie, XVII. (1893), 573 *seq.*, 582 *seq.* An excellent Bibliografia delle antiche Rappr. Italiane ne' secoli XV. e XVI. was published by Colomb. de Batines (Firenze, 1852); Sacre Rappres. de' secoli XIV., XV. e XVI., with admirable introductions by D'Ancona. 3 vols., Firenze, 1872.

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those days. Hence, all the authors of mystery plays whose names are known to us—Belcari, Lorenzo de' Medici, Bernardo and Antonio Pulci, Pierozzo Castellano, Giuliano Dati—are all Florentines. Distinguished artists like Brunellesco brought scene-painting and decoration to the highest pitch of perfection. We hear of the most amazing stage mechanism, flying machines which wafted the glorified Saints to heaven, and parachutes upon which God's messengers floated down to earth. Nor were the most dazzling effects of light wanting. The best artists of the Renaissance vied with each other in contriving representations of the angelic choirs around the throne of God the Father.*

The sacred drama, the outcome of Christian worship and of popular sentiment, preserved its essentially religious character throughout the 15th Century, in spite of the introduction of sundry comic touches.

This secular and comic element remained a superfluous addition, often an effective contrast; the end and object of every piece, still edification and piety. Dogmas, even the mystery of the Holy Trinity, are expounded, the Ten Commandments commented on, domestic virtues inculcated, the opinions of Jews and infidels confuted. The performances, therefore, take place almost always on the great Church festivals, so as to provide pure and elevating amusements for the populace; and also on days of fasting and penance, in order to turn men's minds heavenwards by setting forth before their eyes Christ's sacred Passion and His glorious victory.†

* *Cf.*, in corroboration, D'ANCONA'S great work, I., 245 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, 435 *seq.*, 474 *seq.*, 505 *seq.*, ed. 2, and FLECHSIG, Decoration der modernen Bühne, 5, who says: "We might almost affirm that our own age, with all its technical science, is yet not able to compete with the achievements of the Renaissance."

† For the religious and moral aspect of the Sacra Rappresentazione,

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Any one who wishes to understand the true character of the life of the people of Italy in those days should consult these religious plays. The spirit of faith with which it was saturated is here expressed with such fervour, such grave simplicity and dignity, as deeply to impress even those who are farthest from sharing it.*

This efflorescence of religious lyrics and dramas in the 15th Century is another incontestable proof that faith remained strong and vivid during the period of the Renaissance; it lasted into the first decade of the 16th Century. Thus, even as late as the year 1517, a number of youths in Pistoja were banded together, under Dominican influence, into a congregation for the practice of works of charity and piety, under the name of the Compagnia della Purità. They instituted symbolical processions with accompanying religious performances. A Madonna play which they acted created quite a stir in the city, and moved even the most obdurate to tears.†

More powerful still was the Roman Passion-play, which, in its finished form, belongs to the end of the 15th Century, but is certainly older.‡ In Rome, too, the pious

cf. D'ANCONA, I., 644–58, ed. 2, where, however, it is by no means exhaustively described. The subject is so foreign to the author's mind that he sometimes completely misrepresents it. He is, however, fair-minded enough to make the admission which will be found in the next note.

* D'ANCONA, I., 658, ed. 2, says of the representations of the rite of Baptism given in the Plays of S. Quirico e Julitta and S. Barbara: "Una scena simile a questa crediamo che anche al di d'oggi nella sua nuda maestà, nella sua semplicità solenne, scuoterebbe profondamente il publico scettico de' nostri teatri."

† *Cf.* the valuable publication by P. VIGO, Una compagnia di Giovinetti Pistoiesi a principio del secolo XVI. (Bologna, 1887), and the Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XX., 240 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, Kleine Schriften, III., 177 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1892);

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plays owed their origin to a guild, that of the Archi-confraternità del Gonfalone,* which has been mentioned above. This brotherhood owned a chapel in the Colosseum which was restored in 1517. Christianity had surrounded this mightiest of Roman ruins with chapels, and planted the Cross in the middle of the amphitheatre, to commemorate the triumph of Christianity over idolatry on that same arena wherein so many Christian martyrs had sealed their faith with their blood. Up to recent times, every Friday and Sunday, as long as Rome was still Papal, a procession might have been seen at dusk wending its way to the Colosseum, so too in olden times the members of the Confraternità del Gonfalone used to resort thither to pray and scourge themselves before the Cross in the arena. In 1490, Innocent VIII. accorded permission to the brotherhood to act religious plays in the amphitheatre,† a permission which gave them, both actually and from an historical point of view, the noblest theatre in the world.

The performances took place on a high platform erected over the flat roof of a chapel (S^ta^ Maria della Pietà), which was built against one of the southern arcades. Genuine artists, such as Antoniasso Romano, who belonged to the guild, painted the scenery. The authors of the plays, Mariano Particappa and Bernardo di Mastro, both Romans, and Antonio Dati, a Florentine, and Grand Penitentiary in the time of Alexander VI., were also

AMATI, La Passione di Christo in rima volgare secondo che recita e rappresenta di parola a parola la compagnia del Gonfalone di Roma, etc., Rome, 1866 (edition of only 200 copies); ADINOLFI, Roma, I., 380 *seq.*; KLEIN, IV., 155; REUMONT, II., 999 *seq.*, 1212; CREIZENACH, I., 335 *seq.*; and D'ANCONA, I., 115 *seq.*, 171 *seq.*, 353 *seq.*, ed. 2. No reference is made in these works to the frescoes in the western doorway of the amphitheatre to which MOLITOR, 61, alludes, and which were connected with the Passion-plays.

* See *supra*, p. 42.

† See ADINOLFI, Laterano, Doc. XII.

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members of the Confraternity. The actors, men of the upper middle classes, appeared in antique garb, with Roman togas, helmets, and breast-plates. The play consisted of a rhymed and metrical—partly lyric, partly dramatic—rendering of the history of the Passion, in the dialect of the people. Here, too, the lamentations of Our Lady are intensely pathetic. The play was acted on Good Friday after nightfall, by torch- and lamplight, and was thus witnessed in 1497 by the famous knight and traveller of Cologne, Arnold von Harff. He highly commends both the play and the actors, who were youths of good family.*

Confraternities of the Rosary, Tertiaries of various Orders, and associations for the burial of the dead were common throughout Italy. The Confraternities of the Rosary were naturally chiefly promoted by the Dominicans, S. Dominic having been practically the founder of this devotion ; some of the Papal Nuncios, however, and especially Bishop Alexander of Forli, were active in encouraging them. The members pledged themselves to recite the Rosary on certain days, to implore the Divine protection against pestilences and other calamities. Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. encouraged these guilds by bestowing special indulgences upon them.†

The institution of the Third Orders was also a legacy of the best period of the Middle Ages. It is usually ascribed to S. Francis, but in S. Norbert's time the Premonstratensians had already a third Order, the members of which lived in the world, but took part in certain conventual prayers and exercises.‡ S. Francis, however, was the first

* HARFF, 31. These religious performances had the good effect of, to a certain degree, preventing the Colosseum from completely falling into ruin. REUMONT, III., 2, 454.

† WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, IX., 399.

‡ HURTER, Innocent III., Vol. IV., 146 (ed. 2, 1844).

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to give a more definite shape to the idea, and greatly to enlarge its scope. The rule, as laid down by the Saint in 1221, is in twenty sections. The conditions of admission are primarily, the Catholic Faith, obedience to the Church, and a blameless reputation. No heretic, no person even suspected of heresy, can be accepted, and if after admission any member should lapse into heresy, he must be handed over to the authorities for punishment. Any one who holds any property that has been unjustly acquired, must make restitution before he can be accepted; after acceptance there is a year's probation before being actually admitted; all must promise to fulfil the Commandments of God. Married women cannot be received without their husbands' consent. Both sexes are to dress plainly, without ornaments of any kind, to abstain from revels, masques and dances, and not to countenance strolling mountebanks. They are directed to fast more frequently than other Christians, and to recite certain prayers at stated hours. The sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist are to be approached three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Offensive weapons may only be carried when absolutely necessary. Every member must make his will three months after his admission. Quarrels, which the brethren and sisters are bidden scrupulously to avoid, either amongst themselves or with others, are to be settled by the Superiors of the Order, or by the Bishop of the Diocese. An oath was only permitted in unavoidable cases. If possible, one Mass was to be heard daily. Sick brethren were to be visited, the dead followed to the grave, and prayers offered for the repose of their souls. The Superiors of the Order were not to be elected for life but for a fixed term. All members must present themselves once a year, or oftener if required, at the appointed place for the visitation, which was to be conducted by a priest; and each

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must fulfil whatever penance is imposed upon him. The rules, however, except in so far as they are included in the laws of God and of the Church, are not binding under pain of mortal sin.*

These Tertiaries, or brethren and sisters of Penance, were to form a religious society, living in the world, but preserved by their rule from a worldly spirit. Thus laymen and secular priests could share in the benefits and privileges of the Order, and be governed by the mind of S. Francis.

Obviously such an association as this could not fail to exercise a salutary influence in raising the tone of morals and the standard of Christian life in the Church. The spirit of S. Francis, or rather the spirit of the Gospel, was spread abroad among all ranks by the Third Order.

It was, from the outset, especially popular in the country of its founder. The choicest spirits of Italy—Dante and Columbus, for instance—were members of it.† S. Antoninus testifies to the vast number of Italians who were Tertiaries of S. Francis.‡

As S. Francis always made everything that he did

* Regula Tertiariorum in HOLSTENIUS, Codex regul. monast., III., 39-42. WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 740.

† This important but hitherto unnoticed passage is in the Summa Theol., III., tit. 23, cap. 5, § 5 (Verona, 1750, III., 1291). According to S. Antoninus, the third Order of S. Dominic had only a very small following in Italy.

‡ DE SÉGUR, Die Bedeutung des dritten Ordens des hl. Franciscus, 2 *seq.*, 7 *seq.* (Mainz, 1876). This author asserts, with JEILER (Normalbuch für die Brüder und Schwestern des dritten Ordens des hl. Franciscus, 12 [Warendorf, 1881]), but without producing any evidence, that Raphael and Michael Angelo also belonged to the third Order, but of this I could find no authentic proof. Raphael's father was a member of the Society of S^ta Maria della Misericordia; according to VISCHER, Signorelli, 125, that great artist belonged to a religious brotherhood at Cortona.

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depend upon the Centre of the Church, he was careful to obtain at once for his rule the sanction of the Holy See. Few Popes since then have neglected to bestow some sign of approval on his Tertiaries. The historian of the Franciscans counts no less than 119 Bulls and Briefs in favour of the Third Order before 1500. During the Renaissance period, Popes Martin V., Pius II., Sixtus IV., Julius II., and Leo X. were its special patrons and protectors.

A further development of the Third Order resulted from a desire which sprung up in many of its members to add entire seclusion from the world to the practice of penance. They lived in communities under the three vows, and thus the Third Order of Regulars came into being. Pope Nicholas V. granted them permission to found new religious houses, to hold general chapters, to elect from amongst themselves a Vicar-general and four assistants, and to adopt a distinctive habit instead of the hermit's garb they had hitherto worn. The first Vicar-General was chosen in 1448 at the general chapter of Montefalco. Ten years later they had obtained a General of their own. At the end of the 14th Century, chiefly owing to the efforts of S. Angelina di Corbara, a congregation of Nuns of the Third Order of S. Francis was established. It spread quickly all over Italy, and was favoured by Popes Martin V. and Eugenius IV. Pius II. placed them under the control of the General of the Franciscan Observantines.*

In a precisely similar manner a Third Order of S. Dominic had been founded, partly as associations of both sexes living in the world, and partly as congregations of religious living in convents. Its rule was confirmed by Popes Innocent VII. and Eugenius IV. This Third Order of S. Dominic boasts of several canonised and beatified members, of whom

* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 741 *seq.*

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we will mention only SS. Catherine of Siena, Colomba of Rieti, Osanna of Mantua, and Lucia of Narni.*

The example thus set by the two Mendicant Orders was soon followed by others. In 1401 Boniface IX. allowed the Augustinians to institute a Third Order for women, both married and single. Later on Sixtus IV. sanctioned the admission of men. Tertiaries are also found among the Servites and Minorites. The Oblates of Tor de' Specchi, founded by S. Frances of Rome, must also be mentioned here in this connection.† The Third Orders and many other congregations have survived all the storms of subsequent centuries, and still exist in Italy.

Most people who have been in Italy have experienced the indelible impression which the first sight of a funeral conducted by one of these brotherhoods makes upon the mind.

In silence and with measured tread the brethren of the Misericordia still pass along the streets of Florence, exactly as they did 500 years ago. They might have stepped out of some old fresco by Giotto or Orcagna, with their ample black cloaks, and the black hoods which cover the head and neck, and only leave slits for the eyes, each with a rosary hanging from his belt which tinkles faintly as he walks, and in the midst the bier draped in black. To this day every Italian, from the King to the beggar, bares his head, as he did 500 years ago, when the sable cortège approaches. To this day, when the foreign visitor, startled at the spectral apparition, turns to a bystander and asks what it means, the Florentine, half surprised, half scornful at his ignorance, answers curtly, "la Misericordia."

For no less than 500 years the name of the Misericordia

* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, III., 1444 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† HELYOT, III., 76 *seq.*, VII., 519; WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, X., 745; and for the Oblates of Tor de' Specchi see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 236 (Engl. trans.).

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has always been held in grateful veneration throughout Tuscany. Modelled on the old republican constitution, the brotherhood has remained true to its principles and its offices, undisturbed by social or political changes, from the days of Dante to the present hour. Between the middle of the 13th Century, when it was founded in Florence, and the close of the 15th, there were twenty-five outbreaks of the Plague in the city, and on each of these occasions contemporaneous accounts bear witness to the courage of the brethren of the Misericordia in the face of death, and their unwearying labours in the fulfilment of their mission.*

But in their care for the dead they did not forget the living. They practised all the seven acts of mercy so graphically illustrated by a contemporary artist in the terra-cotta bas-reliefs on the celebrated Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoja.†

Enough has been already related to shew that the trade-guilds throughout Italy were in the habit of instituting various foundations to supply the temporal and spiritual wants of their members. But in addition to these, the convents and municipal corporations were no less zealous and active in works of charity than the companies and brotherhoods. During the Middle Ages, Hospitals, Almshouses, and Orphanages were erected in all parts of the country, and in the smaller as well as in the more wealthy cities, every variety of institution for the mitigation of human misery in all its forms is to be found. Many of these institutions suffered severely in those stormy times. The extraordinary calamities of the 15th Century made large

* HÖRSCHELMANN'S Essay, quoted *supra*, p. 8, note *, on Pestilential Epidemics, No. 179.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, II., 457. For particulars about the fate of the Ospedale del Ceppo, see the works of BARGIACCHI, *infra*, p. 64, note *.

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claims on all of them, claims which were, almost without exception, generously met.

In most places the relief of the poor seems to have been admirably organised, and, in the accounts of the many epidemics, there is nearly always some mention of what the corporation had done for the destitute in such times of trouble. Shelter, clothing, good food, and medical assistance were as far as possible supplied, and special officials appointed to deal with this branch of the public service.*

The immense variety of the charitable foundations is as admirable as the number of them. The great hospitals are one of the glories of the 15th Century, and in this matter also Florence took the lead. So early as 1328 the various asylums in this city contained over 1000 beds for the sick poor.†

In the 15th Century the number of hospitals increased to thirty-five. The oldest and most famous is that of S. Maria Nuova, founded by the father of Dante's Beatrice. In Varchi's time, the 16th Century, this hospital spent 25,000 scudi a year on tending the sick, 7000 being derived from alms, and the rest from its endowments.‡ It has become one of the greatest institutions in the world. Next to it ranked the Scala hospital founded in 1306, which existed till 1531. Niccolò degli Alberti founded an asylum for poor women in 1377; in the same century, the hospital of S. Niccolò, afterwards called S. Matteo, was established. The beautiful hall of S. Paolo, designed by Brunellesco in the Piazza S. Maria Novella, reminds us of the infirmary of the same name founded in 1451. Varchi also mentions the asylum for the sick of S. Boniface and that of the Incurables (Incu-

* Quoted from UFFELMANN, Oeffentl. Gesundheitspflege in Italien, published in the Vierteljahrsschrift für Gesundheitspflege, XI., 178.

† HÜLLMAN, Städtewesen, IV., 61.

‡ VARCHI, I., 394.

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rabili) as well as the various guild-hospitals. Besides these institutions devoted to the care of the sick, there were many others which provided shelter for the destitute poor. Since 1421 Florence has also possessed a foundling hospital (Ospizio degli Innocenti), which is one of the finest architectural creations of Brunellesco. One of its most beautiful features is the hall on the ground floor, in the style of the Renaissance, adorned with exquisite bas-reliefs in porcelain of infants in swaddling clothes by Luca della Robbia.*

But all other hospitals of the time were thrown into the shade by the Ospedale Maggiore, built by Filarete, and the Lazaretto in Milan, begun by Lazzaro de' Palazzi in 1488. These were in no respect inferior to the grandest modern buildings of the kind. They were constructed on the principle of admitting as much light and air as possible, with wide corridors, open colonnades, court-yards and gardens. In the great hospital the large hall was in the form of a cross, and the beds were so disposed that all the patients could see the Altar in the middle. Pope Sixtus IV. made a similar arrangement at the S^to^ Spirito in Rome.†

In Rome itself the Popes invariably led the way in the matter of charity. Martin V., the renovator of the Eternal City, "the father of his country," was zealous for the poor;‡ Eugenius IV. was, in the best sense of the word, a father to the sick and needy. He restored the ruined hospital of S^to^ Spirito in Sassia, and assisted it by becoming himself

* For Florentine charitable institutions, *cf.* besides PASSERINI, Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza di Firenze (Firenze, 1853); SKAIFE, Florentine Life, 180 *seq.*, and FR. BRUNI'S monograph, Storia d. Spedale di S. Maria degl' Innocenti di Firenze, e di molti altri pii stabilimenti (Firenze, 1819), 2 vols.

† MÜNTZ, I., 436.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 254 (Engl. trans.).

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a member of the brotherhood of the Holy Ghost.* His example was followed by Sixtus IV., who rebuilt the hospital and shewed much favour to the Confraternity. In consequence, almost every one in Rome joined it.† On the occasion of Alexander VI.'s Jubilee in 1500, the bakers' guild founded the brotherhood of S^ta^ Maria di Loreto, which built the church and hospital of S^ta^ Maria di Loreto de' Fornari.‡

The asylum for incurables, the plans for which were drawn by Antonio di Sangallo the younger,§ was specially favoured by Leo X.‖ Besides these public institutions, there were the national asylums which served to shelter houseless pilgrims, to tend those who were sick, and to assist the poorer members of the various nations who had settled in Rome. All these foundations were munificently patronised by the Popes, who bestowed many marks of favour on them, and thus greatly encouraged the erection of new national associations and hospices. The S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima, for instance, owed a great deal to several of the Popes. Through the generosity of Nicholas V. the church and hospital of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni were erected for the Dalmatians and Sclavonians. Under Sixtus IV., in whose reign several national hospices were restored, this foundation was considerably enlarged. In 1456, Calixtus III.

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 252 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† *Ibid.*, IV., 460 *seq.*

‡ PIAZZA, 71.

§ REDTENBACHER, 365.

‖ PIAZZA, 45, 46. Even such men as Count Everso of Anguillara and Cæsar Borgia were patrons of hospitals. The former left money in his will for the new wing of the infirmary S. Giovanni in Laterano (ARMELLINI, 272). Cæsar built the women's ward at S. Maria della Consolazione (REUMONT, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III., 1, 421–2). I have not been able to consult PERICOLI, L'Ospedale della S. Maria della Consolazione. Imola, 1879.

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assigned a church to the Bretons, to which, in 1511, an infirmary was added.

The smaller cities did not lag behind the larger ones in works of Christian philanthropy. Recent researches have brought to light the amazing liberality of Pistoja and Viterbo.* Many places, especially in the Papal States, are known to have been equally charitable, of some others there is, unfortunately, no record, but here too the names of S^to^ Spirito, S. Giacomo, S. Pellegrino, Misericordia, which still survive, speak plainly enough. There is no exaggeration in the words of one who knew Italy well when he says "In no country in the world are there such large bequests and endowments, such important societies for the relief of the poor and in aid of the sick, the weak, the helpless and unfortunate."† The total wealth of the benevolent societies in Italy during the seventies of this Century, including Rome and the Montes Pietatis, has been reckoned at 1200 million lire.‡

Never did the love which Christ brought down from Heaven, the Divine fire which He kindled in the hearts of His disciples, burn more ardently than during the time of

* See the valuable monographs of BARGIACCHI, Storia degl' istituti di beneficenza, d'istruzione ed educazione in Pistoia e suo circondario (Firenze, 1883–4), 4 vols., and PINZI, Gli Ospizi medioevali e l'Ospedale grande di Viterbo (Viterbo, 1893); *cf.* also GRISAR in the Zeitschrift f. Kathol. Theol., XIX., 151 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XV., 77 *seq.*; Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., I., 458. The splendid hospital buildings at Fabriano are well-known. See MÜNTZ, I., 436.

† RUMOHR, Drei Reisen nach Italien, 126 (Leipzig, 1832).

‡ Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 357, Supplement. These figures will, indeed, soon belong to history, for here too the revolution has begun its ruthless work of destruction. The whole patrimony of Christian love, which had been accumulated by the faith of pious ancestors under the shadow and guardianship of the Church is now entirely withdrawn from her influence. All endowments, except such as benefit particular families, are in danger.

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the Renaissance. Not only were most of the older foundations better supported than ever, but a great number of new ones were added to them. This bright spot in the life of that period has been too much overlooked. It may therefore be considered permissible to insert the subjoined statistical tables in order to demonstrate the truth of our assertion.*

These numerous charitable and pious endowments bear eloquent testimony to the fervent love to God and man which glowed during the Renaissance, in the hearts of the Italian people. Foreigners visiting Italy were profoundly impressed by all that was done there on behalf of the afflicted and destitute. Martin Luther on the occasion of his journey to Rome in 1511, is one amongst others to bear witness to this impression.

"In Italy," he remarks, "the hospitals are handsomely built, and admirably provided with excellent food and drink, careful attendants and learned physicians. The beds and bedding are clean, and the walls are covered with paintings. When a patient is brought in, his clothes are removed in the presence of a notary who makes a faithful inventory of them, and they are kept safely. A white smock is put on him and he is laid on a comfortable bed, with clean linen. Presently two doctors come to him, and the servants bring him food and drink in clean glasses, shewing him all possible attention. Many ladies also take it in turns to visit the hospitals and tend the sick, keeping their faces veiled, so that no one knows who they are. Each remains a few days, and then returns home, another

* *Cf.* Statistica delle Opere Pie al 31, XII., 1880 (Roma, 1886-91) 8 vols. The figures for the Æmilia are missing here, and are borrowed from the statistics of 1861. Neither of these books is complete or scholarly. Completeness could not be attempted in this Introduction; if it had been, it would have grown to the dimensions of a separate volume.

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	Piedmont.		Lombardy.		Venetian States.		Liguria.		Æmilia.	
	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1400.	From 1400 to 1500
Hospitals and Foundling Asylums	18	12	11	19	25	11	5	9	15	6
Almshouses	...	...	2	...	6	5	1	...	1	2
Orphanages	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1
Relief of the Poor	1	3	28	56	15	14	3	7	4	6
Dowries	1	2	1	10	1	5	...	5	...	...
Education	1	1	...	4	3	1	...	...	...	...
Various	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
	22	22	42	90	50	37	9	23	20	16

	Tuscany.		Umbria.		Latium.		The Campagna.		Sicily.	
	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.	Up to 1399.	From 1400 to 1524.
Hospitals and Foundling Asylums	30	6	9	5	5	16	7	5	9	12
Almshouses	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orphanages	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	2
Relief of the Poor	8	2	6	2	1	7	14	36	12	19
Dowries	...	2	...	...	...	4	...	6	3	19
Education	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Various	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46	11	15	7	6	27	24	47	24	54

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taking her place. In Florence, the hospitals are managed in the same way and with the same care. Equally excellent are the foundling asylums, where the children are well-fed and taught, suitably clothed in a uniform, and altogether admirably cared for."*

A similar opinion is expressed by John Eck, who says that none of the German hospitals can be in any way compared with the splendid establishments in Rome, Florence, Siena, Venice, and other places.† Nearly all those hospitals were favoured with special Papal or Episcopal Indulgences.‡ The innumerable works of Art embodying Christian truths, which were produced in Italy during the Renaissance, stand only next to the pious foundations in their historical importance, as a measure of the national stand-point in regard to religion. They are indeed visible "witnesses of the faith that was in it."§ This Art is the glory of an age which was enthusiastic in its appreciation of beauty, its triumphs are an undying tribute

* K. E. FÖRSTEMANN, D. Martin Luther's Tischreden oder Colloquia, so er in vielen Jahren gegen gelehrten Leuten, auch fremden Gästen und seinen Tischgesellen gefuhret, nach den Hauptstücken unserer Christlichen Lehre zusammen getragen II., 213 (Leipzig, 1845). *Cf.* also the praise of the great hospital at Siena in the pilgrimage of the Knight ARNOLD VON HARFF, 1496 *seq.*, edited by Groote, 12 *seq.*

† ECK: Der Fünft und letst Tail Christenlicher Predig von den Zehen Gebotten (Ingolstadt, 1539); *cf.* for this rare work my quotations from JANSSEN, Gesch. des Deutsch. Volkes, VII., 496, f. lvii[d]. In answer to BUTZER'S attack on Catholics, saying that there is no real trust in Christ, no active charity, no true holiness among them, ECK says: Hic tamen ei obiicio unum hospitale S. Spiritus Romae aut hospitale Senense aut S. Marci Florentiae, aut ea quae sunt sub illustri Venetorum dominio an non in his officiosius monstretur caritas in proximos etiam alienos, quam fiat in omnibus dominiis et civitatibus Luthericis. Replica Jo. Eckii adversus scripta secunda Buceri, p. 32. Parisiis, 1543.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance, 222.

§ Fr. SCHNEIDER in Alte und Neue Welt (1877) p. 488.

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to the genius of the gifted Italian race. To the general public and to most of those who visit the Peninsula, this artistic activity in the service, or at least under the influence of the Church, appears to be the characteristic feature of the age, in fact the real Renaissance. But natural as is this view at first sight, the historian, while fully realising the splendid development of its Art, must not neglect or overlook the other manifestations of the culture of the age. Indeed, the Art itself cannot be rightly understood without an adequate appreciation of the other characteristics of this unique period.

Without entering into disputed questions in æsthetics, I think it important to observe that in studying and criticising the Art of the Renaissance, a distinction should be drawn between the development of architecture and ornamental sculpture on the one hand, and of painting, more particularly of easel pictures, on the other. That of the handicrafts also, which are assuredly the best criterions of popular culture and taste, requires to be separately considered. Too little attention is paid, as a rule, to the importance of this great factor in the economic and social life of a nation.

In Architecture and decorative Sculpture, the Renaissance effected a substantial revolution. The antique style was revived, which, though a product of Pagan civilisation, was in itself neutral, and neither Pagan nor anti-Christian.* The degree of æsthetic perfection attained by any school of architecture can supply no criterion of its merit from a religious point of view. The spirit in which the buildings were conceived is the only measure by which they can be judged. The historian of Art may indeed find it difficult to forget the world which produced the antique models, and

* *Cf.* GRAUS, Die Kath. Kirche und die Renaissance, 2nd edit. Freiburg, 1888.

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to regard the Architecture of the Renaissance solely in the light of the Faith which inspired it, but it was in this light that the age interpreted its own work, and thus only can it be correctly estimated. Thus, many of the critics of the Art of the Renaissance, failing to recognise this fusion of the religious with the æsthetic point of view, are wholly at fault in their judgment of it. Christian Art strove to inspire the antique forms, to express Christian ideas in classic shapes, and permeate them with the Christian civilisation of the day.

Magnificent new churches, which are still the glory of its cities, sprang up all over the Apennine Peninsula. Municipal pride and piety here went hand in hand.* These emphatic "sermons in stone," would in themselves be proof enough that the great majority of the nation in all ranks were still devoted to the Faith. The very excess of decoration in their churches testifies to their allegiance.† Anything like a complete list of the works of Art executed at the time of the Renaissance for religious purposes, would fill a volume. The following is merely an approximate record of the most important of these in the domains of Architecture and Sculpture.‡

1401. Ghiberti, Quercia and Brunellesco, compete for the bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence.

1403. The first door of the Baptistery is entrusted to Ghiberti.

1407. Donatello is commissioned to execute the figure of David for the Cathedral in Florence.

1408. Commissions for figures of three Evangelists for the Cathedral in Florence are given to Donatello, Niccolò Lamberti and Nanni d'Antonio di Banco.

1408. Quercia completes a Madonna for the Cathedral at Ferrara.

* REUMONT in the Lit. Rundschau (1878) p. 333.

† MÜNTZ, I., 34, 414.

‡ Mainly borrowed from REDTENBACHER, 453 *seq.*

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1409–10. Ciuffagni is at work on statues for the Cathedral in Florence.

1409. Donatello is paid for the figure of a prophet.

1412. Donatello receives the price of his Josue.

1414. Intarsia work in the Cathedral at Orvieto.

1414. Ghiberti undertakes the bronze statue of S. John the Baptist for Or San Michele in Florence.

1415. Donatello receives a commission for two figures on the Campanile in Florence.

1415. Donatello is paid for his S. John the Baptist.

1416. Donatello is at work on his statue of S. George for Or San Michele.

1416. Quercia is directed to provide a font for San Giovanni at Siena.

1417. The holy-water stoup ascribed to Matteo Sanese is placed in the Cathedral at Orvieto.

1417. Ghiberti designs silver candelabra for Or San Michele.

1417. Two bronze plaques for the font in San Giovanni at Siena are entrusted to Quercia.

1417. Two descriptive panels for the font at Siena are ordered from Ghiberti.

1419. S. Lorenzo at Florence begun by Brunellesco.

1419. Ghiberti commissioned to execute a statue of S. Matthew for Or San Michele.

circa 1420. The Pazzi chapel in Florence erected by Brunellesco.

1421. A marble statue for the bell tower (campanile) in Florence, ordered from Donatello and Giovanni di Bartolo.

1422. Donatello executes the heads of two prophets for the Cathedral at Florence.

1422. Quercia carves figures for S. Frediano at Lucca.

1424. Ghiberti finishes the bronze gate of the Baptistery in Florence.

1424. Ghiberti designs glass windows for the Cathedral at Florence.

1425. Ghiberti receives the commission for the second bronze gate of the Baptistery in Florence.

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1426. Brunellesco begins the central part of the Monastery degli Angeli in Florence.
1426. Façade of the Cathedral at Como erected.
1431. Completion of the dome of the Cathedral at Florence.
1431. Marble tribune for the Cantoria executed by Luca della Robbia for the Cathedral in Florence.
1433. Brunellesco draws plans for S^to^ Spirito in Florence.
1433. Tabernacle by B. Rossellino in SS. Flora and Lucilla at Arezzo.
1433. Tribune for the Cantoria by Donatello, placed in the second chapel of the Cathedral in Florence.
1434. Stained glass windows by Ghiberti, put in the Zanobi chapel of the Cathedral in Florence.
1436. Consecration of the Dome in the Cathedral at Florence.
1436. Tabernacle by Bernardo Rossellino in the Abbey at Fiesole.
1436. Donatello is directed to prepare the bronze doors of the two new Sacristies at the Cathedral in Florence.
1437. Luca della Robbia's five reliefs for the Campanile in Florence.
1438. Luca della Robbia makes two marble altars for the Cathedral in Florence.
1438. Turini decorates the Cathedral-sacristy at Siena.
1440. Ghiberti completes the shrine of the relics of S. Zanobi.
1442. San Marco in Florence.
1442. Michelozzo works with Ghiberti on the doors of the Baptistery in Florence.
1442. Luca della Robbia makes a Tabernacle for the Hospital of S^ta^ Maria Nuova in Florence.
1442. Vecchietta carves a figure of Christ for the Cathedral at Siena.
1443. Buggiano makes a Tabernacle for the Cathedral at Florence.
1443. Ghiberti finishes six bas-reliefs for the second door of the Baptistery in Florence.
1446. Luca della Robbia begins his "Ascension" for the Sacristy of this Cathedral at Florence.

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1446. Turini finishes his figure of Christ for the Cathedral in Siena.
1447–8. Bronze screen-work by Michelozzo for the Cathedral at Florence.
1447. Building of S. Michele in Bosco near Bologna.
1448. Luca della Robbia's two angels in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral of Florence.
1448. Turini's Reliquary of S. Bernardino.
1449. Luca della Robbia's sounding-board for the pulpit in S. Domenico at Urbino.
1450. S. Marco at Fiesole is finished.
1450. S. Giacomo on the Piazza Navona in Rome begun.
1451. Choir by Alberti in the Church of the SS^{ma} Annunziata in Florence.
1451. Donatello carves a figure of S. John the Baptist for the Church of the Frari in Venice.
1452. Michelozzo makes the silver statue of S. John the Baptist for the Baptistery in Florence.
1452. Vittorio Ghiberti gilds the bronze door of the Baptistery.
1452. Ghiberti's second bronze door is put up.
1453. S^{ta} Maria sopra Minerva in Rome is finished.
1456. Façade of S^{ta} Maria Novella in Florence completed.
1456. The Church of Corpus Domini at Bologna begun.
1456. The high altar in the Cathedral at Ferrara. (Meo del Caprina.)
1457. Donatello begins the bronze doors of S. Giovanni at Siena.
1459. S. Domenico at Perugia.
1460. S. Sebastiano and S. Lorenzo at Mantua begun by Alberti.
1460. The great doorway of the Cathedral at Como.
1460. Marble choir in S^{ta} Maria della Spina at Pisa.
1460. Campanile of the Cathedral at Ferrara.
1462. Portinari Chapel near Sant' Eustorgio in Milan.
1462. Statues of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome by Paolo Romano.
1463. Stalls carved by Giuliano da Majano in the Sacristy of the Cathedral at Florence and the Badia at Fiesole.
1463. Chapel of S. Andrea near S. Peter's in Rome.

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1463. Tabernacle by Mino da Fiesole for an altar in S^ta Maria Maggiore in Rome.
1463. S^ta Maria delle Grazie in Milan is begun.
1463. Vecchietta's statue in wood for the Cathedral at Narni.
1465–72. Vecchietta's Ciborium in the Cathedral at Siena.
1465. Choir-stalls by Lendinari in the Cathedral of Modena.
1465. Façade of S. Marco in Rome.
1466. S. Michele in Venice.
1466. Church of the Ospedale della Scala at Siena.
1468. Choir-stalls of the Frari Church in Venice.
1469. Completion of the tomb of S. Dominic at Bologna.
1470. Completion of the façade of S^ta Maria Novella in Florence.
1470–75. Wood-carving by Giuliano da Majano for SS^ma Annunziata in Florence.
1470. S. Satiro at Milan is begun.
1471. Madonna della Neve at Siena is finished.
1471. The Church of the Servi di Maria at Siena is begun.
1471. The Church della Consolazione in Rome consecrated.
1471. Verrocchio begins statues of the Apostles for Sixtus IV.
1471. Mino da Fiesole's Tabernacle for the Baptistery in Florence.
1472. The Cathedral of Città di Castello is begun.
1472. S. Andrea at Mantua begun by Alberti.
1472–77. S^ta Maria del Popolo in Rome.
1473. S^ta Maria in Bado at Ferrara is begun.
1473. The façade of the Certosa near Pavia is begun.
1473. The Sistine Chapel in Rome.
1473. Civitali's sculptures in marble in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1474. Benedetto da Majano carves the pulpit of S. Croce in Florence.
1475. S. Caterina at Siena.
1475. Choir of the Cathedral at Pisa by Baccio Pontelli.
1475. Sacristy of S. Satiro at Milan.
1475. Vecchietta's statue of S. Paul for the Cathedral at Siena.
1476. The choir of SS^ma Annunziata in Florence is finished.
1476. The Colleone Chapel at Bergamo.

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1476. Carved stalls in S. Domenico at Perugia.
1476. Renovation of S. Satiro at Milan by Bramante.
1476. Verrocchio's David in bronze.
1476. Vecchietta's Christ in bronze for the Ospedale della Scala at Siena.
1477. The new part of the Cathedral at Pavia begun.
1477. Baccio Pontelli finishes his stalls for the Cathedral of Pisa.
1478. Verrocchio's figures for the Tabernacle in Or San Michele at Florence.
1478. The Incoronata Chapel at Pisa completed by Baccio Pontelli.
1478. Vecchietta's S. Sebastian modelled in silver for the Cathedral at Siena.
1478. Vecchietta's infant Christ for the font of S. Giovanni at Siena.
1479–81. S. Agostino in Rome.
1480. SS^ma Annunziata outside Bologna.
1480–89. S^ta Maria de' Miracoli by Pietro Lombardo in Venice.
1481. Tabernacle by Mino da Fiesole for S. Ambrogio in Florence.
1482. S. Lorenzo at Cremona is finished.
1482–84. Civitali's Tempietto for the Volto Santo in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1483. S. Giovanni Crisostomo in Venice.
1483. SS^ta Maria delle Grazie at Pistoja.
1485. Decoration in wood by Giuliano da Sangallo for the high altar of the Cathedral at Florence.
1485. The foundation-stone is laid of Giuliano da Sangallo's Church of the Madonna delle Carceri at Prato.
1485. Foundations laid of the Church of the Madonna del Calcinajo at Cortona.
1485. S^ta Maria Maggiore at Città di Castello is begun.
1485. New altar in the Cathedral of Siena.
1486. Choir of S. Francesco at Treviso.
1487. The Incoronata Church at Lodi.

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1487. Sta Maria de' Miracoli at Brescia is begun.
1487. Ferrucci designs and executes a Ciborium for the Cathedral at Prato.
1488. S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini at Rome is founded.
1488. S. Bernardino at Assisi.
1488. Choir-stalls of S. Pancrazio in Florence.
1488. Choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1490. Choir-stalls in the Cathedral of Città di Castello.
1491. Campanile for the Cathedral at Ferrara begun.
1491. Sta Maria in Via Lata at Rome begun.
1491. Atrium of the Cathedral at Spoleto.
1491. Sta Maria presso S. Celso at Milan begun.
1491. Choir-stalls of Sta Maria Novella in Florence.
1491. Civitali decorates the Chapel of S. John the Baptist in the Cathedral at Genoa.
1491. Choir of the Cathedral at Florence finished.
1492. S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence begun by Giuliano da Sangallo.
1492. The Church of Pietrasanta at Naples.
1492. The Crypt of the Cathedral at Naples embellished.
1493. S. Croce at Crema.
1493–1508. S. Niccolò at Carpi.
1494. S. Francesco at Ferrara.
1494. Madonna dell' Umiltà at Pistoja.
1494. S. Chiara at Pistoja.
1494–98. Civitali's pulpit in the Cathedral of Lucca.
1495. Sta Maria di Monserrato in Rome.
1495. S. Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome, partly built.
1495. Sta Maria dell' Annunziata at Bevagna finished.
1495. The carved stalls of S. Petronio at Bologna.
1497. S. Giacomo Maggiore in Florence.
1498. S. Francesco al Monte near Florence.
1498. S. Vincenzo del Orto at Savona.
1499. Decoration of the Choir in the Cathedral of Ferrara.
1499. Sculptures by Benedetto da Rovezzano for the Tribune of the Choir in S. Stefano at Genoa.

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1499–1500. Michael Angelo's Pietà.
1499–1511. S. Sisto at Piacenza.
1500. S. Benedetto at Ferrara is begun.
1500. Rebuilding of the Cathedral at Foligno begun.
1500. Sta Maria dell' Anima in Rome.
1500. Building of Sta Maria di Loreto in Rome determined on.
1500. S. Pietro in Montorio.
1500. Chapel of S. Antonio at Padua.
1502. Sta Giustina at Padua is begun.
1502. The Cathedral at Cividale is begun.
1503. S. Cristoforo at Ferrara.
1504. S. Magno at Legnano.
1504. Laying of the foundation-stone of Sta Maria della Consolazione at Todi.
1505. S. Giovanni Battista at Ferrara.
1506. Laying of the foundation-stone of the new S. Peter's in Rome.
1506. S. Fantino in Venice.
1506. Benedetto da Rovezzano's tomb of S. Gualberto for the Vallombrosa.
1508. Altar in Madonna delle Carceri at Prato.
1508–9. Bramante's work at Loreto.
1509. Sta Maria Maggiore at Spello.
1509. S. Michele at Orvieto.
1510. S. Giovanni at Parma.
1511. The Servite Church at Siena.
1511. J. Sansovino makes the statue of S. John the Baptist for the Cathedral of Florence.
1512. Sto Spirito at Ferrara.
1512. The statue of an apostle by Sansovino for the Florentine Cathedral.
1514. Sansovino's work in the Casa Santa at Loreto.
1514. Cathedral at Carpi begun.
1515. S. Zaccaria at Venice completed.
1517. Sta Maria di Piazza at Busto Arsizio.
1518. S. Stefano at Faenza is begun.

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At the same time, while fully recognising how large a proportion of the Art of the Renaissance was dedicated to Christian uses, it cannot be denied that the revival of the antique in art as well as in literature, brought with it the danger of a return to Pagan ideals in ethics and civilisation.* A Pagan Renaissance was to be feared, keeping pace with the Christian movement, but less formidable here than in literature. Classical studies in both branches had never quite died out in Italy. Italian Gothic had absorbed many antique elements into a style of its own, which, however, speaks far less eloquently to posterity than the mediæval monuments of Germany, France, or Spain. Thus the Architecture of the Renaissance was as neutral in relation to the national sentiment and conditions of life, as it was in relation to Christianity and the mind of the Church.

The æsthetic merit of the Renaissance principle in Architecture when compared with the Gothic is a totally different question. The champions of the latter may justly insist on its freedom and variety of detail in strict subservience to fixed laws, its perfect mastery of large masses, the superiority of the dynamic principle of construction over the ancient static method, its adaptation of each form to the idea and purpose and to the material employed, its noble symbolism and peculiar capacity for expressing religious and Christian thought, more especially the lifting up of the soul to God;† but we shall not be far wrong if we attribute all that is regrettable in the practical consequences which resulted from the classical revival (especially from the later Renaissance period down to our own day), whether in architecture, sculpture, or handicrafts, rather to the degradation of taste than to the failure of the religious basis. The

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 12 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 49 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† A. REICHENSPERGER, particularly in the pamphlet, Die Kunst Jedermann's Sache, ed. 2, 1891.

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effect of the employment in the modern classical style of ready-made forms, which had been designed by the ancients to express different ideas and serve other purposes, was to slacken that close bond between the form and the thought which it represents, or the use for which it is intended, which is an indispensable condition for all good Art.*

Painting, and to a certain extent, sculpture, must be regarded from another point of view. There is no contrast here, as there is in the modern-classical architecture, between present and past, we have only a further development, especially in regard to statues and grotesques in which the influence of ancient ideas and types is increasingly felt.† Architecture speaks the language of the antique, on which it is based. But in painting and sculpture, classic reminiscences are rare and subordinate, being confined to decorative and architectural details.‡ The painting of this period "is the perfected blossom of the national spirit of the Italians. Had this gifted race produced nothing beyond its magnificent schools of painters, this alone would have sufficed to secure it an imperishable fame. The steady and continuous development of

* The loosening of these relations is apparent in the debased style of the late Renaissance and *baroque* period. This fault, combined with the failure in our own century to recognise the æsthetic interdependence of form and material, is, apart from other contributory causes, mainly responsible for the state of decadence from which architecture and industrial art are only just beginning to emerge. The thorny question as to which style of architecture, the Gothic or the Renaissance, should in the present day be preferred and cultivated, requires to be approached in the light of the history of Art and with a due consideration of modern conditions. *Cf.* Dr A. TSCHERMAK, Ueber einen Hauptfehler des modernen Kunsturtheils in the Christliche Kunstanzeigen, 1894 (Frankfurt), Nos. 11, 12.

† For further details see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 7, and Book II., c. 8.

‡ WOLTMANN, II., 135.

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Italian painting resembles the luxuriant growth of a plant under absolutely favourable conditions. It was rooted in the national religion whence it drew its inmost life." Thus Italian painting became "the chosen interpreter and organ of the mysteries of Christianity."*

Easel-painting, especially saturated with the spirit of religion, reached the highest pitch of excellence which history has ever recorded, and the soul of this pre-eminence was the Catholic Faith.† True it is that here and there, though very rarely, in the 15th Century, the sensuous Pagan tendency appears, side by side with the Christian; but the best work is that which breathes the most purely religious spirit. Painters and sculptors vied with one another in doing honour to the Mother of God. She is "the theme of Raphael's life, the golden thread which is interwoven with the whole fabric of his art" as is proved by the fifty or more pictures of the Madonna which we owe to his pencil. The crown of them all is his Madonna di San Sisto, which, like all his works, combines realism in form, with an idealism in conception.‡ Mary appears here in glory in her triple character of Virgin, Mother of God, and Queen of Heaven.§ The sorrow of the Mother of God is most touchingly represented in the Pietà by Guido Mazzoni (a terra-cotta in S. Giovanni at Modena 1480‖), in the Pietà by Giovanni Bellini at Milan,¶ and in Michael Angelo's renowned masterpiece.**

* GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, VIII., 149, ed. 3.

† This is SCHADEN'S view, 197.

‡ P. KEPPLER, Raffael's Madonnen, in the Histor-polit., Bl. XCVI., 19 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*

§ NAUMANN, Archiv für Zeichnende Künste, Jahrg., II., 100.

‖ Archivio St. dell' Arte, III., 10.

¶ MÜNTZ, I., 5.

** To the objection raised by some of his contemporaries that he had made Mary too young, Michael Angelo replied that he had sought to

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Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper, the "Disputa," Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine tapestries, and the Transfiguration, mark the culminating point of Christian Art.* Although Italy has supplied a liberal share of the contents of nearly all the galleries in Europe, it has still so large a store of religious pictures of the first order, that an even approximately complete enumeration of them would fill a volume.

Altar pieces were the commonest form of easel-picture, but devotional subjects were often painted for private families. Biblical scenes were frequently depicted, and portraiture was widely cultivated. The awakened interest in antiquity opened up a new world of subjects in mythology and history, which served to adorn the state apartments of the rich and great;† but still throughout the 15th Century, the proportion of religious to classical pictures stands at about twenty to one.‡ The advance in realism

represent that Virgin whose soul had never been vexed by the faintest sinful desire, and to make visible to the world the virginity and changeless purity of the Mother of God. This work at once made Michael Angelo the most famous sculptor in Italy. Originally destined for the chapel of S. Petronilla, it was placed in 1749 on the altar of the first chapel in the right aisle of the nave of S. Peter's, where unfortunately its transcendent merits cannot be fully appreciated. See GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 185 *seq.*, ed. 5; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone 433; and SPRINGER, 15 *seq.*; ARNOLD WELLMER, Michelangelo's Spuren in Rom; Frankfurter Zeitung, March 6, 1875, No. 65, Morning edition; Christliches Kunstblatt, 1875 (Stuttgart), No. 7, and WÖLFFLIN, Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo (München, 1891); and also TSCHUDI in the Deutsche Lit-Zeitung, 1891, 885. For other Pietàs *cf. infra* on Savonarola and Art. *Cf.* also BEISSEL in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XVIII., 473 *seq.*, and Revue de l'Art Chrétien, 1883, Octobre.

* On the "Disputa," see Vol. VI. of this work, Book III., c. 10; on Leonardo's Last Supper, see the admirable treatise by FRANTZ—Das Heilige Abendmahl des Leonardo da Vinci, Freiburg, 1885.

† WOLTMANN, II., 134.

‡ MÜNTZ, I., 232–73.

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which characterises all the Art of this period, including the Flemish, still the predominant school throughout the rest of Europe, was obtained at the price of some very doubtful innovations. Saints are often shorn of their nimbus, of their typical attributes and of their traditional features, and they are depicted in the garb and with the faces of ordinary citizens.* The study of the nude, indispensable to accurate drawing, was largely extended by the Renaissance,† but during its earlier portion, while most of the children are naked, male figures are rarely represented nude, and female figures scarcely ever.‡ Religion could not be accused of prudery in the moderate restraints which she imposed upon artists, and it was not till the Renaissance had attained to its apotheosis that they were entirely thrown off.

The Dominican painters § have a special importance as representing the opposition to this incipient profanation of the Art of the Renaissance. At their head is Fra Giovanni Angelico, the most Christian painter of any age,‖ and after him, Fra Filippino, who painted the frescoes in S^ta^ Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, and the great Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, who died in 1517.¶ The war waged by Girolamo Savonarola against the corruptions in the art of this period which were thus setting in, will be described in a subse-

* MÜNTZ, I., 298, 327-46, 604.

† *Ibid.*, 232.

‡ *Ibid.*, 291, "En thèse générale les quattrocentistes évitaient de représenter des figures nues . . . L'emploi des figures nues ne cessa d'ailleurs, pendant tout le quinzième siècle, de soulever des protestations."

§ Renaissance und Dominikanerorden, Histor.-polit., Bl. XCIII., 897 *seq.*; XCIV., 26 *seq.* P. VINCENZO MARCHESE, Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, 2 vols., Bologna, 1878-9, ed. iv.

‖ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 185 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

¶ FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, Regensburg, 1879.

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quent chapter, which will also deal in more detail with its faults and follies; but these were still, as yet, few and far between.

A comprehensive review of the architecture, painting and sculpture of the 15th Century in Italy, leaves no doubt on the mind that the immense majority of this almost countless host of works of art, in spite of traces everywhere of the influences of the antique, were inspired by religion, and that the Art of the period was essentially Christian.* The Art of the Renaissance, although it might be termed aristocratic,† because it dwelt so much in courts and palaces, was yet chiefly used to adorn the churches. As

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, who says, I., 273-4:—"Religious sentiment throughout the 15th Century, inspired the vast majority of artistic productions. Art seems wholly bound up with religion." THODE, Franz von Assisi, 525, observes:—"In spite of the influence of the antique, quattrocento art also is purely Christian." P. KEPPLER, Kunstbetrachtungen in den Histor-polit., Bl. XCV., 17 *seq.*, says:—"The Renaissance produced monuments of religious art, which in their spirit of faith and purity, rank beside the masterpieces of the Middle Ages—its most vigorous roots were struck in the soil of the Church. Neither in intention, character, nor results was it in the main irreligious; and its grandest triumphs were those achieved in the name of Faith and Christianity." VISCHER, Signorelli, 143, says:—"A glance at the works of her painters and sculptors reconciles us with the Italian spirit, for they are the expression of true piety." GOTHEIN, Ignatius Loyola, 87:—"To Art, in a far higher degree than to poetry, was assigned the task of formulating the religious ideal. How she performed that task, how she shewed her gratitude to Christianity, and the services she has rendered and still renders to Catholicism, all this is universally recognised. The artist who painted religious pictures was not himself necessarily pious, although, as a matter of fact, we know that the greatest of these felt all that they portrayed, and whatever is painted or carved by the artist must in some sense have been seen by him. Thus Italian Art represents the whole series of religious emotions from the simplest to the loftiest; and that with incomparable completeness."

† MÜNTZ, I., 234.

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the Greeks gave the best they had to their temples, so did the Italians to their churches. Long before there were any museums or galleries properly so called, these churches partook of both, and contained everything which architecture, painting, sculpture, or the crafts could produce.* All these treasures were accessible to the multitudes. Every day they could be seen at leisure, and in an atmosphere of devotion. The popular taste was formed on them and learnt to study them. Thus Art became the exponent of Faith for all, whether peasant or prince, and the Church still speaks in the same language, even to those who are not her children. Hence a modern critic is perfectly right in his estimate of the significance of the testimony of its Art to the moral and social condition of the Italian people at the time of the Renaissance, when he says, "The painting alone of the Italy of those days atones for all the blemishes that disfigure her, as it expresses the true mind of the nation, apart from that dissolute section of it which composed the ruling class." These monuments of Art "are a proof that the people still spoke and understood the language of profound piety and exalted faith. Even where the sentiment is not directly religious, we find a spiritual beauty, a purity in feeling, a seriousness and lofty enthusiasm which afford unmistakeable evidence that in spite of the inadequacy of the moral standard of the age, the nation remained sound at the core, still seeking the good in the beautiful."†

Art, however, was not by any means the only form in which the vitality of the Faith displayed itself. Large as undoubtedly was the number of unworthy prelates, bishops and cardinals, in this period of turmoil and transition, we

* R. MEYER in the literary supplement to the Leipziger Zeitung, No. 129, Oct. 27, 1894.

† WOLTMANN, II., 136.

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come across many excellent men wholly devoted to their pastoral duties. Such were: at Mantua, Matteo Bonimperto (ob. 1444); at Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani (ob. 1446);* at Milan, Gabriele Sforza (ob. 1457); at Florence, S. Antoninus (ob. 1459); at Osimo, Gasparo Zacchi (ob. 1474); at Bovino, Natulo Lombardi (ob. 1477); at Squillace, Francesco Cajetani (ob. 1480); at Foligno, Antonio Bertini (ob. 1487); at Cosenza, Giovanni Battista Pinelli (ob. 1495); at Imola and Rimini, Jacopo Passarella (ob. 1495); at Aquino, Roberto da Lecce (ob. 1495); at Modena, Niccolò Sandonnino (ob. 1499); at Belluono and Padua, Pietro Barozzi (ob. 1507); at Naples, Alessandro Caraffa (ob. 1503); at Chieti (from 1505 to 1524), Giovanni Pietro Caraffa; at Forli, Pietro Griffi (ob. 1516); at Pistoja, Niccolò Pandolfini (ob. 1518).†

The senate of the Church contained not a few prelates who were eminent both in talent and piety. Martin V. appointed a number of distinguished Cardinals, the greatest of whom were, Domenico Capranica, Giuliano Cesarini and Niccolò d'Albergati. Eugenius IV. bestowed the purple on the famous Greek, Bessarion, on Juan Torquemada, Juan de Carvajal, Enrico de Allosio and Nicolas of Cusa. Calixtus III. elevated the saintly Don James, Infante of Portugal, to the Cardinalate, and Pius II. bestowed the Hat

* See WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1528 *seq.*, ed. 2, which gives all the references for this subject.

† *Cf.* for the above, UGHELLI, especially IV., 380; III., 224; I., 563; VIII., 384; IX., 622; I., 761; IX., 342 *seq.*; II., 690; I., 445; II., 168; V., 439; VI., 224, 943; II., 626; III., 376. For S. Antoninus *cf. supra*, p. 28, and PASTOR'S Hist. Popes, III., 12 (Engl. trans.). For Caraffa's labours in the cause of Reform at Chieti see DITTRICH in the Hist. Jahrbuch, V., 346 *seq.* BURCKHARDT, II., 104, 230, ed. 3, points out that in Italy, bishoprics never (as for instance in Germany) ran in families; also that novelists and satirists scarcely allude to the bishops. Virtuous bishops are described by BANDELLO, II., 39, 40, in his novels.

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on Angelo, the worthy brother of Domenico Capranica, Bernardo Eroli, Alessandro Oliva, and Roverella. Under Paul II. the noble Olivieri Caraffa and Marco Barbo were nominated. The Cardinals appointed by Sixtus IV., Stefano Nardini, the two Spaniards Auxias de Podio and Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, also Gabriele Rangone and the saintly Elias de Bourdeilles, were an honour to the Sacred College.*

Afterwards, when the College of Cardinals was becoming more and more saturated with worldliness, many pious, learned, and capable men remained, who were in every sense ornaments to the Church, to counterbalance the unworthy members. One of these was Raymond Peraudi, created by Alexander VI., but, towering above all the rest, mention must here be made of the great Francis Ximenes, who combined administrative qualities and literary culture of the highest order with entire simplicity, and the most inflexible morality. He received the Hat under Julius II. Later, under Leo X. the senate of the Church was graced by Cajetanus (Thomas de Vio), who, as Legate in Germany, France and Hungary, displayed consummate ability, and was styled, on account of his learning, the greatest theologian who had appeared in the Church since S. Thomas Aquinas.†

Even in Saints the Renaissance period was richer than is commonly supposed. The following list, arranged according

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 225, 261, 264 *seq.*, 306, 309, 320; II., 8–9, 105 *seq.*; III., 294, 297, 299; IV., 255, note †, 301 (Engl. trans.).

† A more detailed account of these Cardinals will be given further on. *Cf.* also Hist.-polit., Bl. LXXIX., 103 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 231, and SANUTO, XI., 771–3, agree in praising Caraffa. When Peraudi died, in September 1505, JULIUS II. wrote as follows:—Erat enim rectus et sedi apost. admodum utilis. Breve episc. Lesinen *s. d.* Lib. brev. 29 *seq.*, 72b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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to the date of death, may, though incomplete, give the reader some idea of the glorious band of Saints and Beati the study of whose lives is a revelation of that Christian Italy of the Renaissance, which has so long lain hidden under its more prominent heathen aspect.*

1400. Oddino Barotti, Provost of Fossano in Piedmont.
1404. Jacopo d'Oldo, priest at Lodi.
1410. Orsolina da Parma.
1411. Daniello da Venezia, Camaldolese.
1415. Benincesa Rapaccioli, Servite.
1419. Chiara Gambacorti, Dominicaness.
1419. Giovanni Dominici, Dominican.
1426. Benincesa, Servite in Tuscany.
1429. Gemma of Sulmona.
1429. Conradino, Dominican. He refused the purple and died in the service of the plague-smitten inhabitants of Bologna.
1430. Manfredi of Riva, Hermit.
1432. Roberto Malatesta, Franciscan tertiary at Rimini.
1433. Stefano Agazzari, Regular Canon of Bologna.
1435. Pietro Gambacorti, founder of the Hermits of S. Girolamo.
1435. Angelina di Marsciano, Franciscan tertiary at Foligno.
1440. Francesca Romana.
1443. Niccolò d'Albergati, Bishop of Bologna and Cardinal.
1444. Bernardino of Siena.
1446. Giovanni Tavelli, Bishop of Ferrara.
1447. Tommaso Bellacci.
1447. Coleta.
1450. Angelina, Poor Clare at Spoleto.
1451. Ercolano of Plagario, Franciscan.
1451. Matteo da Girgenti, Franciscan.

* For the following list the reader is referred in general to CHEVALIER, Répert., where a complete and accurate summary of the literature on this subject will be found. Various details about the early Renaissance Saints are given in the earlier portion of this work, Vol. I., 36, 232 *seq.*

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1452. Pietro Geremia, Dominican.
1455. Fra Angelico da Fiesole, Dominican, and painter.
1455. Giovanni Bassand, Celestine.
1455. Andrea of Modena, Franciscan.
1456. Lorenzo Giustiniani, Patriarch of Venice.
1456. Filippo d'Aquila, Franciscan.
1456. Rita di Cascia.
1456. Giovanni Capristano, Franciscan.
1456. Gabriele Feretti.
1457. Angela Felix.
1458. Angelo Masaccio, Camaldolese.
1458. Cristina Visconti at Spoleto.
1458. Antonio ab Ecclesia.
1458. Elena Valentinis of Udine.
1459. Antonino, Archbishop of Florence.
1460. Antonio Neyrot of Ripoli.
1460. Archangelo of Calatafimi.
1463. Caterina of Bologna, Poor Clare.
1463. Maddalena Albrici.
1466. Bartolomeo de Cerveriis, Dominican.
1467. Margherita, Princess of Savoy, Dominicaness.
1471. Antonio of Stronconio.
1471. Matteo Carrieri, Dominican.
1472. Giovanni Bonvisi, Franciscan.
1476. Jacopo della Marca, Franciscan.
1478. Caterina of Pallanza.
1478. Serafina of Pesaro.
1479. Andrea of Montereale, Augustinian.
1479. Michele di Barga, Franciscan.
1480. Andrea of Peschiera, Dominican.
1482. Amadeo, Franciscan, at Milan.
1482. Pacifico Ceredano, Franciscan.
1483. Giacomo Filippo Bertoni, Servite.
1483. Damiano Fulcheri, Dominican.
1484. Maria degli Alberici.
1484. Cristoforo of Milan, Dominican.

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1485. Jacopo, Franciscan, at Bitetto.
1486. Bernardo of Scammaca, Dominican.
1489. Bartolomeo Foresta, Franciscan.
1490. Pietro of Molino, Franciscan.
1490. Lodovico Ravida, Carmelite.
1491. Jacopo Alemannus, Dominican, at Bologna.
1491. Giovanna Scopelli at Reggio.
1491. Eustochia Calafata, Poor Clare.
1491. Vitale of Bastia.
1494. Bernardino of Feltre.
1494. Sebastiano Maggi, Dominican.
1494. Antonio Turriani, Augustinian.
1495. Angelo of Chivasso.
1495. Francesca, Servite nun at Mantua.
1495. Veronica of Binasco.
1495. Domenica, Franciscan nun at Urbino.
1499. Marco of Modena, Dominican.
1502. Girolamo Garibi, Franciscan.
1503. Martino of Vercelli, Augustinian.
1504. Vincenzo of Aquila, Franciscan.
1505. Margherita of Ravenna.
1505. Osanna of Mantua.
1506. Colomba of Rieti.
1507. Francesco di Paolo, founder of the Minims.
1507. Francesco of Caldarola, Franciscan.
1510. Caterina Fiesco Adorna.
1511. Giovanni Licci.
1520. Elena Duglioli dall'Olio, at Bologna.

We have already seen how the innately religious temperament of the Italian nation shewed itself in countless works of mercy, in Art, and in the vast number of Saints and saintly persons which it produced. Pervading all classes of society, it revealed itself in all sorts of ways, and neither the troubles of the times, nor yet the corruption of a great part of the clergy, had power to extinguish the flame of

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piety, in some districts amounting to fervour, which still burned in the hearts of the people. Even in the accounts of sanguinary party feuds, such as those at Perugia, the chroniclers cannot refrain from turning aside to record instances of saintliness and Christian charity among the citizens.*

The way in which the great Jubilee years 1450, 1475 and 1500 were observed, affords unmistakeable proof of the devout spirit of the masses,† and this was no less manifest in seasons of general calamity, notably in the frequent outbreaks of the Plague. Every effort was then made to obtain pardon from God, by acts of penance, mercy and piety. In the archives of Bologna, when in 1457 the city was visited with an outbreak of Plague and an earthquake, we read of solemn impetratory processions through the streets. Numbers of flagellants paraded the city in solemn array, crying aloud when stopping before the crosses set up at the street-corners, and crying Mercy! Mercy! (*Misericordia!*). A strict fast was kept for a week, the butchers sold no meat; even women living in shame amended their lives.‡ In 1496 when Siena was convulsed by civil strife, a report spread abroad of a miraculous apparition which inspired great terror. At once the brotherhoods instituted processions, and all the parishes, one after another, did the same. Long lines of men and women filed into the Cathedral, where each one lighted a taper before Duccio di Buoninsegna's picture of the Virgin (the celebrated *Majestas*). Besides this, every one, according to his ability, performed some act of charity. One man, says Allegretto Allegretti, ransomed an imprisoned debtor,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 29, ed. 3.

† *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 74 *seq.*; IV., 280 *seq.*, and Vol. VI., Book I., c. 6 (Engl. trans.).

‡ Annal. Bonon., 890.

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another gave a dowry to a poor maiden, others again had masses said. This was done by the members of all the brotherhoods. Day and night they walked in processions barefoot through the city, scourging themselves, and reciting prayers imploring the Divine protection.*

Towards the end of 1504 and the beginning of 1505, Bologna was harassed by a succession of earthquakes. The municipality immediately organised solemn processions in which their principal relics and the Madonna di San Luca were carried. The people fasted and prayed, wearing mourning and rope girdles. As a thank-offering, when at length the shocks ceased, Giovanni Bentivoglio caused the story of S. Cecilia to be painted on the walls of her chapel, by Francesco Francia and his pupils.†

Similar measures were adopted by the Venetians after their disastrous defeat near Agnadello on May 14, 1509. A day of humiliation was officially proclaimed, in order to appease the wrath of God, and during those days of terror, more than 70,000 of the inhabitants received the Sacraments.‡

Many dignitaries of the Church, even Popes like Alexander VI., were utterly worldly; but the Italians perfectly, and better than any other nation, understood the distinction between the man and his office. S. Catherine, in saying that allegiance must be rendered to every Pope however bad, and under all circumstances, only expressed what was universally believed.§ The dispensers of blessing

* Allegretto Allegretti, 856.

† GOZZADINI, Giov. Bentivoglio, 147 *seq.* WOLTMANN, II., 310–18. These frescoes, although damaged, are of such exquisite beauty that no one who has once been in the chapel can forget them. The burial of S. Cecilia is incomparable in its tenderness and grace.

‡ BEMBO, lib. viii.

§ SCHULTHEISS, in the Allgem. Zeitung, 1892, No. 294, Supplement; *cf.* also GOTHEIN, Ignatius, 79. S. Antoninus enlarges upon

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and grace might be personally unworthy, but the people knew that Christ's deputy, however faulty, was still the representative of the Lord in the exercise of his office, and that the Sacraments derived their efficacy from Christ, and not from the merits of His minister. A sinner like Vitellozzo Vitelli had no dearer wish before his execution than to obtain the Pope's absolution, although that Pope was Alexander VI.* The sons of Caterina Sforza exhorted her in her trouble not to let the devil drive her to despair at the thought of all her sins, for one drop of Christ's blood was sufficient to atone for all the crimes in hell. Caterina, like a true child of the age, had never lost her Faith. Even, in the midst of her follies and while leading a life of sin, she built churches and endowed convents. In her old age she repented of her cruelties, heard mass daily, and gave alms liberally.† In her later years, Lucrezia Borgia equally sought to atone for the errors of her youth by deeds of piety and charity.‡

the possibility of wicked priests being elevated even to the Papacy, and enjoins the duty of obedience to them. The whole structure of human society which is God's ordinance, rests, he argues, on authority. Therefore, however wicked the powers or their underlings may be, the authority is in itself good—and good will spring from it. The power which God allowed the devil of tempting or tormenting Job, or Peter, or Paul, must have served to prove or humble those thus assaulted. S. Antoninus then emphasises the duty of obedience, particularly to the Pope, the chief of all earthly potentates. For the rest, a Pope though morally imperfect may yet be a good ruler; and even if he should happen to be both a bad man and a bad ruler, the misuse of power is one of the results of human corruption, but the power itself is still divine, and serves to purify and save the elect, to punish and condemn the wicked. S. ANTONIN., Summ. Theol., III., tit. 22, c. 2.

* MACHIAVELLI, Scritti minori, 142; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 98, 148, 251, ed. 2; BARZELLOTTI, Italia mistica, 51.

† PASOLINI, II., 290, 398 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., c. 5 (Engl. trans.).

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Death-beds, on which the consolations of religion were rejected, were almost unknown. Cosimo de' Medici had been guilty of much cruelty to his enemies, and injustice in the collection of the revenue. When he felt his end approaching he prepared for death by a humble confession of his sins, and after having asked pardon of all around him, received the Holy Viaticum with the deepest faith and contrition.* Lorenzo de' Medici, in spite of the lax morality of his life and his relish for the maxims of the heathen philosophers, still kept a firm hold on positive Christianity. He too died as a good Catholic. When the Holy Communion was brought to him, he would not receive his Saviour lying in bed. In spite of the remonstrances of those about him, the dying man arose, dressed himself, and, supported by his attendants, entered the hall where he prostrated himself before the Sacred Host. The devotion with which he received the Holy Viaticum made a deep impression on the bystanders.†

Even men, who in youth and health had heaped scorn and derision on the Church and her Priests, returned when they lay dying, to the Faith of their youth.

The punishments inflicted by the Church had certainly less effect than formerly,‡ partly through the fault of the clergy who employed them too freely and for trifling causes; but that they were still observed and dreaded by the mass of the people, is proved by the strenuous efforts

* SCHULTZE, S. Marco, 50; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 139, ed. 2. For C. Marsuppini who died, unfortified by the rites of the Church, *cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 26 (Engl. trans.).

† REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 416, ed. 2.

‡ P. P. VERGERIO as early as the year 1408, complains of this (Arch. Stor. per Trieste, l'Istria ed. il Trentino, I., 372); *cf.* also the Florentine Ambassador's Report dated Rome, 1454, Feb. 27. (Florentine State Papers, Cl. X., Dist. 2, No. 20, f. 259.) See also PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 318 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

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made for the removal of Interdicts, and the effect produced by the Pope's excommunication of Savonarola.*

Belief in the intercession of the Saints and the miracles wrought by their relics was universal. Every town and village tried to secure some such heavenly protector for itself. Even States, which like Venice were perpetually at variance with Rome on account of their encroachments on the rights of the Church, proved no exception to this rule. We find repeated accounts of infinite pains and large sums of money expended by the Venetians in procuring relics in the countries which they had wrested from the Turks. On the arrival of these sacred treasures, the whole municipality, with the Doge at their head, came forth in solemn procession to meet them. In 1455 it was agreed that 10,000 ducats was not too great a price to pay for the seamless coat of Our Lord, which, however, could not be obtained.† The republics of Siena and Perugia went to war for the possession of the marriage ring of the Blessed Virgin; Sixtus IV. endeavoured to mediate between them. Rome was richer than any other place in relics. Two specially precious treasures were acquired during the 15th Century, namely, the head of S. Andrew, purchased by Pius II., and the Holy Lance, presented by the Sultan to Pope Innocent VIII. On both occasions, the entry of these relics was celebrated by a gorgeous pageant, in which the Christian Renaissance displayed its utmost magnificence.‡ The Romans watched over their treasures with jealous care, so much so, that their chief magistrate called Pope Sixtus IV.

* For a detailed account, see *infra*, and also BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 137, ed. 3; and CAMPORI, CIII., Lettere inedite di Sommi Pontefici, 1 *seq.* Modena, 1878.

† BURCKHARDT, I., 72, ed. 3.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 249, 258 *seq.*, and *infra*, Book I., c. 4 (Engl. trans.).

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sharply to account for having, in 1483, bestowed certain relics on Louis XI.* when he was dying.

The veneration of the Blessed Virgin, always strong in Italy, was remarkably so at this period. High and low, Popes and Princes, or simple town and country folk, vied with one another in their devotion to Mary. Art and poetry did their utmost in her honour. Countless churches and chapels were dedicated to her, and miraculous pictures of her were reckoned the most precious treasures that any city could possess, and were carried solemnly through the streets in times of trouble. In all their distresses the people turned with touching confidence to the Mother of Mercy; whole towns sometimes, as was the case with Siena in 1483, would consecrate themselves to the Queen of Heaven.† In a similar manner Savonarola, amid general enthusiasm, proclaimed Christ, King of Florence.

Church festivals were celebrated with a pomp and splendour undreamt of by northern nations. Rome, the centre of the Church, had always been famous for the magnificence of her ecclesiastical ceremonies; under Pius II. and Paul II. they became still more sumptuous. That of Corpus Domini, to which Martin V. and Eugenius IV. had devoted much attention, was the most brilliant of all. The Popes themselves took part in the Roman processions, appearing in full pontificals, usually carried on the *Sedia Gestatoria* and surrounded by all the Cardinals and prelates

* Sixtus IV. appealed to the example of his predecessors, especially S. Gregory the Great who had also given away relics; Jac. Volaterranus, in MURATORI, XXIII., 187.

† BURCKHARDT'S remarks (Cultur, I., 252 *seq.*, 254 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 335, ed. 3) on this point need correction, as also BARZELLOTTI'S in Italia mistica, 52. Neither of them is acquainted with the extensive Catholic literature on the subject. *Cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 848 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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and the clergy of the city. Nicholas V. and Pius II., out of reverence for the Sacred Host, went on foot, carrying the monstrance in their own hands. Even if the papal court was travelling, as, for instance, in 1462, when Pius II. was at Viterbo, Corpus Domini was celebrated with as much pomp as in Rome. Contemporary accounts shew how all those resources of decorative art which were so richly developed by the Renaissance were called into play on these occasions in the service of religion.* The exquisite banners, mostly designed and executed by painters of the Umbrian School, were a prominent feature in those pageants.† Venice was famous for the splendour of her Corpus Domini festival, in which the Doge and all the Magistrates took part.‡ In Ferrara, the members of the reigning house always appeared in the procession.§

Descriptions, dated 1439 and 1454, are preserved of the famous semi-dramatic pageant on S. John the Baptist's day at Florence. That of 1454, as we see by the record, represented the whole history of the world, from the fall of Lucifer to the Last Judgment.‖

The ardent veneration for the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, expressed in these gorgeous Corpus Domini processions, is one of the most consoling features of those times.¶

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 288; IV., 106 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* also BURCKHARDT, II., 144, 191, ed. 2; MORONI, IX., 46 *seq.*, and D'ANCONA, I., 79 *seq.*, 296, ed. 2. For the grand Corpus Domini processions held since 1426 in Perugia, *cf.* Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 6 *seq.*, and for the procession at Bologna in 1492, see Annal. Bonon., 911.

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 81.

‡ SANUTO, VIII., 376 *seq.*, and MOLMENTI, 326 *seq.*

§ D'ANCONA, I., 295, ed. 2.

‖ CREIZENACH, I., 303 *seq.*

¶ F. X. KRAUS attributes this to the Franciscans. Lit. Rundschau (1895), 9. *Cf.* Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XXXIX., 45.

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In Art it manifested itself in the beauty and costliness of the Tabernacles. The best masters vied with each other in designing and creating a worthy dwelling-house for the Body of Christ. Thus in 1432 Ghiberti designed the Tabernacle for the church of the Weavers' Guild in Florence. Others of the same period, and equally beautiful, can still be admired at Arezzo, Fiesole, Prato, the Hospital della Scala at Siena, and in S^ta^ Maria Nuova, S. Ambrogio, the Cathedral, and the Baptistery at Florence. It was by no mere chance that under Julius II., the "Disputa" of Raphael was painted to celebrate the glories of the Holy Eucharist.*

The prayers of the period bear touching testimony to the prevailing veneration for the Blessed Sacrament. Equally earnest and devout were the morning and night prayers then in common use, the prayer to S. Jerome for protection during the day, and the private devotions at mass and before confession. The meditation of the Venerable Bede on the seven last words of Our Lord had been translated into Italian and was very popular, particularly in Tuscany.†

Such prayers take us back to the time when, untroubled by heathen practices of so many of the upper and cultivated classes, the confraternities of workmen were wont to assemble when the day's toil was over, to pray and to sing in the churches and chapels of their respective guilds, or before the images of the Madonna at corners of the streets. Pilgrimages were another common form in which devotion and the sense of spiritual needs were manifested.‡ Next to Rome, the most important places of pilgrimage were

* For a detailed description of this picture, see Vol. VI. of this work, Book II., c. 10 (Engl. trans.).

† See Orazioni antiche Toscane in Palermo, Opera a ben vivere di S. Antonino, 265 *seq.*

‡ See REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 428 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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Loreto and Assisi, and in the South, the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano.

As regarded other places of pilgrimage, that of the Monte Sacro of Varallo, instituted in 1491, soon obtained a great reputation,* while, in due correspondence to the special love of the Italian for the Madonna, those dedicated to the Blessed Virgin are by far the most numerous. The following new shrines in her honour were added during this period to those already existing, some of which date from the first centuries of Christianity. In Piedmont, our Lady of the Pillar, at Mondovi; in Liguria, our Lady of the Wood of Camogli, near Genoa; in Lombardy, our Lady of Grace at Mantua; S^ta^ Maria presso Celso in Milan; in the Æmilia, our Lady of the Fire in the Cathedral at Forli; our Lady of the Oak at Viterbo; our Lady of Good Counsel at Genazzano; our Lady of Perpetual Succour at Rome; and many others.†

The concourse of the faithful at these holy places was greatest of all when, to the attraction of the sanctuary itself was added that of the presence of some famous preacher of penance. The earnest outspokenness of these Friars, the deep and practical impression often produced by their sermons, form one of the most cheering features of the time, shewing what deep root the Christian Faith had struck in the hearts of the Italians.

II.

Side by side with the Christian Italy of the Renaissance was another Italy deeply imbued with the pagan spirit of the Classics. In the South, which is the land of extremes,

* MOTTA, Il beato Bernardino Caimi fondatore del Santuario di Varallo, Doc. e lett. ined. Milano, 1891.

† WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 856 *seq.*, ed. 2, which gives the literature on this subject.

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this unchristian element necessarily asserted itself in a sharper contrast with the other than in more northern countries, and the preaching Friars were in perpetual conflict with it. The century which produced S. Antoninus, Fra Angelico, and S. Francis of Paula, was also the age of Lorenzo Valla, Sigismondo Malatesta, Cæsar Borgia, and Niccolò Machiavelli. The chair of S. Peter was occupied in turn by Alexander VI. and Pius III., Innocent VIII. and Julius II. Good and evil are curiously interwoven in all the Italian States during the 15th Century.* If we ask how it was that so many of the Italians of that day became so fearfully depraved, the answer is not far to seek. The cause is to be found in the unrestrained individualism fostered by the pseudo-renaissance. The adherents of this soul-destroying philosophy deliberately advocated the selfishness, pride, ambition, and sensuality of Paganism in opposition to the mortification, self-abnegation, and humility of Christianity. Thus it was that those specially revolting characters of which Niccolò Machiavelli is the type came into existence, men who combined the highest polish with the utmost depravity, cruelty, and cunning.† When Machiavelli pronounced that "All Italians are super-eminently irreligious and wicked," the words are false as a general statement, but true of the votaries of the heathen renaissance. Most of these men gave themselves up to lust and sensuality with the rest, the proud virtue of the heroes of antiquity took the place of the Christian ideal.‡

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 16, ed. 3; HÖFLER, Rodrigo Borja, 21; and GRIMM, Michael Angelo, I., 117, ed. 5.

† *Cf.* ARNOLD E. BERGER, the "Rückkehr zum Zeichen" (ritornar al segno, as Machiavelli says) in the Allg. Zeitung, 1894, No. 237, Supplement. ANTONIO OF VERCELLI emphatically denounces the selfishness of his age, Serm., III., 69.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 201, ed. 3.

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The result of these views was to produce a craving for personal glory, which amounted almost to a demoniacal possession. Even in Petrarch we find an overweening vanity which is distinctly pagan, and notions of a sort of Elysium in the next world for great men, borrowed from Cicero, and Plato's "Phaedon." In him, however, and in all the Christian Humanists, we recognise a conflict between the two antagonistic principles of heathen self-glorification and Christian humility.* But not so with the votaries of the pseudo-renaissance. For them, merit and glory are identical. That man alone is admirable who has won laurels, no matter what means he has employed. Wherever we find the ideal of Christian life thus obscured by the ideal of achieving fame, there, too, we find the pagan Elysium, as depicted by classical authorities, replacing the Christian Heaven which could be won only by faith and self-denial. Dante had not deemed it possible for even the greatest of the heathen, those whom he would most gladly have admitted into Paradise, to rise above the Limbo just on the gate of Hell. Now, indeed, the poets launched out into all the new liberal ideas of the future state; in Bernardo Pulci's poem, Cosimo the Elder is received after his death into heaven by Cicero, who is called "the father of his country," and by the Fabians, Curtius, Fabricius, and many others, "and with them," it continues, "he will adorn that choir in which only blameless souls may sing."†

The Modern temple of Fame was built up by the writings of the Humanists, who instituted a sort of cultus of great men, including veneration of their birth-places and tombs. "The philologists and poets have created a universal pantheon in their collections of the lives of celebrated men

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 3 (Engl. trans.); and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 317, 361, ed. 3.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 317–318, ed. 3.

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and women." They regard themselves as the arbiters of fame and immortality.* "Their boundless pretensions, colossal vanity, insatiable thirst for glory, in any form and with any results" are expressed "with appalling frankness" in Machiavelli's famous preface to his history of Florence. He censures previous writers for their too scrupulous reticence in their accounts of the civil feuds. "They were greatly mistaken, and have proved how little they understood human ambition, and man's desire to perpetuate his name. How many who could not distinguish themselves by noble deeds, have sought by their crimes to become, at any rate, notorious. Those authors did not take into consideration that actions of importance, such as those of states and rulers, always meet with more praise than blame whatever their nature and consequences."†

This explains why thoughtful historians of the Renaissance have attributed more than one detestable and criminal undertaking to an inordinate craving to achieve something that should be remembered.‡ The greatest admirers of the Renaissance acknowledge that there is something truly diabolical in this temper of mind.§ Machiavelli's latest biographer very justly observes that Cola di Rienzo, Stephano Porcaro, Girolamo Ogliati and others, were actuated less by the love of liberty than by a desire to emulate Brutus. It was vain-glory rather than faith or fanaticism which nerved them to face death on the scaffold;‖ happily such instances were rare. With the majority,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 173 *seq.*, ed. 3.

† *Ibid.*, II., 179, ed. 3.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 215 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), which shews the connection between many conspiracies and assassinations of this pernicious classical revival.

§ BURCKHARDT, I., 179–180, ed. 4; VILLARI, I., 78.

‖ VILLARI, *loc. cit.*

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when death in its stern reality drew near, these idle dreams vanished and made way for repentance and conversion.*

Vain-glory, however, was by no means the worst of the vices which sprang from the unrestrained self-regarding spirit which the false renaissance did so much to promote. Luxury and extravagance, deceit and fraud, gambling, vendettas, immorality, rapine and murder, religious indifference, infidelity, and preternaturalism were its boon companions. The culmination of the results of this apotheosis of selfishness was seen in some men who appeared at this time, monsters in human form, utterly ruthless, revelling in crime for its own sake, not merely using it as a means to an end; or, rather using such means to compass ends even more abnormally detestable and horrible than the means themselves. To this class belonged Sigismondo Malatesta, and, in a sense, Cæsar Borgia;† but they were exceptional, and altogether the Pagan Humanists formed a mere fraction of the Italian nation. It is, however, indisputable that the infection of their poisonous influence was widely diffused. Zealous preachers may sometimes exaggerate, but, beyond all doubt, Italy, under the influence of the false renaissance, was rapidly deteriorating. The more we look into the inner life of the period, the fuller we find it of the most startling contrasts.‡

In almost every town luxury and immorality were on the increase, driving out the old simplicity and purity of manners. "I know not how to describe the luxury which has already infected the whole of Italy," cries Roberto da Lecce in one of his sermons. "Ever since S. Bernardino began to preach, he and his successors have denounced vanity and extravagance in dress; but to no purpose, for the women

* FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 187.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 224 *seq.*, ed. 3.

‡ TORRACA, Roberto da Lecce, 140.

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grow worse and worse." He threatens frivolous women with the wrath of God. "Oh ye wantons, God is angry because of you, your trailing gowns, your bare bosoms, your painted faces, your desecration of holy places and seasons, your obscene gestures," etc. Another time he treats the subject with less indignation, but more practically. "The love of ostentation has so increased nowadays that the dower of a bride is something enormous, and a man with several daughters is hardly able to afford to marry more than one of them.* Other preachers, such as Antonio da Vercelli† and Michele da Milan,‡ used language to the same effect; but the efforts to stem the growing evil were by no means confined to the Friars, the magistrates in the cities were equally alive to it.

There is hardly a town in all Italy whose statute-book does not shew a whole series of enactments against luxury, extravagance in dress, especially among women, over-expenditure on weddings, bridal outfits, feasts, and funerals.§ Their frequent repetition proves how quickly and widely the mischief was spreading.‖ The flourishing state of trade

* GÜDEMANN, 214–5, where Old Testament denunciations of luxury in dress are cited.

† ANTONIUS VERCELLEN., Sermones, f. 121; BAPT. MANTUANUS, De Patientia, lib. II., c. 23.

‡ MICHAEL DE MEDIOLANO, I., 48; II., 48–49; III., 48, 72.

§ In Florence, the statutes of 1415 enacted that the number of guests on both sides at weddings and family festivities was never to exceed 200. Among the great families in Rome, the number of guests at weddings was so large that public squares were converted into banqueting halls by means of canvas roofs. See REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 358, Supplement.

‖ In Florence, so early as 1306 and 1330 sumptuary laws were issued. Next came the strict prohibitions of 1352, 1355, 1384, 1388, 1396, 1439, 1456 (see Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 100; HÜLLMANN, IV., 139; RÖSLER, Dominici, 54 *seq.*), of Nov. 29, 1464, and Feb. 29, 1471 (these two, which so far as I know have never been printed, I found in the

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and manufacture, and the growing prosperity of the country, together with the impetus given to Art by the Renaissance, and the artistic temperament of the Italian people, combined to stimulate to an alarming degree the taste for extravagance and display, especially in dress, in some of the great cities.*

Cod. Capponi, CIV., f. 74–76, 102–104, of the National Library in Florence), and 1511 (see LANDUCCI, 307). At Bologna we must notice Card. Bessarion's regulations about dress, dated 1453, which caused bitter lamentations among the women. See a pamphlet by Matteo Bosso of Verona. (*MATTHAEI VERONENS.,Can. reg. ad B. [essarionem] Card. Tuscul. Bononiae legatum ne feminis Bononiensibus luxuriosa ornamenta vestium reddantur, Cod. Vat., 1196, f. 99 *seq.* See Vatican Library.) In Rome the statutes revised by Paul II. (see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 30, Engl. trans.) and the regulations of Sixtus IV. imposed limitations on luxury, but quite in vain, as Altieri's interesting description written in Julius II.'s time shews: Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri, ed. Narducci (Roma, 1873). At Lucca sumptuary laws were enacted in 1473 and 1484 (see Arch. St. Ital., X., 124 *seq.*). At Macerata prohibitions of luxury begin with the 15th Century. *Cf.* Gli statuti suntuari del secolo XV. al XVIII. per la Città di Macerata. (Fano, 1879, Wedding publication.) Venice and Genoa passed innumerable laws curtailing extravagance (see besides BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 170, ed. 3; MOLMENTI, 279 *seq.*). *Cf.* also SANUTO, XIV., 115 *seq.* For Genoa, BELGRANO, 166, 254 *seq.*, 260 *seq.*, 493 *seq.*

* The authorities cited in preceding note supply further details supplementing BURCKHARDT'S statement in Cultur, II., 112 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*, 117, 172, ed. 3. *Cf.* also BAUDRILLART, Hist. du luxe, III., 333 *seq.* (Paris, 1880); CIAN, Cortegiano, 43, 88 *seq.*, 155; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 5, 198 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*; MANCINI, Alberti, 442 *seq.*, 453; MOLMENTI, La Dogaressa di Venezia, 233 *seq.*, 256 (Torino, 1884); Arch. della Soc. Rom., I., 484, note. In Rome, which only a few decades earlier had seemed to the cultured Florentines no better than a city of cowherds, luxury increased enormously under Sixtus IV. and his successors. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 238 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); REUMONT, III., 1, 463 *seq.*, 2, 458 *seq.*; and the Allg. Zeitung, 1874, No. 358, Supplement (following the "Nuptiali" by Marco Antonio Altieri, already quoted). For Renaissance banquets and table decora-

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The chief cause of the rapid progress made in material comfort and good living was the wealth of the country. The Italians had become one of the richest nations in the world. The revenue of Naples in 1455 was 310,000 ducats, that of Florence 200,000, of the Papal States 400,000, of Milan 500,000, of Venice as much as the whole income of the King of Spain, namely 800,000 ducats. In 1492 it amounted to 600,000 in Naples, 300,000 in Florence, 1,000,000 gold ducats in Venice, thus shewing a general improvement, in spite of the loss inflicted on Italian commerce by the steady advance of the Turks. After this, indeed, came blow upon blow, each one falling most heavily on Venice, the last and worst of all being the discovery of the sea-route to the East Indies; but her wealth still remained very great.*

The prosperity of Florence ranked only second to that of Venice, and accordingly the complaints from both preachers and laymen were loud in proportion. "The furniture of a single room," writes Leon Battista Alberti, "costs more than would once have sufficed to prepare a whole dwelling for the reception of a bride. Formerly workmen were content to eat their mid-day meal of bread, with a little wine, in the workshops, while the women dined at home, and no wine was drunk except at meals. Nowadays the young folk want to enjoy themselves, they waste their money

tions, see Essays by M. SEIBT in the Frankf. Zeitung, 1887, Jan. 11 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 212; L. STECCHETTI, La tavola e la cucina nei secoli XIV., XV. (Firenze, 1884); and the pamphlet by L. A. GANDINI, which is important as containing new material drawn from the Archives at Modena. Tavola, cucina e cantina della corte di Ferrara, nel Quattrocento, Modena, 1889 (Nozze Agazzotti-Testi).

* MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 50 (Revenues of 1455); GREGOROVIUS, VII., 347 (Revenues of 1492, *cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 256 *seq.*); and with reference to Venice, LUIGI DA PORTO, 26, and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 63, ed. 3.

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at play, or on feasting and finery, or with women; they have lost their reverence for age, and fritter their time away in idleness. Public men try to make their offices as lucrative as if they were in trade." "The times," remarked Alessandra Strozzi, in a letter dated 1466, "are not favourable to matrimony. Young men prefer to remain single. Things are out of all proportion nowadays, and bridal outfits have never been so extravagant. No matter how large the dowry may be, the bride, when she leaves her father's house, generally carries it all away on her back in silks and jewels."*

The evil increased rapidly in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, and some families were brought to utter ruin by sheer prodigality and luxury. The banquet given by Benedetto Salutati and his fellow-craftsmen in 1476 to the sons of King Ferrante, is an instance of the extremes to which this was sometimes carried. It resembled the notorious orgy of Cardinal Pietro Riario.† At the same time, as has been justly observed, excesses of this kind were far from being general throughout Italy. Everyday life remained simple, so that we must not take contemporary lamentations too literally.‡ But there is no denying the downward tendency which characterised the 15th Century. Many rich families set a bad example. The celebrations for the marriage of Bernardo Rucellai and Nannina de' Medici in 1466 consumed more than 150,000 lire of our money.§

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 323, ed. 2; and Kleine Schriften, 131 *seq.*

† PALAGI, Il convito fatto ai figliuoli del Re di Napoli da Benedetto Salutati e compagni mercanti Fiorentini il 16 Febbraio del 1476 (Firenze, 1873). For the banquet of Cardinal Riario, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 240 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ This is REUMONT'S opinion, Lorenzo, II., 313, 323, ed. 2.

§ Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 125 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*

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Usury and fraud went hand in hand with the wealth and commerce, which all this luxury required for its support. S. Bernardino of Siena reproaches the merchants with the devices and tricks with which they strove to overreach each other. He is particularly angry with the Stocchi family (stocco = rapier), who were in the habit of buying up goods in order to raise prices, then selling them again at a profit, and afterwards buy them back cheap. Their name fitted them well, for they stabbed and murdered their neighbours, and ought to be driven out of the city. S. Bernardino is equally severe on those who used false weights and measures, who knew they were sinning, but said to themselves—

> "From floor to roof the barn we 'll fill,
> May the goods be gotten well or ill."

The Saint vehemently denounces those Christian usurers who even give money to the Jews, which by usury they have extorted from Christians.* It is plain from the sermons of Gabriele da Barletta (1470), Roberto da Lecce, and Michele da Milan, that matters did not improve as time went on. The latter gives a long list of common forms of fraudulent contracts and monetary transactions, explaining the technical terms in his own way.† A whole series of sermons by Michele deal with tricks of trade and false weights.‡ Gabriele da Barletta, in his peculiar, graphic style introduces the following dialogue into one of his sermons:—"My son, art thou a Christian?" "Yea, father,

* GÜDEMANN, 244 *seq.*, who, in opposition to all received authorities, flatly denies that the Jews practised usury. It was natural that the preachers should attack the Christians, since no Jews came to hear their sermons.

† GÜDEMANN, 245.

‡ MICH. DE MEDIOLANO, Sermones, Pars II., N. 81, and the whole of Pars III. See also ROB. DE LITIO., Quadrag. de Peccatis, 123.

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christened in such and such a church." "What is thine occupation?" "I am a usurer." "Oh, if thy wife's gowns were put under a press the heart's blood of the poor would drip from them."*

From these passages it is plain that the Jews were not the only extortioners and oppressors of the poor. The Christian Jews lent money on far more exorbitant terms, as the Town Council of Verona complained, than the Jews themselves.†

The preachers everywhere inveighed against usury, and many cities, Piacenza for instance, forbade it under pain of the severest penalties (exclusion from Holy Communion and from Christian burial), but the evil was still unabated.‡ It was, of course, at its worst in commercial and financial centres like Florence and Venice. In Florence we find all patriots, writers, preachers, and legislators concurring in putting usury foremost in the list of offences, and attributing all other evils to it, and we have documentary proof that their accusations were no mere oratorical phrases. Thirty per cent. was no uncommon rate of interest.§

In 1420 money-lenders were prohibited from taking more than 20 per cent., but still there was no improvement. Ten years later another course was tried, and an attempt made to put a stop to Christian usury by allowing the Jews to lend at 20 per cent. Jews and Christians now combined to grind the people down,‖ and the writings of both clergy and

* G. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, 48. Lugdun., 1511.

† DELLA CORTE, Storia di Verona, III., 6. Venezia, 1744.

‡ GÜDEMANN, 246.

§ PÖHLMANN, 80 *seq.*; ENDEMANN, Studien, I., 32 *seq.*; JANNET, Le crédit populaire et les banques en Italie, 12 *seq.* According to MORONI (XLVI., 252) 70 or 80 p.c. was sometimes charged in Italy; 40 p.c. was usual at Piacenza in the days of Bernardino da Feltre. See WADDING, XIV., 481.

‖ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 308 *seq.*, ed. 2; PÖHLMANN, 81.

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laity are full of complaints of their extortions. S. Antoninus composed a treatise against usury, in which he protests most earnestly against these iniquitous practices.* Twenty years after the death of the Saint, Vespasiano da Bisticci exclaims, "Repent, O city of Florence, for thou art full of usury and unlawful gains. Thy citizens devour one another; greed of gain has set every man's hand against his neighbour; injustice has become so common that no one is ashamed of it. Of late thou hast seen terrible things in thy streets, such disturbances and distresses as are plainly a chastisement from God, and yet thou remainest obdurate. There is no hope for thee, because the minds of all are set upon nothing but money-making, although they see how, the moment a man dies, all his riches vanish away like smoke." Vespasiano da Bisticci addressed similar exhortations to the Milanese.† The preachers redoubled their efforts, but they did not content themselves with words, and in the end it was they who sought and found a remedy in the erection of public loan-offices.

As in the 13th Century, so now, in the latter half of the 15th, it was the Franciscans who, with the sanction of the Apostolic See, took this social reform in hand.‡ Intercourse with all classes of society had rendered them familiar with the pitiless greed with which Jewish and Christian money-lenders took advantage of a temporary embarrassment to demand incredibly high interest. To prevent this extortionate trading upon the needs of the smaller townsfolk, the Franciscans resolved to found institutions where any one in want of ready money could obtain

* De Usuris: *Cf.* FABRICIUS-MANSI, I., 111, and ENDEMANN, I., 34 *seq.*

† VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, Vite, ed. Frati, III., 322.

‡ *Cf.* JANNET, 10.

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it in exchange for some pledge, and without interest, the working capital of the scheme being supplied by voluntary contributions, collections, gifts, and legacies. Hence the expression *mons* (mountain) meaning a heap of money, the owners of which were supposed to be the poor in general, or the institution.

To the Papal States belongs the honour of having opened the first of these charitable institutions, or mountains of mercy (*montes pietatis*). The Popes at once recognised the significance and the importance of these establishments, and encouraged them to the utmost of their power. In the year 1463 Pius II. established the first Mons Pietatis in Orvieto; that of Perugia was founded in 1464 by Paul II. In both places the Franciscans were the originators and chief promoters of the movement.* Sixtus IV. erected one in his native city, Savona. In the course of time similar institutions sprung up in Assisi, Mantua, Pavia, Ravenna, Verona, Alessandria, Ferrara, Parma, Rimini, Cesena, Montagnana, Chieti, Rieti, Narni, Gubbio, Monfelice, Brescia, Lucca, Aquila, and other places, and almost always under Franciscan auspices. S. Bernardino da Feltre especially was indefatigable in this direction. In the course of his missionary tours, which covered almost the whole of Italy, he founded Montes Pietatis wherever he went. The extraordinarily rapid diffusion of these institutions is the best proof that they responded to a real want,

* In addition to the references given in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 32, 33 (Engl. trans., notes), see also WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1690 *seq.*, ed. 2; BRUDER'S Staatslexikon, III., 1092 *seq.*; BLAIZE, Des Monts-de-Piété, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856); ENDEMANN, in Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie, I. (1863), 324 *seq.*; ENDEMANN, Studien der Romanisch-canonistischen Wirthschafts- und Rechtslehre, I. (1874), 460–471; DE DECKER, Les Monts-de-Piété en Belgique, Introduction (Bruxelles, 1844); and JANNET'S work, which has not received as much notice as it deserves, p. 4 *seq.*

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especially in the smaller towns. They met also with plenty of resistance; the war that was carried on against them is significant as a proof of the predominance and social power which, through their control of the Exchange, the Jews had acquired in Italy at that time.*

Many of the Princes, Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza of Milan and Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, were on the side of the usurers; but they found in S. Bernardino da Feltre a strong and persevering opponent.† In the Saint's unwearied and unsparing denunciations of the Jews we are led to see what a baneful influence they exercised throughout the whole of Italy, and how they drained the life-blood of the people, both rich and poor. The result was a wide-spread anti-semitic movement, which sometimes led to reprehensible excesses. S. Bernardino must not be held responsible for these, for he denounced the Christian usurers as well as the Jews, and deprecated all violence. "No one," he said in his sermon at Crema, "who values the salvation of his soul will dare to injure the Jews either in their persons or their property, or in any other way. For we owe justice and Christian charity to all men, and the ordinances of the Popes and the spirit of Christianity alike enjoin this; but, on the other hand, the Church forbids us to maintain intimate relations with Jews; neither ought we to have recourse to them as physicians, as is now so commonly done."‡ Nevertheless, some Jewish usurers endeavoured to procure his assassination.§ S. Bernardino

* JANNET, 14.

† See ERLER'S articles on the persecutions of the Jews in Vering's Archiv für Kirchenrecht, L., 61 *seq.*; LIII., 3 *seq.*

‡ Acta Sanctorum, Sept., VII., 868, 882; ERLER, *loc. cit.*, LIII., 9, 13.

§ At Modena a Jewess sent him some poisoned fruit. See ERLER, *loc. cit.*, L., 62.

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escaped from his assailant and continued his labours. In 1486 Innocent VIII. called him to Rome, and soon after, a Bull in favour of the Monte was issued.

In the year 1473 a Monte di Pietà was to have been erected in Florence, but the intention was not carried out. It was said that the Jews had bribed the magistrates and Lorenzo de' Medici to prevent it, with a sum of 100,000 ducats. When S. Bernardino came there in 1488 he endeavoured to revive the project, but the Jews were again successful, by their intrigues and bribery, in staving it off. Finally Savonarola at last succeeded in procuring its establishment. The decree promulgated on this occasion shews the grinding usury practised by the Jews. We find that in Florence they exacted 32½ per cent. for loans, so that a loan of 100 florins would bring in by the end of fifty years the sum of 49,791,556 florins, 7 grossi, and 7 danai.* The ever-increasing demands upon the Monte di Pietà necessarily entailed a corresponding increase in the expenses of administration, and thus it was found needful to make a small charge on each loan in order to cover these. To this the Dominicans objected, as a contravention of the law of the Church against usury.† A literary controversy sprang up on this question, which was embittered by jealousies between the various orders. Here, as always, the Holy See adopted a line of wise moderation. Martin V. had already declared the lawfulness of mortgages,‡ and his successors

* *Cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 294 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); also DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 238 *seq.*; JANNET, 12, n. 5; PERRENS, II., 147; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 309, ed. 2. These authorities completely dispose of the assertions of Güdemann (see *supra*, p. 100, note *) and REINACH, Hist. des Israélites, 152 (Paris, 1885), who deny the practice of usury by the Jews.

† JANNET, 13; and BRUDER'S Staatslexikon, III., 1093.

‡ See BRUDER, Finanzpolitik Rudolfs IV. von Œsterreich, 95 *seq.* Innsbruck, 1886.

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followed his example in regard to the Monte di Pietà. The foundation of these institutions had been approved by Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Julius II.;* finally, they were protected from all further attacks by a privilege granted to them by Leo X. on May 4, 1515, in the fifth Lateran synod. They were allowed to demand a percentage on loans sufficient to defray the expenses of management, but no more than this. Any one who asserted this to be unlawful incurred excommunication.† The fall in the rate of interest in the 16th Century to a great extent coincides with the prosperity of the Monte di Pietà.‡ Another great evil of this period was the vice of gambling, which was more intense and universal in Italy than in any other country in the world. Already, in the 13th and 14th Centuries, this passion had acquired a terrible hold over the whole nation, both rich and poor—even the Jews in Italy were enslaved by it. During the annual villegiatura, when people were less under observation, it went on to a frightful extent. There was no lack of enactments against it; the laws of every town contain statutes condemning and forbidding it.§ In Florence, dice-throwing and other games of hazard had been interdicted as early as the year 1285; but there, as elsewhere, these prohibitions, though repeated in the 15th Century, had very little effect, especially as on certain days play was permitted. The influence of saintly men, such as S. Dominic and SS. Bernardino and Antonino, was the only thing that seemed to have any power against it. It is related of the latter that one day after having

* See ERLER, *loc. cit.*, L., 63; LIII., 6, 9; and JANNET, 24.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 646.

‡ JANNET, 15.

§ *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 305 *seq.*, ed. 3. In the 13th and 14th Centuries the Rechtsgeschichtliche Studien of Zdekauer in Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, XVIII., 20 *seq.*; XIX., 3 *seq.*

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preached at San Stefano, as he was returning through the Borgo SS. Apostoli, he saw a party at play in the Loggia of the Buondelmonte. He walked in at once and overturned the tables, while the players, startled and ashamed, fell on their knees before him and begged to be forgiven.* The effect of the labours of such men as these were unfortunately largely frustrated by the evil influence of the excesses which many of the worldly-minded Cardinals and nephews of the Popes permitted themselves to indulge in.† The originals of the graphic pictures drawn by Leon Battista Alberti‡ of the gamblers of his day were probably Romans, but the same thing went on in Genoa and all the other great cities.§

Undoubtedly of all the evils which darken Italian life in this period, the deadliest was the prevailing immorality. Contemporary writings are full of complaints on this subject, especially of course those of the preachers. Roberto da Lecce declares that the wickedness of his day exceeded that of the world before the flood.‖ This no doubt is an exaggeration, but it cannot be denied that in the smaller as well as the more important cities, immorality increased to a terrible extent during the age of the Renaissance, and that especially amongst the cultivated and higher classes, revolting excesses were common. Illegitimate children were not accounted any disgrace, and hardly

* See RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 36; and REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 315, ed. 2.

† For instance, Franceschetto Cibò, of whom mention will be made later on.

‡ Cena di Famiglia in the Opere volgari, I., 176 *seq.* *Cf.* RÖSLER and REUMONT, *loc. cit.*

§ BELGRANO, 434.

‖ ROBERTO CARACCIOLI, Quadragesimale de peccatis, 146 (Venet. 1490); GÜDEMANN, 219.

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any difference was made between them and those born in wedlock.*

With a few honourable exceptions almost all the Italian Princes of the age of the Renaissance were steeped in vice; the crimes of the Borgia family were not without parallels in other princely houses. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in his History of Frederick III., says, "Most of the rulers of Italy in the present day were born out of wedlock."† When Pius II. came to Ferrara in 1459, he was received by seven Princes, not one of whom was a legitimate son.

It is therefore not surprising that in this era of bastard dynasties no one took umbrage at the origin of the Borgia family, or that little heed was paid to moral character in general.‡ Cruelty and vindictiveness went hand in hand with immorality. Many of the illegitimate rulers allowed themselves to perpetrate deeds that we shudder to read of. The histories of the Malatesta in Rimini, the Manfredi in Faenza, the Baglioni in Perugia, are an appalling tissue of malignity, profligacy, and savage brutality. Giampaolo Baglione lived in incest with his sister. The city of Siena, torn to pieces by factions, had for her tyrant Pandolfo Petrucci, whose summer sport was to hurl great boulders from the top of Monte Amiata regardless of who or what might be in the way.§

* ZELLER, Italie et Renaissance, 188; VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 10; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 114, ed. 5; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 37 *seq.*; and R. DI SORAGNA in Rassegna Naz., X., 131 (1882).

† A. SYLVIUS, Gesch. Kaiser Friedrichs III., 135 (Leipzig, 1890); *cf.* CUGNONI, 199. Things were not much better in most of the other countries of Europe. *Cf.* HÖFLER, Die Aera der Bastarden am Schluss des Mittelalters (Abhandl. d. Böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., VII., Folge, IV. Bd.), Prag, 1891.

‡ CIAN, Cortegiano, 35; GRAF, Cinquecento, 120.

§ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 28 *seq.*, 34, ed. 3; TOMMASSINI, Machiavelli, I., 335.

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All the glamour of tasteful magnificence and intellectual culture which hangs round the Courts of the Sforza in Milan and the d'Este in Ferrara is insufficient to conceal the fearful immorality which pervaded this brilliant society, and the horrors that were enacted within it. One domestic tragedy succeeded another. In Ferrara, "in 1425, a Princess was beheaded for adultery with a step-son; in 1491, the sons of the House, both legitimate and illegitimate, fled from the Court and were dogged by assassins sent after them; the exiles kept up a series of conspiracies against the government; the bastard of a bastard sought to dispossess the lawful heir, Ercole I., who, a little later, in 1493, was supposed to have poisoned his consort on discovering that she was plotting to get rid of him by the same means, at the instigation of her brother, Ferrante, King of Naples. The whole episode closes with a plot contrived by two bastards against their brothers Alfonso I. the reigning Duke, and Cardinal Ippolito, which, being discovered, they were forced to expiate by a life-long imprisonment."*

The Court of Naples was, if anything, even worse. Indefatigably energetic, Ferrante combined considerable intellectual culture with the cunning and cruelty of a beast of prey. Pontano describes the horror with which he watched the King chuckling and rubbing his hands with Satanic delight at the thought of the poor wretches confined in his dungeons, whom he kept in trembling uncertainty as to what their fate was to be. Most of these unhappy victims had been treacherously seized while dining at his own table. Ferrante's treatment of his old minister Antonello Petrucci, who had grown grey and lost his health in his service, has been justly characterised as diabolical.

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 47 *seq.*, ed. 3; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 139 *seq.*; and BELGRANO, 40.

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The poor man, in ever increasing alarm, kept on making present after present to his master, who quietly accepted them all, and when an opportunity came, in the shape of a plot in which it was possible to accuse him of being implicated, had him arrested and executed. The chronicler Philippe de Comines says of Ferrante's son and successor, Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, that he was the cruellest, most vicious, and commonest man that had ever been seen.*

The Court of the Gonzaga family at Mantua shews a somewhat better record, though there, too, excesses were not wanting. Even at that of the Montefeltre at Urbino, of which Baldassare Castiglione has painted such a charming, though highly idealised picture, very immoral plays were performed, and much admired.†

Dark blots deface the history of the Medici family, more especially that of Lorenzo. Thanks to his excellent mother, Lorenzo never lost his Faith, as was proved by his Christian death, but the life of this great patron of the Arts and Literature was far from corresponding with his belief. Even his warmest admirers are unable to defend his memory from the disgrace of the cruel sack of the city of Volterra, of his seizure of the chest containing the money for the marriage portions of maidens, by the loss of which many were driven to embrace a life of shame, and of the audacious greed with which he appropriated the property of the State. He was hardly ever without some love affair on hand, and for years carried on an intrigue with a married lady. One day would find him disputing in the

* GOTHEIN, 32 *seq.*, 364 *seq.*, 523-26; and BURCKHARDT, I., 36, 37, ed. 3.

† In further details on this point, see *infra*, where the Drama is treated of. In regard to this Court, see REUMONT, III., 2, 136 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, I., 43 *seq.*, ed. 3; CIAN, Cortegiano, 17 *seq.*; and especially LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino. Torino, 1893.

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Academy on virtue and immortality, and inditing pious poems; on the next he might be seen in the midst of his dissolute friends singing loose carnival-songs, or listening to Luigi Pulci declaiming the wanton lyrics of his "Morgante." The words and example of such a man, and the evil splendour of such a Court, could not fail to have a corrupting influence on Florentine life.*

As in Florence, so also in Venice, those who were at the head of the government set the worst example. What we are told by a Milanese Ambassador in the year 1475, of the immorality of the Doge, Pietro Mocenigo, a man of 70, and what other narrators relate of the corruption of the nobles, sounds almost incredible. Under such circumstances we cannot be surprised to find traitors among the highest officers of the Republic, or that Soranzo was hanged for robbing churches, and Contarini put in chains for burglary.†

The indulgence with which the excesses of the great were viewed by the disciples of culture is something amazing. The amours of princes were celebrated during their lifetime by poets and literary men, and later by painters, also in a way that in modern times would have been considered the height of indiscretion, but was then looked upon as merely a tribute of friendly feeling.‡

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 346, ed. 2; and Gesch. Roms, III., 1, 355; STERN, I., 178; VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 39 *seq.*, 44, 49 (Engl. trans.). BAUDRILLART, 342 *seq.*; OWEN, 152; GASPARY, II., 247 *seq.*, 251; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 33 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 186, 222; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 11 *seq.*; the document here cited on p. 121, does not indeed afford much evidence on the subject of Lorenzo's immoralities, since, instead of referring, as Buser supposes, to 50 beautiful slaves, it only mentions 50 Sclavonian hides!

† MOLMENTI, 291, 296; BELGRANO, 408; BURCKHARDT, I., 64, ed. 3. See also a Letter from Leonardus Botta to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, dated Venice, 1474. State Archives, Milan.

‡ BURCKHARDT, I., 53, ed. 3; GOTHEIN, 525.

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The Humanists of the false renaissance made themselves indispensable at the Courts of the various Princes as tutors, orators, or envoys, and vied with their patrons in the immorality of their lives.

As regards the morals of the bulk of the population, excluding the Court circles, it is impossible to form any certain judgment. We have already pointed out how much that was good and admirable it still contained, especially amongst the intelligent middle classes—the social strata which in the towns are comprised between the craftsmen (inclusive) and the city patricians.* Religion was the central interest in their minds. Accustomed to an occupied life, regulated by the exigencies of each day's work, they exercised far more control over their imaginations than the classes either above or below them. They felt the corruption of the clergy acutely, and were deeply anxious for reform, even if it were only in their own cities, as is testified by the chronicles of the time, which proceed mainly from these circles.†

Also, if we want to form a correct idea of the historical facts of the case, we must not allow ourselves to take the descriptions of poets, satirists, novelists, and preachers too literally; they almost all generalise unduly, and exaggerate, and judgments founded on such sources are sure to be more or less mistaken,‡ but there can be no doubt

* See *supra*, p. 11.

† GOTHEIN, Ignatius von Loyola, 81, who also points out the immense influence of the "Divina Commedia" on the tone of thought of the citizen class. Raphael in the "Disputa" justly assigns a place amongst the theologians to Dante.

‡ *Cf.* WOTKE'S observations, which are very valuable, though perhaps sometimes carried a little too far, in his paper on Ercole Strozza, 11 *seq.* (Wien, 1892); and in the Allg. Zeitung, 1893, No. 29, Suppl. It is a pity that he does not enter more into detail in the statement of his views. Those of Schultheiss in the Allg. Zeitung, 1892, No. 301, Suppl., are

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that, side by side with the many good elements in Italian society in the 15th Century, there was also a terrible amount of evil.* Amongst the general causes contributing to produce this state of things a considerable share must be assigned to literature and the drama.

The foul literature produced by such writers as Beccadelli, Valla, Poggio, and their innumerable disciples was accessible only to the cultivated classes. Among the great bulk of readers the poison was disseminated by means of the novels and plays which were written in the vulgar tongue. In addition to Boccaccio's novels, first printed by a Jew, and repeatedly re-issued during the 15th Century, there were the far worse productions of Ser Cambi, Masuccio, Gentili Sermini, Francesco Vettori, Bandello, and others.† Their favourite subjects are the relations between the sexes, treated with the crudest realism, and in connection with this, attacks on marriage and the family. The unsuspicious husband is hoodwinked, and the jealous husband is betrayed in spite of all his precautions. Priests and Monks seduce and deceive, and are in their turn cheated and beaten. The tendency in all is to condone, and indeed to glorify adultery, if only it is accompanied with adroit deception.‡ As with the Humanists of the false renaissance,

similar. *Cf.* also RANKE, Zur Kritik, 153*; Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, II., 288 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 452-3; GRANT in Die Nation, IV., 482 *seq.*; and in the same connection, GEIGER, in the Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Lit.-Gesch. N. F., II., 250 *seq.*

* *Cf.* for one class of subjects, BELGRANO, 422 *seq.* and 453 *seq.* Though the preachers often exaggerate in their diatribes, still in many cases their statements are only too definite and credible. *Cf.* Sermones de Sanctis, Gabr. Barlete, 12.

† HOFMANN, Barbara von Mantua, 25. BOCCACCIO'S Decamerone was read even by women; see MAI, Spicil., IX., 616. On the dissemination of bad books, see Sermones, Gabr. Barlete, 13.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 31, n. ‡. (Engl. trans.), with the references

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free love is the ideal set before the reader. Gradually things came to such a pass that men who were thoroughly estimable in all other respects actually defended divorce. It is interesting in this connection to compare the opinions of Leon Battista Alberti and Baldassare Castiglione, two of the most celebrated writers of the time of the Renaissance. The former wrote a work on education in Italian, which, compared with Dominici's treatise on the same subject, bears clear traces of the evil influence of the false renaissance. In the first the system of morals is based on the firm foundation of Christian teaching; in the second it rests on purely human considerations. Alberti's practical counsels are excellent, but the name of Christ is scarcely ever mentioned, and the ancient classics supply all the models of conduct and heroic instances.* At the same time, Alberti firmly holds fast the indissolubility of the Sacrament of Marriage. A quarter of a century later Baldassare Castiglione, though so high-minded in all other respects, expresses opinions in his "Cortegiano" which look very like an apology for adultery.† Pontano says plainly that a wife had better shut her eyes to the relations between her husband and her maids.‡

Again, from a moral point of view, the influence of such poems as the romantic epics of Bojardo and Ariosto was anything but good. Bojardo's chivalric poem is full of coarse jokes and doubtful episodes;§ the "Orlando Furioso"

there given. See also DANDOLO, Secolo di Leone X., II., 155 *seq.* Milano, 1861.

* RÖSLER, Dominici's Erziehungslehre, 186 *seq.*, and the same writer's admirable work, Die Frauenfrage, 207. Wien, 1893.

† See CIAN'S interesting essay, Divorzisti e Antidivorzisti nel Rinascimento Italiano, in the Turin Gazzetta Letteraria, 1893, N. 6.

‡ GOTHEIN, 572.

§ ERSCH-GRUBER, II., Section 26, 25.

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of Ariosto, the Court poet at Ferrara, is much worse. Here the occasions of all the knightly exploits and feats of arms are simply the sensual passions of the heroes and heroines, and the poem is full of voluptuous descriptions, glowing with colour, and all the more dangerous from the attractiveness with which the art of the poet invests them. Many portions of the Orlando, the most important work of the kind which the Renaissance produced, are of such a character that the majority of its translators refrain from reproducing them.* Before entering on his, anything but decorous, diatribe against women, and their ineradicable duplicity, faithlessness, and caprice, Ariosto himself says:—

> Donne e voi che le donne avete in pregio
> Per Dio non date a questa istoria orecchio. . . .
> Passi chi vuol tre carte, o quattro, senza
> Leggerne verso;
>
> *Orlando Furioso*, Canto xxviii.

There are also in this poem many satirical passages on the immoral lives of the clergy, though the poet's own conduct was not by any means of a kind to give him a right to be severe upon the sins of other men.† Ariosto, however,

* RUTH, Gesch. der Ital. Poesie, II., 293 *seq.*; MAFFEI, Storia di Lett. Ital., 3, 2 (Milano, 1825. II., 61–64); GASPARY, II., 412, 429 *seq.*, 436 *seq.*; WEISS, Apologie, II., 382; BURCKHARDT, II., 45, ed. 3; SCHNEEGANS, Groteske Satire, 112 *seq.*; E. SCHMIDT, Der rasende Roland, in the Allg. Zeit., 1882, Nos. 308, 310. The privilege granted to Ariosto by Leo X. on the publication of his poem, has given rise to a foolish notion that this Pope had formally approved of it; whereas in fact it is nothing but an ordinary grant of copyright, REUMONT, III., 2, 347.

† Ariosto, says RUTH, II., 245, could neither live nor write without a mistress. In his fiftieth year he refused the honourable post of Envoy to Rome, which would have extricated him from all his pecuniary difficulties, because he could not bring himself to part from his lady-love in Ferrara (Satira, VII., 57 *seq.*). He resolved not to marry in order to

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never attacked religion; indeed, in some of his Satires he points out the danger of tampering in any way with Faith.*

From the moral point of view, it was in his plays that Ariosto permitted himself the greatest licence. Nowhere does the deep-seated corruption of the Italian Courts display itself in a more revolting form than in this branch of literature. Here we see the influence of the ancient pagan spirit at its worst.

To Pomponius Laetus, a votary of the false renaissance, and the pomp-loving Ercole I. of Ferrara, belongs the doubtful glory of having restored the works of Plautus and Terence, to the stage. No Festa of the Roman Academy, or the Court of Ferrara, could be adequately celebrated without a representation of some play, full of indecent jests, by one or other of these authors. Those organised by Pomponius Laetus in Rome were, however, carefully got up in antique style. It was at Ferrara that the true renaissance of Plautus and Terence was accomplished, under the auspices of Ercole I., who was the founder of the characteristic Drama of this period.† They were his favourite authors. The stage decorations were gorgeous, many of the pieces, in which a ballet (Moresca) was always introduced, were a tissue of low *double-entendres.* During the Carnival of the year 1486 the Menaechmi of Plautus was represented in Italian for the first time in Ferrara.‡ This piece was

retain his liberty. *Cf.* also FERNOW, Ariosto's Leben, 81 *seq.*, 86 *seq.*, 177 (Zürich, 1809); PRÖLSS, I., 2, 107; and SCHUCHARDT, in the Allg. Zeit., 1875, No. 149, Suppl.; and Renaissance und Keltisches. Berlin, 1886.

* *Cf.* besides RANKE, Z. Gesch. d. Ital. Poesie, WERKE, 51–52, 204, especially GABOTTO, La politica e la religiosità di L. Ariosto in the Rassegna Emiliana. Modena, 1889, Novembre.

† See D'ANCONA, Origini del Teatro Italiano (ed. 2, Torino, 1891); and FLECHSIG, Dekoration der Modernen Bühne, 6 *seq.*, 10 *seq.*

‡ Diario Ferrarese, 278.

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the most popular of his plays in the age of the Renaissance, and the one which exercised the greatest influence on the development of Italian Comedy. Ercole's successor, Alfonso I., was equally devoted to this kind of performance. Ariosto's "Cassaria" (the Casket), written in the style of Plautus, was produced for the first time at his Court during the Carnival of 1508.* This vile piece, in which the chief personage is a pander, who, after the fashion of ancient Rome, is a dealer in female slaves, is even surpassed in licentiousness by the same author's "Suppositi," which was put upon the stage at Ferrara for the first time in the following year. His third Comedy, "Lena" (a procuress), a tale of low debauchery, was performed in 1528 before the whole Court at the marriage of Prince Ercole with Renée of Valois.†

Isabella d'Este, wife of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, shared her father's passion for the Drama, and took great pains with the Theatre at Mantua. Secular plays were also introduced at Urbino. In Rome classical plays probably first began to be acted in the reign of Innocent VIII., and were not long restricted to the small circle of the Humanists. Very soon the worldly-minded Cardinals and other Church dignitaries opened the doors of their palaces to Pomponius Laetus and his dramas. Cardinal Raffaele Riario especially patronised the stage with princely munificence.‡

* CAMPORI, Notizie per la Vita di L. Ariosto, 68–9 (ed. 2, Modena, 1871); FLECHSIG, Dekoration der Modernen Bühne, 20 *seq.*

† On the plays of Ariosto see KLEIN, IV., 304 *seq.*, 326 *seq.*, 351 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 416 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 109 *seq.*; BOUTERWEK, II., 58 *seq.*; FEUERLEIN, Die Ital. Komödie, in the Preuss. Jahrb., XLVII., 10 *seq.* On the representations in Ferrara see CAMPORI, *loc. cit.*, 69 *seq.*, and FLECHSIG, 22 *seq.* See also CAMPANINI, L'Ariosto (Bologna, 1891); and Giorn. d. Lett., XX., 282 *seq.*

‡ D'ANCONA, Origini, II., 65 *seq.*, 347 *seq.*, ed. 2; FLECHSIG, 25 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*

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Under Alexander VI. the taste for theatrical representations made great progress. Plays, for the most part of an extremely objectionable character, were a prominent feature in all court festivities, and also in the Carnival amusements, in which Alexander took a great interest. In 1502 the Pope had the Menaechmi performed in his own apartments.* Fortunately, the warlike tastes of Julius II. for a moment checked the stream, but under Leo X. it flowed freely again. He was not ashamed to be present at a sumptuous representation of Cardinal Bibbiena's immoral play, "Calandria," which was put on the stage for the first time at Urbino during the Carnival in 1513.†

Machiavelli's plays surpassed even those of Ariosto and Bibbiena in absence of decorum. His "Mandrágola" (the Magic Drink) is the worst. Nothing more detestable could be invented than the incident which he describes in his masterly prose. Unbridled passion and the lowest desires are the main theme of the play. In its clever and sparkling dialogue, adultery is held up to admiration. In this loathsome production, Machiavelli gave free vent to the

* Dispacci di A. GIUSTINIANI, I., 379, 404, 413; SANUTO, IV., 722, 767, 782; ADEMOLLO, Il Carnevale di Roma, 23 *seq.* (Firenze, 1891); FLECHSIG, 46 *seq.*

† PUNGILEONI, 288; VERNARECCI, in Arch. St. p. le Marche, III., 183 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 213 *seq.*; D'ANCONA, Origini, II., 77 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, ed. 2; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 18 *seq.*; FLECHSIG, 60 *seq.*; CELLI, in the Nuova Rivista Misena, VII.: Un carnevale a la corte d'Urbino e la prima rappresentazione della Calandria. As to the play itself see, besides these authorities, KLEIN, IV., 392 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 577 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 101 *seq.*; GRAF, Studii drammatici, 87 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 138; Preuss. Jahrb., XLVII., 15 *seq.*; R. WENDRINER, Die Quellen von B. Dovizi's Calandria (Halle, 1895), shews that Bibbiena, in writing Calandria, was more influenced by Boccaccio than by Plautus. CASTIGLIONE says that in the performance of Calandria some scenes "which perhaps would have been hardly admissible on the stage" were altered.

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corruption of his own nature, and to his bitter hatred of the clergy. The piece is in the most striking contrast to Dante's noble indignation against the unworthy representatives of the Church. Machiavelli's aim in his caricature of Fra Timoteo is to pour contumely on the whole order. The avaricious and gluttonous monk insults and tramples on all that is most sacred in the Church, and cares for nothing but the pelf which is to reward his infamy.

His second comedy "Clizia," an imitation of one of Plautus' most scandalous pieces, is on a par with the first. In the Prologue he says that he hopes to have succeeded in avoiding anything that could appear objectionable; it is his business to make people laugh, and he has chosen lovers as his subjects, but has throughout expressed himself in such a manner that ladies may see and hear without blushing. In reality, there are passages in the play which no decent man could hear with patience.* Even the Humanist, Giglio Gregorio Geraldi exclaims "What times! what morals! All the vileness of the heathen drama which had been driven out by Christianity has returned again."†

In regard to the Drama there were two distinct worlds, the Court circle in which plays of this kind were admired and enjoyed, and the educated middle-classes which continued

* KLEIN, IV., 371 *seq.*, 422 *seq*; GASPARY, II., 579 *seq.*; PRÖLSS, I., 2, 118 *seq.*; GRAF, Studii drammatici, 131 *seq.*; Machiavelli als Komödiendichter in the Allg. Zeitung, 1881, Nr. 237, Suppl. SAMOSCH, Machiavelli als Komödiendichter (Minden, 1888); VILLARI, Machiavelli, III., 134 *seq.*, here, p. 136, are to be found his arguments to prove that Leo X. was not present at the performance of Mandrágola. GASPARY'S remarks on the Jesuits and this play carry their own confutation with them. There is no obligation laid on any one to know anything of the Religious Orders; but when a man takes upon himself to write about them, he is bound to have at least an elementary acquaintance with his subject.

† RUTH, II., 507.

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to relish and cultivate the Sacred Drama, the influence of which was invaluable as a counter-check to the sensuous tendencies of the false renaissance. This, however, could not last; the movement towards the revival of the classical stage, inaugurated by the Humanists, swept steadily onwards, and in the course of time, the religious drama became extinct.*

In addition to the baneful effects of this corrupt literature, a custom which began to prevail in Italy about the middle of the fourteenth Century, exercised a very disastrous influence on the national morals. About this time, slaves began to be imported from the East, mostly women and girls, more rarely boys and youths.† Previously to the Turkish conquests, these women were mostly Tartars or Circassians, brought over, as a rule, by the Venetians and Genoese. Subsequently the majority were captives from Servia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania. Repeated enactments in the statute books, ever increasing in stringency, shew what abuses accompanied this traffic. It sounds strange in our ears to find this abomination referred to in the letters of eminently respectable persons quite as a matter of course, and the national characteristics and qualities of these slave-girls freely discussed.‡ It can be proved that slaves of both sexes were commonly held in nearly all the great cities in Italy, such as Venice, Florence, Mantua, Ferrara, Lucca, Naples and Genoa. The Italian

* D'ANCONA, II., 61 *seq.*, ed. 2; FLECHSIG, 6.

† ZAMBONI, Gli Ezzelini, Dante e gli schiavi, 242 *seq.*, 280 (Wien, 1870); BONGI, Le schiave orientali in Italia in the Nuova Antologia (1868) II.; BURCKHARDT, II., 78 *seq.*, ed. 2; ZANELLI, Le schiave orientali a Firenze nei sec. XIV., XV. (Firenze, 1885); REUMONT in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 51 *seq.*; MOLMENTI, 293 *seq.*; GOTHEIN, 411 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Buffoni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d'Isabella d'Este, 61 *seq.* (Roma, 1891); Vita Italiana nel Rinascimento, I., 91 *seq.*

‡ Lettere di Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, 475. Firenze, 1877.

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Princes made it a point to have some Moorish male and female slaves, who were valued in proportion to the blackness of their skins, and, like the fool and the dwarf, were considered an indispensable appendage of a brilliant Court. The Court artists have immortalised some of these quaint figures in their frescoes.* Almost all the great families in Florence possessed female slaves. The evil custom brought its own retribution with it. "Often the peace of a household was destroyed by one of these slave women; legitimate and illegitimate children were brought up together. Thus, we see Carlo, afterwards Provost of Prato, the son of the elder Cosimo de' Medici and a Circassian slave bought in Venice, educated with the other children, while the mother of another member of the family, Maria, daughter of Cosimo's son Piero, is unknown." It is safe to say that in any house where there were female slaves, the morals of the male members of the family were sure to be far from exemplary. From private letters we learn that there was a great unwillingness to marry among the younger mercantile nobility. In reference to this, Alessandra Strozzi, writing of her sons, remarks that "the devil is not so black as he is painted."†

There is another distressing feature of the age which

* MANTEGNA in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castle at Mantua. Paolo Veronese at a later period frequently introduced black men in his pictures.

† REUMONT in Hist., Jahrb., VII., 57, and Kleine Schriften, 134 *seq.* In Siena, in the beginning of the 15th Century, the State found it necessary to take measures against the increasing prevalence of celibacy; see L. FUMI, Bando di prender moglie in Siena (Siena, 1878). In Lucca a decree was passed in 1454 debarring all unmarried men between the ages of twenty and fifty from any public office (see Giorn. Ligust., 1890, 188), an example which was followed by the municipality of Città di Castello in 1465. See MUZI, Mem. eccles. e civili di Città di Castello, I., 230, II., 28.

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supplies a certain measure for its moral condition, and must not be overlooked by the historian of culture. Already, in the 14th Century, in the towns in Italy, the number of unfortunate women leading a life of shame had been very great. The 15th Century shows a notable increase in this class, even in small places like Orvieto and Perugia.* These women were tolerated to prevent worse evils. In great international centres, such as Venice, Rome and Naples, as years went on the state of things grew worse and worse. The chronicler Infessura, who, however, cannot be depended upon for accuracy, estimates the number of these unhappy creatures in Rome in the year 1490 at 6800.† In Venice, in the beginning of the 16th Century, their number was

* FABRETTI, Documenti di Storia Perugina, Vol. I. (Torino, 1887), cites decrees in 1424, 1436, 1478, 1486 and 1487 against these women, but all these enactments proved ineffectual. In 1488 a new edict was published, but equally with no result. The Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro tells the same story in regard to Orvieto, see pp. 166, 168, etc. For other cities (Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Siena, Viterbo, Faenza and Rome), see numerous statements in REZASCO'S Essay in the Giornale Ligustico, 1890, 161 *seq.* For Milan, see Arch. St. Lomb., XVIII., 1000 *seq.* For Genoa, BELGRANO, 429 *seq.* For Padua, LOVARINI, Die Frauenwettrennen in Padua (Berlin, 1892). For Turin, GABOTTO in the Giorn. Ligust., 1890, 316 *seq.* For Mantua, Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 472 *seq.* LUZIO-RENIER, Buffoni, 44, and BERTOLOTTI in Mendico A° V., N. 10. An **Edict of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, of June 6, 1475, against improper conduct in Courts of Justice (Municipal Archives, Pavia), supplies important information in regard to the state of morals in that city. In regard to the dissipated and lawless lives of the students in Rome, see Giorn. d. Lett., II., 134 *seq.*; and for the same in Pistoja, Arch. St. Ital, 4 Serie, VII., 114 *seq.*

† INFESSURA, ed. Tommasini, 260. For Rome see REUMONT, III., 1, 442 *seq.*; 2, 461 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 70; ARMELLINI, Censimento di Roma sotto Leone X. (Roma, 1882); VIOLLET (as opposed to Woker) in the Rev. Hist., XII., 444 *seq.*, and the special authorities cited *infra*, p. 130, note *.

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not less than 11,000, out of a population of 300,000.* Here they enjoyed considerable freedom in comparison with most other cities where various restrictions were imposed upon them; but in spite of all such efforts, their numbers and their effrontery continued to increase.

Another circumstance which requires to be noted is that towards the close of the 15th Century, vice, keeping pace with the diffusion of culture, became itself more refined, and consequently more dangerous. "With the spirit of the Renaissance more and more pervading daily life, came a revival of the Hetaerae."

In this connection the gradual substitution about this time of the better-sounding name of "courtesan" for the old appellation "peccatrice," is significant of the change. Burchard's Diary of Alexander VI. shews that this appellation was already in common use in 1498.† The name was at once both an effect and a cause of efforts to correspond with it on the part of those who bore it. We find that these women cultivated music and poetry, and could write and converse with elegance; many of their letters are fluently and correctly expressed, and contain Latin quotations. During the 16th Century, many of the Hetaerae, especially in Venice and Rome, were prominent personages. They lived in great luxury in splendid houses, and were accompanied by a large circle of acquaintances when they went out walking, or to church. Poets wrote verses about them, and some were themselves poetesses.

* SANUTO, VIII., 414; MOLMENTI, 287; GRAF, 286, Leggi e memorie Venete sulla prostituzione sino alla caduta della repubblica. A spese del Conte di Orford (Venezia, 1870–72), and (G. TASSINI) Cenni storici e leggi circa il libertinaggio in Venezia (Venezia, 1886); Les Courtisanes et la police des mœurs a Venise. Bordeaux, 1886.

† Cortegiana, hoc est meretrix honesta. BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 442-4; *cf.* III., 167.

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One of the most famous of the Roman courtesans who bore the proud name of Imperia, and was the mistress of the rich banker Agostino Chigi, had Strascino of Siena for her instructor in Italian poetry.* An early death saved Imperia from the fate of the majority of her companions, who, all their wealth having departed with their beauty, generally died in some hospital, or in a wretched garret.†

On the side of the Church, great efforts were made to stem the tide of evil, especially in the direction of ordinances relating to the marriage of these unhappy victims.‡ The mission preachers were unwearied in their labours, and often succeeded in checking it for a time.§ Special missions were sometimes given for the conversion of these

* *Cf.* in addition to GRAF'S exhaustive "Studie," 224 *seq.*: GASPARY, II., 508; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 138 *seq.*, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 281 *seq.*; CANELLO, Storia d. Lett. Ital., 15 *seq.* (Milano, 1880); SCHULTHEISS in the Allg. Zeit., 1892, Nr. 298; MINGHETTI, Raffaele, 94; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*, as well as the following list of authors whose works refer mainly to the 16th Century: FERRAI, Lettere di Cortegiane del sec. XVI. (Firenze, 1884), and LUZIO in the Giorn. d. Lett., III., 432 *seq.*; BERTOLOTTI, Repressioni straordinarie alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI. (Roma, 1878); ARULLANI, Appunti sulle cortegiane nel cinquecento in Bibl. d. scuole class. Ital., VI., 14 (1894); CIAN, Galanterie Ital. del. sec. XVI., in *La Letteratura* (Torino, 1887); RODOCANACHI, Courtisanes et Bouffons. Étude des mœurs Romaines au XVI. siècle (Paris, 1894), and CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXIV., 446 *seq.*

† The well-known poetess Tullia d'Aragona, *cf.* Nuova Antologia, IV., 655 *seq.* [1886]; CELANI, Le Rime di T. d'Aragona (Bologna, 1891); LUZIO in the Riv. St. Mantov., I. [1885], and BONGI in the Rev. crit. d. Lett. Ital., IV., 186 *seq.* [1887]), fell into such poverty that in her last years she kept a small wine-shop in the Trastevere where she died. See CORVISIERI, Il Testamento di Tullia d'Aragona (1556) in Fanfulla della Domenica, 1886.

‡ GRAF, 272.

§ Giorn. Ligustico (1890), 319.

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women. The Mantuan chronicles mention one conducted by the famous preacher, Aegidius of Viterbo, during the Lent of 1508 in Rome.* Some were converted; and in their later years, the mistresses of Rodrigo and Cæsar Borgia, Vannozza de' Cattanei and Fiammetta, sought by charity and penance, to atone for their sins.† But in the main, things remained much as they were‡ in Rome, which was not surprising, considering the bad example set by so many of the clergy.§ The evil was not done away with till the time of the Catholic reformation.

But this was not the worst of the maladies which the false renaissance had brought upon Italy. The historian of these times cannot avoid touching upon a still more painful subject. There is unmistakeable evidence of the revival of the horrible national vice of the Greeks.‖ It had

* A questi dì frate Egidio ha facto una predica per convertire tutte queste bagasse (bagascie) de Roma; quando furno alla presentia sua tutte volevano fare mirabilia et promessoli el partito molto largo; partite che furno a Lucha te vidi. Vero è che alcune per essere state assai in questo peccato se sonno convertite parte a le monache de ponte Sisto et in el monesterio de S. Giorgio. Cesar de Bechadellis (not Beccodelli as it is written by Bertolotti [*loc. cit.*, 8]) to the Marchioness Isabella of Mantua, Rome, March 5, 1508. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† In regard to VANOZZA, see *infra*, p. 363. As to Fiammetta, after whom the street leading from the Maschera d'Oro to S. Apollinare is called Piazza Fiammetta, see ADINOLFI, Torre de' Sanguigni, 15 *seq.*; GRAF, 279 *seq.*, shews that even the courtesans had not wholly lost their Faith.

‡ *Cf.* GROSSINO'S account, Jan. 7, 1512; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 29, 30.

§ *Cf. infra*, p. 170 *seq.*

‖ Besides the references given in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 26, n. * (Engl. trans.); see also for what follows: KNEBEL, II., 150; LANDUCCI, 251, 298; PLATINA, in Vairani, Mon. Cremon., I., 28. Cenni sul libertinaggio a Venezia (see *supra*, p. 129, note *), 17 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 219 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 24; PERRENS, II., 147; BELGRANO, 427 *seq.*; GUIDICINI, Miscell. Bologn., 43 *seq.*; MACHIAVELLI, Lettere familiari, p. p. c. di. E. Alvisi, Ediz. integra (not sold in the book trade), 233, 317, 321, 325, 335, 337. Florence, 1883.

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been almost eradicated through the influence of the Church and the severe laws enacted at her instigation, punishing it and branding it with shame. Clothed in the graceful robes of Greek myths and lightly sung by Roman poets, it slipped noiselessly back into the modern world. In the beginning of the 15th Century, it was already to be found in Venice, Siena and Naples. In Naples, S. Bernardino of Siena publicly preached against it, and declared that "God would send fire from heaven and destroy the city as He destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha."* Of the later mission preachers, Roberto da Lecce, Michele da Milano, and Gabriele da Barletta were those who raised their voices most loudly against this growing curse.† In Venice, the State endeavoured by legislation and severe penalties to check this form of corruption, but in vain. The advocates of the false renaissance openly and unblushingly extolled the unnatural vices which had been the ruin of the ancient world. Some actually made a boast of such practices; others excused them on the ground that they were not condemned by the noblest men among the ancients, the models whom the Humanists made it the one aim of their lives to resemble. In his seventh satire Ariosto says that almost all the Humanists were addicted to the vice for which God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha.‡ This, no doubt, is an exaggeration, like many other wholesale accusations formulated in a scandalous age which did not spare

* VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 471 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† MICHAEL DE MEDIOLANO, Sermones, P. I., 65; P. II., 64; P. III. in fine; GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones de Sanctis, f. 78; ROB. de LITIO, Serm., 30. See also Arch. Veneto, fasc. 71, p. 237 *seq.*

‡ Senza quel vizio son pochi umanisti
Che fe' a Dio forza, non che persuase
Di far Gomorra e i suoi vicini tristi;
Satira, VII., 25 *seq.*

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even Michael Angelo's character, and which should be taken only for what they are worth.* Still in regard to many of the Humanists, setting aside what may be only poetical embroideries, their own writings prove that it is not unfounded.† Pomponius Laetus, in answer to charges of this nature, cited the example of Socrates, and the poet Cosmico quoted a poem of Plato.‡ There can be hardly any doubt that the most distinguished Poet and Humanist at the Court of Lorenzo de' Medici, Angelo Poliziano,§ the Venetian Chronicler Sanuto,‖ and the Venetian Envoy in Rome in the time of Innocent VIII., Antonio Loredano,¶ were all guilty of this vice. Loredano was dismissed from his post in consequence of it.

The most serious part of it, as far as the nation was concerned, was that it made its way into the lower ranks also. At the time of the invasion of Charles VIII., a chronicler writes: the whole country and all the great cities, Rome, Florence, Naples, Bologna, Ferrara are infected.** Many preachers attribute all the misfortunes of the Italians, the wars, dearths and earthquakes, to the

* *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, I., 180–90, ed. 3, and JANSEN, Soddoma, 42 *seq.*

† NETZER, Leben des F. Baldi, 58 (Wien, 1790), shews that this was the case with regard to his hero.

‡ Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XIII., 144. In regard to P. Laetus, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 41 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

§ *Cf.* UZIELLI, 232 *seq.*, where also the proof is found that Poliziano held a Canonry. In regard to his life and writings see GRAESSE, II., 3, 711 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 213 *seq.*, 218 *seq.*; HOFFMANN, Lebensbilder berühmter Humanisten, I. (Leipzig, 1837); MÄHLY, A. Poliziano (Leipzig, 1864); C. CASTELLANI, A. Poliziano (Carrara, 1868); Vita Italiana, II., 1 *seq.*, and the treatise, In memoria di A. Poliziano (Siena, 1894). Del Lungo is preparing a comprehensive work on Poliziano.

‖ The proof is to be found in a hitherto unnoticed Despatch in LUZIO, P. Aretino, 11, note 1. Torino, 1888.

¶ Navagiero in MURATORI, XXIII., 1194.

** MURATORI, XXIV., 12; KNEBEL, II., 150.

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wrath of God on account of this sin. When, in 1511, Venice was visited with a violent earthquake, the Patriarch told his terrified countrymen that this was a punishment from God because they would not give up their vices.*

The frequency of murders in churches is another mark of the blunting of the moral sense caused by the spirit of the classical renaissance; most of them were perpetrated by men who strove to emulate Brutus and Cassius, the two chief heroes of the Humanists.† Yet another was the growing practice of political assassination. In Venice especially, this was the most common way of getting rid of an enemy, either at home or abroad. These things were coolly discussed and determined in the Council, and assassination was freely employed by the Government as a political agency, so that Pontanus could say with truth that in Italy "nothing was so cheap as human life." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that duelling increased immensely and that brigandage was rampant in many places.‡

Moral corruption, such as we have been describing, could not fail to lead to religious indifference. Boccaccio's famous poem of the Three Rings, is a significant expression of this tendency.§ The Morgante Maggiore of

* SANUTO, XII., 84 *seq.*

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 308 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‡ In addition to the references given in previous volumes, see also MARINI, I., 277; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschrift, LII., 374 *seq.*, and NOLHAC, Erasme en Italie, 20. In regard to Brigandage, see BURCKHARDT, II., 220 *seq.*, ed. 3. On Duelling, CIAN, Cortegiano, 45.

§ BURCKHARDT, II., 265, 340, ed. 3. For what follows I had hoped to find valuable material in OWEN'S work, The Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance (London, 1893), but have been completely disappointed and thrown back on ZIMMERMANN'S indecisive pronouncement in the Handweiser (1893), 340 *seq.* That which SKAIFE, 131 *seq.*, says in regard to Florence is also quite inadequate.

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Luigi Pulci, shews that a similar tone of thought was well received in Lorenzo de' Medici's circle. The poem is a romantic tale of chivalry divided into cantos, each of which begins by invoking the inspiration of God and the Saints, for a muse whose utterances are nothing but a tissue of buffoonery. In the second canto, the help of the crucified Jupiter is implored to bring the tale to a close. The fourth contains a parody of the *Gloria Patri* in a medley of Italian and Latin verses, and in another, there is a parody of the *Paternoster*. The more profane the song, the more solemn is the prologue which introduces it. Sudden conversions and baptisms are sarcastically described and attributed to the lowest motives. Sacred things are travestied and derided, and finally, the poet winds up with a declaration of faith in the goodness of all religions which, in spite of his professions of orthodoxy, evidently implies a purely theistic point of view.*

The temper and teaching of another section of the votaries of the false renaissance was perhaps even more objectionable than that of Luigi. These men frankly advocated the complete resuscitation of Pagan thought and ethics. Their programme is expressed in Lorenzo Valla's book on pleasure, published in 1431, which is nothing but Epicureanism pure and simple. With Valla, enjoyment and nothing else is the aim of life. The pleasures of the senses are our highest good, and the ancients who raised voluptuousness into a cult, and worshipped pleasure as a God, were happy.†

* RUTH, II., 142 *seq.*, 198, 202 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, II., 266, ed. 2; OWEN, 147 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*; SETTEMBRINI, Lez. di Lett. Ital., 330; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 44 *seq.*, ed. 2; GASPARY, II., 275 *seq.*; L. PULCI'S Sarcasms on Immortality in a sonnet in the Arch. St. Ital., N. T., IX., 49 *seq.*

† PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 13 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

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Fortunately, face to face with the heathen stood the Christian Renaissance, and for a considerable time this school was still so powerful that Valla, in his theories, had no disciples.* In practice, however, and more and more as the century drew towards its close, his gospel of pleasure found an ever widening circle of adherents. Considerations of prudence led the paganising Humanists to avoid an open breach with the Church, and in addition to this, they were, for the most part, too indifferent on the subject of faith to occupy themselves with religious questions. Some, on account of their neglect of religion and reckless utterances against the Church, were commonly called "Atheists"; but such a thing as speculative and rationalistic Atheism was unknown, and no one would have dared to profess it."† Though the Church permitted a good deal of latitude in some directions, actual heresy was severely dealt with, as is proved by the fate of the Roman Academicians under Paul II.,‡ and the punishment of such men as Zanino de Solcia, Giovanni da Montecatini, Niccolò Lelio Cosmico and others. Heretics such as these were, however, rare. Setting aside the Waldenses and the Fraticelli, unorthodox teaching found very little sympathy in Italy during the Renaissance.§ However much worldliness and scepticism might

* GABOTTO, L. Valla e l'Epicureismo nel Quattrocento. Parte prima, 50 (Milano-Torino, 1889). The rest of this work has unfortunately not yet come out.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 272, ed. 3.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 51 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), and UZIELLI, 187 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 113 (Engl. trans.); UZIELLI, 212 *seq.*, and CANTÙ, I., 182 *seq.*; III., 699 *seq.* On the Paduan poet Niccolò Lelio Cosmico, see B. ROSSI'S excellent treatise in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XIII., 101 *seq.*, and the letter published in the same periodical, XXIII., 461 *seq.*, which shews that the accusations of heresy brought against this poet were not wholly groundless. On a heretic in Bologna

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have done in weakening religious feeling,* such a thing as obstinate heresy hardly existed. Whatever rash or free-thinking language might on occasion be used, when it came to the point, a direct breach with Christianity and the Church was almost always avoided.† Even the most advanced Humanists, at the approach of death, returned to the faith of their childhood. Codrus Urceus, a professor in Bologna, used to tell his hearers that no one knew what happened to the soul or the spirit after death, and that all that was said about the next world was nothing but old wives' tales to frighten children. "When, however, he came to die, in his will he commended his soul to Almighty God, admonished his weeping scholars to fear God, and above all things hold fast their Faith in immortality and retribution after death; and received the last Sacraments with great devotion."‡ Even such men as Malatesta and Machiavelli, after spending their lives in estrangement from the Church, sought on their death-beds her assistance and consolations. Both made good confessions and received the Holy Viaticum.§ In this as in other things, we have evidence which proves how saturated with Christianity was the spirit of the Italian nation. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the confusion of contradictions of which life was made up in those days of transition. Another instance of this has lately been discovered in the story of Sigismondo Malatesta. This man, a professed votary of paganism and its vices, had an effigy of the skull

who maintained that Christ had not yet come, see BAPTISTA MANTUANUS, De Patientia, l. III., c. 13.

* *Cf.* Ant. de Vercellis' complaint in Sermones, f. 243.

† This is pointed out by von Bezold in SYBEL'S Zeitsch., XLIX., 212.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 274, ed. 3. *Cf.* MALAGOLA, Codro Urceo, 186 *seq.* Bologna, 1878.

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 28 (Engl. trans.).

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of one of his ancestors carved in marble, in order, so the inscription runs, that he might never forget him, and daily pray for his soul.*

This sort of alternation during life, between free-thinking and the religion implanted in youth, to which, on their death-beds they definitively returned, was very general amongst the Humanists and men of letters.† The two Humanists, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano and Antonio Galatea, both southern Italians, are striking instances of this class.

Pontano's writings (1426—1503)‡ are saturated with paganism and pagan ideals. In combating superstition he attacks the Invocation of the Saints, and classes it with the worship of idols. He executed a scholarly copy of Beccadelli's poems, which are modelled on the licentious tone of the later Roman period, and which are, many of them, pervaded with the most repulsive cynicism. When quite an old man he wrote loose poems on the manners of the bathers of Baiae. The writings of his pupil Marullus were of a similar character. In his Hymns to nature he addresses the ancient Gods in terms which could only fitly be applied to a living Divine Person. "When Erasmus remarked that the poem was barely Christian, this was taken up as an insult to the Italians, and he was scornfully informed that a Christian muse meant a barbarous muse."§ Pontano was the centre of a learned circle in Naples, which was called the Academia Pontaniana. The members, like

* See a drawing of this skull, which is in the possession of M. Campori at Modena, in YRIARTE, Un Condottiere, 230.

† CARDUCCI, Studi Lett., 99; GASPARY, II., 275, and UZIELLI, 218.

‡ SARNO'S Biography (Napoli, 1761), and TALLARIGO (Napoli, 1874); and also GOTHEIN (references given below).

§ GOTHEIN, 34, 427 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 537 *seq.*, 594; and GASPARY, II., 299 *seq.*, 301 *seq.*, 307 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*

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those of the Roman Academy of Pomponius Laetus, adopted Latin names. Pontano called himself Jovianus instead of Giovanni, and Sannazaro was turned into Actius Sincerus.*

Galateus, a member of this Academy, is the author of a remarkable dialogue entitled "Eremita." This composition contains vehement attacks upon the clergy and complaints against Rome, and the truths of the Faith are also assailed sometimes directly and sometimes with irony. Ridicule is poured upon the most venerated names in Biblical and Sacred history, and S. Jerome is held up to scorn for his denunciations of the heathen classics; and yet, this curious production concluded with a devout hymn to the Blessed Virgin.†

This man, after having in his Dialogue so bitterly attacked the Court of Rome, betook himself thither in the time of Julius II., in order to present to the Pope a copy of "the original Greek document" containing the gifts of Constantine.‡ Valla's treatise against this deed of gift was written at Naples,§ now a Humanist from Naples comes forward to defend it, while a little later Ariosto relegated it with various other fictitious things to a dwelling in the moon.‖

* GASPARY, II., 301.

† See GOTHEIN, 462 *seq.*, who has made use of a MS. in the Library of Naples and "as the Dialogue is hardly likely to be published at present" gives a complete analysis of it. He is not aware that it was printed some time ago in the Collana di Scrittori di Terra d'Otranto, II., 1 *seq.* (Lecce, 1873); N. BARONE (Studi sulla vita di A. Galateo, 83), has overlooked Gothein's work. He thinks (36) that the Dialogue was composed about 1496.

‡ BARONE, Studi, 47 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 18 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

‖ Orlando Furioso, XXXIV., 80. *Cf.* GABOTTO'S treatise quoted *supra*, p. 122, note *. The Venetian Ambassador spoke very sneeringly of this document to Alexander VI. *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 201.

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If we look at the Humanists collectively, as a body of men, it cannot be denied that their craze for antiquity insensibly produced in many of them a weakening of the religious sentiment. "The eminent men, and to a considerable extent the institutions of classical times, were preferred to those of the middle ages, and the difference in religion seemed of no moment in the absorbing desire to emulate these heroes of ancient history." Christian dogma, and all that was the product of the mediæval spirit, appeared to the fanatical classicism of the Renaissance, barbarous and out of date. Regardless of the essential difference which the Church maintained between heathen and Christian ideas, they jumbled the two together, and delighted in disguising Christian thought in the language of the ancients. God is called Jupiter, even Dante goes so far as to call him "il Sommo Giove." Heaven is Olympus, the Saints are Gods, excommunication is spoken of as Dirae. Wherever the Humanists touch Christianity they paganise it.* The poet Publio Gregorio of Città de Castello, invokes the aid of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and the Muses, all in the same breath. He declares that "Mary opens and closes the doors of Olympus."† Pontano goes still farther. He calls a Saint not only Divus but Deus, he identifies the Angels with the ancient Genii, and his description of the state of souls after death can hardly be distinguished from the classical abode of the Shades.‡ The flippancy of some of these Humanists even went so far as to see nothing incongruous in linking sanctity with obscenity. A collection of poems in MS. of

* BURCKHARDT, II., 277-8, ed. 3; *cf.* 201 and I., 177, 201 *seq.*, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 498, ed. 3; PIPER, Mythologie, I., 280; GRUYER, 176, and SCHNEEGANS, 119 *seq.*

† GABOTTO, Publio Gregorio da Città di Castello, 25 (*ibid.*, 1890).

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 278, ed. 2.

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the time of Alexander VI., contains a series of epigrams, the first of which are in honour of Our Lady and various holy women, after which, without a break or observation of any kind, they pass on to celebrate the most famous courtesans of the day. "The Saints of God and the votaries of Venus are calmly catalogued together as distinguished women."*

It is not too much to say that amongst the votaries of the false unchristian renaissance, the imitation of the ancients amounted to a mania. "The tyrant posed as Cæsar and Augustus, the republicans as Brutus, the captains of the mercenary bands strove to appear like Scipio and Hannibal, the philosophers aped Aristotle and Plato, the literati mimicked Virgil and Cicero."†

In common with many of the works of Art of that period,‡ the writings of Christian Humanists like Battista Spagnolo and Jacopo Sannazaro, present a most curious medley of Paganism and Christianity.§ Sannazaro, in the beginning of the first book of his famous poem on the birth of Christ, invokes the Angels and the Muses together. Heaven is usually called Olympus, the first person of the Holy Trinity, the Thunderer, the Ruler of Olympus and the King of the Gods. Christ is hymned as the Father of Gods and men, Mary as the Mother and Queen of the Gods. The poet indeed takes pains to point out that

* *Epitaphia clarissimarum mulierum que virtute, arte aut aliqua nota claruerunt. Cod. of Hartmann Schedel in d. Staatsbibl. von Munich; see GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 89 (96 in ed. 3).

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 22.

‡ See *infra*, p. 198 *seq.*

§ GABOTTO, Un poeta beatificato. Schizzo di Battista Spagnolo da Mantova (Venezia, 1892); La fede di J. Sannazaro (Bologna, 1891), and PIPER, Mythologie, I., 282 *seq.* In a future volume I shall have more to say about Sannazaro.

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historical Christianity has cut away the ground from under the feet of the fables of mythology, but he perpetually introduces Pagan myths into his representations of Christian subjects. In describing the miracles of Christ, he declares that mortal diseases yield to His word, the wrath of Diana is assuaged, the furies of Tartarus are put to flight, and those possessed with devils are healed. Perhaps this infatuation is even stronger in another poet, Pietro Bembo. His epitaphs are purely heathen. In his hymn to S. Stephen, God the Father appears in His glory in the midst of Olympus, Christ is "the lofty Heros," Mary, a radiant Nymph. His letters are full of similar displays of bad taste; and he frequently expresses himself in the same manner even when writing as private secretary to Leo X.* The inscription on a tank in the Capitol, which was restored by the Conservators of Rome, reads like one of those of the olden times; "We have prepared the vessel; do thou, O Jupiter fill it with rain and be gracious to those who dwell by thy rock."† The increasing practice of choosing Greek and Roman names at baptisms, is another significant fact. Petrarch spoke of his friends as Laelius, Socrates, Simonides; and he himself liked to be called Cicero, and named his daughter Tullia. One of the Roman nobles christened his sons Agamemnon, Achilles and Tydeus, a painter named his son Apelles and his daughter Minerva. "Even the courtesans of Rome chose names which had been borne by their predecessors in old times, such as Lucretia, Cassandra, Porcia, Penthesilea. All the relations of life, and all offices and cere-

* PIPER, Mythologie, *loc. cit.*; GASPARY, II., 401; REUMONT, III., 2, 322 *seq.*; and CANTÙ, I., 189-90.

† FORCELLA, I., 32; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 272 *seq.*, ed. 3, where many other instances are to be found, especially of the time of Leo X., to which we shall recur in a future volume.

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monies were classicised as far as possible."* Primarily, however, all this was merely an affair of fashion and dilettanteism which must not be judged too severely. "Pedants delighted in calling Town Councillors "Patres Conscripti," Nuns, "Virgines Vestales," every Saint, "Divus" or "Deus." People of better taste, like Paul Jovius, followed the mode more or less because they could hardly help it. But Jovius does not obtrude it, and thus when we find in his writings Cardinals entitled "Senatores," the Cardinal Dean, "Princeps Senatus," excommunications, "Dirae," the Carnival, "Lupercalia," etc., we can bear it without annoyance. Indeed, his works are a proof how unjust in many cases it would be to infer an unchristian tone of thought from the use of this kind of phraseology.†

Nevertheless it was quite possible for these vagaries to assume dangerous forms. The most objectionable of these was the attempt to introduce the heathenism of the elegant Humanistic style into theologial science. We find such an attempt in the Compendium of Dogma published in 1503, by Paulus Cortesius, Secretary to Alexander VI., and later Apostolical Protonotary. Cortesius certainly takes his stand on the principles of the Church, and refutes the false conceptions of the heathen philosophers; but he is convinced that Christian Dogma cannot be rightly understood or explained without the aid of the wisdom of the ancient sages. Thus the pagan garment in which he wraps his Dogma is undoubtedly a source of peril. Christ is called the God of thunder and lightning, Mary the mother of the

* SCHNEEGANS, 119, and BURCKHARDT, I., 291, ed. 3. Here also are to be found various burlesques and productions of poetical Maccaronis, satirising the extravagant classicism of the Humanists. On all this, especially on Folengo, see a future volume.

† BURCKHARDT, I., 292-3, ed. 3. *Cf.* also PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 39 (Engl. trans.).

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Gods, the departed souls, the Manes. S. Augustine is extolled as the God of theologians, and the Pythic seer of Theology, and S. Thomas Aquinas as the Apollo of Christianity. When he comes to the Fall of Man, he introduces the subject by announcing that now he is going to treat of the Phaethon of the human race. Hell is described as exactly like the ancient Tartarus with the three rivers Kocythus, Avernus and Styx.*

Another work entitled "On true Philosophy," and published in 1507 at Bologna by Adriano Corneto, forms a striking contrast to Cortesius and his humanistic tendencies. Aristotle, Plato, the Humanists and all human science and reasoning, are all included in one sweeping condemnation. According to Corneto, Holy Scripture is the only source of all faith and all knowledge. Faith must precede knowledge, without faith no true knowledge is possible, the human reason is incapable of apprehending Divine things; wisdom, happiness, and bliss, can only be obtained by a complete surrender to revelation. "None of the philosophers knew that pattern of Divine humility," Adriano declares, "which in the fulness of time was manifested to the world in Christ. I do not ask what the philosophers say, I ask what they do. The dialecticians, of whom Aristotle is the chief, are cunning in the spinning of webs, their art is the art of war, but the Christian must avoid them. We must reject dialectics, we must despise rhetoric and devote ourselves to the sober sincerity of Holy Writ. The interpretation of the Church can be understood by the whole human race, for the Church is not an Academy, but consists of the mass of the people. There is no use in knowing geometry, arithmetic and music; geometry and astrology do not lead to salvation

* PIPER, Mythologie, I., 287-9, and GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 71 *seq.*

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but rather to error, and the withdrawal of the soul from God. God is more worthily praised by the homage of the heart than by music. Grammar and literature may be useful for this life in giving facility in expressing oneself, and enabling a man to distinguish between fact and falsehood; but the liberal arts have no right to their name, Christ alone can make man free. The works of the poets, the wisdom of the worldly, the pomp of rhetorical words, are the Devil's dainties; they enthral the ear, they cajole the heart, but yield no satisfying truth. Plato and Aristotle, the Epicureans and the Stoics are all in hell with the Devil; the philosophers are the Patriarchs of the Heretics. We should endeavour to know the Creator, not the causes, of things. Wise and holy simplicity teaches us to be fools willingly and not to admire the wisdom of the flesh."

At the same time, it is noteworthy that he admits that if we find in the writings of the philosophers, especially the Platonists, anything that is true and in harmony with the Faith, we need not be afraid of such things, but on the contrary should appropriate them, as unjustly gotten goods, to our own use; but there is very little of this in comparison to what we have in the Divine Scriptures. Towards the close of his book Corneto exclaims: "What shall I say about physics, ethics or logic? All the truths that man's tongue can utter are to be found in Holy Scripture. Its authority is greater than anything that the human intellect is capable of producing." Thus the pith of the whole work is summed up in the two following sentences. "All the science of the world is folly, in God alone is Wisdom and Truth. To attain to God and His wisdom, we do not need to know anything of philosophy, or any other method, nor to have studied the writings of Aristotle or Plato; we need nothing but a

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firm faith in revealed religion as it is to be found in the Bible."*

This curious book is mostly made up of quotations from the great doctors of the Church, ruthlessly torn from their context, often inaccurately reproduced, and always selected to support the author's point of view.

Even though we may admit that he is not always wholly in the wrong, Corneto's views are far too extreme.† His blank rejection of philosophy and the sciences is in flat contradiction with the opinions of the Fathers of the Church of whom he thinks so much,‡ and also with the teaching of the great mediæval theologians, and the attitude of the Church in general towards Science and the Renaissance in literature and the classics. The value of the latter especially as a means of intellectual culture, has always been recognised by the Church, even though she could not recommend them as an end in themselves or as supplying ideals for imitation. The position of the Church has always been clearly defined; the study of the classics is to be employed for the development of the natural intellectual powers, and so for the deepening of the specifically Christian consciousness, not for its emasculation or destruction.§ The extravagances of the votaries of the false renaissance on the one side, and zealots such as Adriano on the other, made it extremely difficult for the adherents of the Church to keep to that just middle course which she enjoined. She could not trust the

* GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 54-67.

† He is right in laying stress on the importance of the practical life and conduct of the teachers of philosophy, and also in his assertion that the Church in her doctrinal teaching will always be popular and easily understood by the people.

‡ GEBHARDT, 67 *seq.*

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 7 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

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Humanists, and at the same time could not condemn the study of the heathen classics, which, besides being a valuable instrument of education, was indispensable to the right understanding of the whole body of patristic literature. The golden mean had to be preserved between due consideration for, and encouragement of, the movement for higher culture and the progress of Science and Art, and the maintenance of practical Christianity in dogma and precept. It was in the nature of things that however clearly the principles to be observed in the last resort might be understood, there would be considerable uncertainty in practice, since each case had to be decided on its own merits, as to what was permissible, or the reverse. The border line between the heathen and Christian Renaissance was often extremely difficult to define; the two tendencies touched each other at so many points, and indeed were often united in the same person. Besides which, with many it was a mere question of fashion.* The balance was not rightly struck till the time of the Catholic Reformation.†

One of the special dangers accompanying the rage for the antique in the age of the Renaissance was that many were drawn by it to adopt the superstitions of the ancient world. This danger was further enhanced by the influence of Arabic learning which had already begun to be very considerable in the time of the Emperor Frederick II.‡

* BURCKHARDT rightly lays stress on this, II., 291, ed. 3.

† In regard to this we shall enter into more detail in a future volume, in treating of Humanism in the time of Leo. X., and Clement VII.

‡ In corroboration of what follows see the very comprehensive investigations of BURCKHARDT, II., 279 *seq.*, ed. 3, and also the following works by GABOTTO in which much new documentary material is produced and new views advanced. (1) L'Astrologia nel Quattrocento in rapporto colla civiltà. Osservazioni e documenti inediti (Milano-Torino, 1889). (2) Nuove ricerche e documenti sull' Astrologia alla corte degli Estensi e degli Sforza, in the periodical *La Letteratura* (Torino, 1891).

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The commonest form of superstition was Astrology, the pursuit of which was usually combined with Astronomy. Petrarch in his day opposed it to the utmost of his power, but without producing any impression. During the whole of the 15th Century and a part of the 16th, the belief that the future could be read by means of horoscopes of the relative positions of the planets in regard to each other, and to the signs of the Zodiac, was almost universal. A complicated system was developed, in which various attributes founded on more or less erroneous notions of the characters of the ancient gods, were ascribed to each of the planets. Men were firmly convinced that the destinies of each individual largely depended on the influence of the planets under which he or she was born, these latter being also controlled by the constellations through which they pass. Only a few of the most enlightened men, such as Pius II., were able to shake off these superstitions. In most of the Universities, side by side with the professors of Astronomy, there were professors of Astrology who propounded systems and wrote treatises on their special subject. Every little Court had its astronomer; sometimes as in Mantua there was more than one. No resolution in any important matter was taken without consulting the stars, and even trifling details such as the journeys of members of the family, the reception of foreign envoys, the taking of medicine, were

(3) Bartol. Manfredi e l'Astrologia alla corte di Mantova (Torino, 1891). (4) Alcuni appunti per la cronologia della vita dell' astrologo Luca Gaurico (Napoli, 1892). See also CASANOVA, L'Astrologia e la consegna del bastone al capitano generale della rep. Fiorentina. Estr. d. Arch. St. Ital. (Firenze, 1895); MEYER, Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der Nächsten Jahrhunderte, p. 5 *seq.* (Basel, 1884); GALLARDO, Bibl. Española, II., 514 (Ital. Press for Astrological Works); J. GRÄSSE, III., 1, 936; CIAN, Cortegiano, 34; SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 87; UZIELLI, 214 *seq.*; GÜDEMANN, 221 *seq.*, shews that the Italian Jews also believed in Astrology.

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all determined by Astrology. Dare-devil soldiers of fortune such as Bartolomeo Alviano, Bartolomeo Orsini, Paolo Vitelli, believed in it.* Amongst the Universities, those of Padua, Milan and Bologna were its special homes, but its influence is to be found everywhere in the calendar, in medicine and in all the current beliefs and popular prophecies.† "Things have come to such a pass," says Roberto da Lecce in one of his sermons, "that people hardly dare to eat anything, or put on new clothes, or begin the most trifling undertaking without consulting the stars."‡ Astrology was so bound up with Italian life that many even of the Popes, Sixtus IV., Julius II., Leo X., and still later Paul III. were influenced by the notions of their time.§ The famous Cristoforo Landini seriously hoped to forecast the future of Christianity by means of the science of the stars, the pious Domenico de' Dominichi pronounced a discourse in praise and defence of Astrology.‖ The learned naturalist and physician Paolo Toscanelli, who lived the life of a saint, was Astronomer to the Medici and the Florentine Government.¶ It must be understood however in regard to him and other right-minded men that "it was only

* GABOTTO, L'Astrologia, 8.

† See VON BEZOLD'S interesting paper on "Astrology in the making of history" in QUIDDE'S Zeitschrift, VIII., 63. *Cf.* also GABOTTO, Notizie ed Estratti del poemetto inedito "de excellentium virorum principibus" di Antonio Cornazzano, 15 *seq.* Pinerolo, 1889.

‡ ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrag. de Peccatis, 43.

§ It is uncertain whether or not Paul II. tolerated Astrology. See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 60, note † (Engl. trans.).

‖ VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 243 (German edition). MACHIAVELLI, I., 200; and SKAIFE, 145 *seq.* In regard to Domenichi, see PASTOR, *loc. cit.*

¶ UZIELLI, 214 *seq.* It was not till quite the close of his life that Toscanelli, in consequence of some of his observations, lost faith in Astrology. *Loc. cit.*, 222–3.

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up to a certain point that they allowed themselves to be guided by the stars; a limit was assigned by religion and conscience which was not over-passed."* Many like Pontano "honestly believed that Astrology was a genuine experimental science and that the traditions derived from the ancients were as certain and well authenticated as Aristotle's observations in the natural history of animals. What Pontano sought for in Astrology was not to forecast the future, but a clearer understanding of the conditions of human life and the influence exercised upon it by nature. It was the conviction that there was an unbroken chain of cause and effect, binding all things both great and small in the universe to each other, and man among the rest, so that the powers of nature must bear their due part in his origin and destiny, which attracted so many even of the nobler intellects of that day to the study of Astrology."†

Astrological and astronomical ideas supplied congenial material to the artists of that time who delighted in representations of the signs of the zodiac and personifications of the stars and the planetary deities. The frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara and the Borgia apartments in the Vatican are well-known instances of these. The astrological teaching in regard to the offspring of the planets found definite expression in the time of the Renaissance in the so-called signs of the planets. A distinct type of these symbols appeared in the middle of the 15th Century. It probably originated in Florence, passed from Italy into the Netherlands, and thence into Germany, and held its ground well into the early part of the 16th Century.‡

* BURCKHARDT, II., 281, ed. 3.

† GOTHEIN, 446.

‡ LIPPMANN'S learned treatise "Die Sieben Planeten" describes the wanderings and transformations of this cycle of representations. (Published by the Internat. Chalcographical Association in the year 1895.)

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One of the greatest merits of the mission preachers of that day was the determined war which they waged against Astrology. It would be impossible to stigmatise the evil effects of this superstition more incisively and directly than was done by such men as S. Bernardino of Siena, Antonio of Vercelli, Roberto da Lecce and Gabriele Barletta.* Many of the Humanists also set their faces against Astrology;† Paul II. wished to forbid the practice of it.‡ But of all the writings of that day directed against Astrology and also against the one-sided infatuation for classical literature, the work of Pico della Mirandola is by far the most striking and effective.§

From the date of this publication, the delusion began gradually to give way in Italy. It became possible for satirists like Ariosto in his "Necromanti" to heap ridicule on the charlatan dealers in the black arts.‖ The change of opinion began to find expression in painting. In the dome of the Chigi Chapel in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo, Raphael represents the heaven of the fixed stars, and the deities of the planets as presided over by angels, and blessed from above by God the Father.¶

* GÜDEMANN, 222–4. Rob. da Lecce was specially severe against Alchemy: Quadrag. de Peccatis, 122. Savonarola deserves mention here also as a vigorous opponent of superstition. *Cf.* GEFFCKEN, 208. BAPT. MANTUANUS expresses himself very strongly against the Alchemists of his day: De Patientia, l. III., c. 2. *Cf. ibid.*, c. 12, against Astrologers.

† *Cf.* VOIGT, Wiederbelehbung, II., 492 *seq.*, ed. 2.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 60 (Engl. trans.).

§ BURCKHARDT, I., 244, ed. 3.

‖ RUTH, II., 526 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 81 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 418 *seq.*; GABOTTO, L'Astrologia, 39.

¶ BURCKHARDT, II., 288, ed. 3. In regard to Pico, *cf.* VON BEZOLD, Astrolog. Geschichtsconstruction, *loc. cit.*, 65, and UZIELLI, 223 *seq.* *Cf.* 220 *seq.* on Pico's opponent Lucio Bellanti.

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Astrology, however, was only one of many other prevalent superstitions. Very many of the Humanists were amazingly credulous in regard to wonders and prophecies. Poggio was a firm believer in prodigies of the sort that are found in the classics. It was true that Oracles had disappeared, and that the Gods could not now be enquired of, but it became very much the fashion to open a page of Virgil at random and to interpret the lines which first met the eye as an omen. "The influence of the demonology of the later paganism can distinctly be traced in prevailing beliefs on that subject in the Renaissance. The printing of the works of Jamblichus or Abammon, on the Egyptian mysteries, in a Latin translation towards the end of the 15th Century, is a proof of this. Even the Platonic Academy in Florence was not wholly free from a hankering after these and similar neo-Platonic delusions of the decadent Roman Empire." There was a revival also of the belief in the possibility of subjecting demons and obliging them to work for human ends. Sixtus IV. found it necessary to direct a Brief against some Carmelites in Bologna who had maintained that there was no harm in asking for things from demons. Here also, however, the reaction was making itself felt. It is noteworthy that poets and novelists could count upon a sympathising public in turning all such things into ridicule. From the beginning of the 16th Century, belief in magic was perceptibly on the wane.*

Many of the errors into which the philosophers of the age of the Renaissance fell, were, like these superstitions, connected with the classical craze.† Gemistos Plethon, an

* BURCKHARDT, II., 291 *seq.*, ed. 3. *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 249. There is an interesting enumeration of all the various kinds of superstition in a Sermon, p. 162 *seq.*, by Antonius Vercelli. *Cf.* also ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrages., 44.

† Besides BURCKHARDT, II., 312, ed. 3, see RITTER, Gesch. der

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enthusiastic disciple of Plato of the neo-Platonic school, ignored Christianity and in religion reverted to paganism. He hoped by the revival of his philosophy to create a universal religion.*

Cardinal Bessarion endeavoured to mitigate the dispute between Plethon and the Greek Aristotelians. In his famous Defence of Plato, he demonstrates the essential agreement between the two Attic Masters, while, at the same time pointing out the errors which separate both from Christianity.† The Platonic philosophy had in Marsilio Ficino, an even more devoted adherent than in Plethon. This gifted writer was deeply penetrated with the truth of the Christian religion, and entered Holy Orders in the year 1473. Personally, Ficino was throughout a blameless priest and a faithful Christian, but his endeavour to unite Platonism with Christianity was open to grave objections. Plethon wished to substitute a mixture of neo-Platonism and oriental religious doctrines for Christianity, Ficino, fascinated by the beauty of the ancients, sought to infiltrate Platonism into Christianity, without apparently perceiving the danger that the positive teaching of the latter might disappear in the process. His mysticism, enhanced by a strong leaning towards Astrology, laid him open to suspicion. In 1489 he was accused before Innocent VIII. of practising magical arts, and successfully disproved the charge; but he cannot be acquitted of that of having mixed up Platonism with

Phil., IX., 220 *seq.*; STÖCKL, Gesch. der Phil., III., 202 *seq.*; RIXNER, Gesch. der Phil., 194 *seq.*; HAFFNER, Gesch. der Phil., II., 678 *seq.* See also HEINRICH, Dogmatik, I., 95, 104.

* In addition to PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 322 (Engl. trans.), see also BURCKHARDT, II., 260, ed. 3, and STEIN, 126 *seq.*

† *Cf.* on Bessarion's work, PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 321 (Engl. trans.), and HAFFNER, *loc. cit.*

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Christianity to a dangerous extent. His infatuation for Plato was such that he actually addressed his hearers as "beloved in Plato" instead of "beloved in Christ." The great master was made by these fanatical admirers, the object of a veritable cultus, as though he had been a Saint, lamps were burned before his picture, he was ranked with the Apostles and Prophets, and feasts were celebrated in his honour. It was even seriously proposed to add extracts from his writings to the homilies which were publicly read in the churches on Sundays.*

Ficino's young friend Pico della Mirandola, deserves perhaps to be called the most brilliantly gifted of all the members of the Platonic Academy in Florence. Like his master he sought to demonstrate the fundamental agreement of all the heathen philosophers with each other, and with Christian scholasticism and mysticism. In his system however, the most prominent place is given, not to Plato, but to the fantastic esoteric doctrines of the Kabbala. This attempt to find, in Jewish mysticism, a better support for Christianity than in the old paths of the great theologians, can only be characterised as a mistake and a weakness. But whenever Pico's cabalistic and neo-Platonic ideas led him into anything palpably irreconcilable with the teachings of the Church, he never failed to draw back and submit to the divinely appointed authority.† In

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 25 *seq.*, ed. 2; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 310. ROCHOLL in Briegers Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., XIII., 53 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 26 *seq.*; STEIN, 129 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*; FISCHER, I., 88 *seq.*, ed. 3; GASPARY, II., 166 *seq.*; GABOTTO, L'Epicureismo di Marsilio Ficino. (Milano, 1891.) *Cf.* Giorn. St. d. Lett., XVIII., 459 *seq.*

† HAFFNER, II., 681 *seq.*; Katholik, 1880, I., 192; REUMONT, *loc. cit.*; SCHRÖCKH, XXX., 441 *seq.*; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 9 *seq.*; RIXNER, 197 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 171 *seq.*; ROCHOLL, *loc. cit.*, 62 *seq.* VON BEZOLD in SYBEL'S Zeitschr., XLIX., 194 *seq.*; Antol. Ital., N. S. IX., 2, 21 *seq.*; X., 1, 3 *seq.*; CARRIERE, 32 *seq.*; DREYDORFF, Das System des Joh.

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direct opposition to the Florentine Platonists were the Aristotelians, who were divided into Averroists and Alexandrians, and whose head-quarters were at Padua. At this University the nature and the immortality of the soul formed the chief topics of discussion. In the early part of the 16th Century, the disputes were so violent that the students refused to listen to each new professor until he had declared his views about the soul. The Aristotelians of the Renaissance had fallen into some very serious errors on this subject. Alexandrians and Averroists agreed that the personal immortality of the soul could not be philosophically demonstrated. The Averroists also maintained that the whole human race was animated by a single soul. Marsilio Ficino was foremost in shewing how dangerous these doctrines were. "The opinions of both Averroists and Alexandrians," he wrote, "are alike destructive of religion." The Aristotelians tried to shelter themselves behind the proposition that what was true in Philosophy might be false in Faith, and all of them professed their submission to the teaching of the Church.*

Patient and tolerant as Rome ever is, she could not allow such dangerous doctrines to pass unchallenged. On Dec. 19, 1513, at the eighth sitting of the Lateran Council, Leo X. issued a dogmatic constitution defending the immortality and individuality of the soul. The new distinction between

Pico (Marburg, 1858); *cf.* also HAGEMANN, in the Liter. Handweiser, 1868, Nr. 65. On the medical and astrological works of Marsilio Ficino see WEITENWEBER, Des Marsilius Ficinus Werk; De vita Studiosorum, in connection with his remarks on Hellenism. Prag, 1858.

* Besides the above mentioned works; *cf.* also WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, I., 531 *seq.* and 1750, ed. 2; LEA, III., 575. The highest honours have been awarded to Mabilleau's as yet unpublished work on the schools of Padua, of which his Études Hist. sur la philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie (Paris, 1881) is the introduction.

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truths of Philosophy and truths of Theology was also rejected, because truth is not twofold, and cannot contradict itself. Any proposition not in accordance with the true Faith, was pronounced false, and might not be taught. Professors at the Universities were moreover directed by the Council to be careful in their discourses on Philosophy, to point out the truth of the Christian religion, and to refute to the best of their power the heathen doctrines of the mortality or universality of the human soul, the eternity of the world, etc.*

In spite of this, in 1516, Pietro Pomponazzi, who had been summoned from Padua to Bologna, there published a treatise in which he defended the theory of the mortality of the soul, including the reason, and quoted Alexander Aphrodisias to shew that this was Aristotle's real meaning, and that it was impossible to prove its immortality on philosophical grounds.† The Minorites in Venice succeeded

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 586.

† In addition to FIORENTINO'S very inadequate monograph, Pietro Pomponazzi (Firenze, 1869), *cf.* Essays by FERRI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XV., 65 *seq.*; in La Filosofia delle scuole Ital., 1877; in the Giorn. Napolit. di Filosofia, VIII. (1878), 109-24, and in the Atti d. Lincei, Scienze Mor. S., II., III., 875-6; FRANCK in the Journal des Savants (May and July, 1869); RITTER, IX., 390 *seq.*; DITTRICH, Contarini, 220 *seq.*; FISCHER, I., 79 *seq.*, ed. 3; FONTANA, Sulla immortalità dell' anima di Pietro Pomponazzi (Siena, 1869); PODESTÀ, Doc. sul. P. (Estr. d. Atti d. Romagna, Bologna, 1868); DAVARI, Lettere di Pietro Pomponazzi (Mantova, 1877); Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., VIII., 377 *seq.*; OWEN, 189 *seq.*; HAFFNER, II., 683 *seq.*; STÖCKL, III., 202 *seq.*; LEA, III., 575 *seq.*; RIXNER, 205 *seq.*; LANGE, Gesch. des Materialismus, 103 *seq.* (Iserlohn, 1866); CREDARO, Lo scetticismo degli Accademici, II., 320 (Milano, 1893); ARDIGÒ, Pietro Pomponazzi (Mantova, 1869); Opere Filosof., I. (Mantova, 1882); L. FERRI, La psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi secondo un manoscritto della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma (Comento ined. al De Anima di Aristotele), Roma, 1877; *cf.* ZARNCKE'S Centralblatt, 1877, p. 1209. The essay on the Materialism of Pietro Pomponazzi in the Katholik, 1861, I., 150 *seq.*, is highly instruc-

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in getting the book publicly burnt, and it would have met with a like fate in Rome and Bologna if Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici had not intervened on Pomponazzi's behalf. It was quite possible to maintain that the philosopher had only stated Aristotle's theory of the soul historically, and not as agreeing with it himself. Besides Pomponazzi professed the most absolute submission to the Church. Many were deceived by this, but on June 13, 1518, Leo X., despite the powerful influence of Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici, called upon the philosopher to make a formal recantation.* Whether Pomponazzi did so or not, does not appear, but he retained his opinions. A recently discovered account of Pomponazzi's last days, supplies an additional proof that he really had, under the veil of an impartial statement of the theories of another, astutely put forward his own materialistic views. In a private letter to his father on May 20, 1525, Antonio Brochardo describes how the famous teacher, when his health had completely broken down, determined to meet death and have done with it once for all. He carried out this determination by steadily refusing either to speak or eat. Threats and even force were unavailing. Not till the seventh and last night did he break his resolute silence to say "I depart gladly." Some one asked him "Where are you going?" "Where all mortals go" he replied. Being asked again "Whither then do mortals go?" Pomponazzi answered "Where I am going and where all the others have gone." The bystanders made a last attempt to induce the dying man to eat. In vain, "Let me be, I wish to die" he angrily exclaimed, and with these words he

tive but little known; SPIEKER regards Pomponazzi's professed submission to the Holy See as a mere empty form. (Leben und Lehre des Pietro Pomponazzi. Münchener Diss., 1868, p. 8.)

* *Cf.* Document in RANKE, Popes, I., 48, note 1, ed. 6.

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passed away.* This account, based on the testimony of an eye-witness, reveals the fact so carefully kept back by Pomponazzi's admirers that the philosopher who had taught rank materialism under the mask of Christianity,† ended by taking his own life. This, happily, was a very rare occurrence at the time of the Renaissance.‡

The views advanced by Pomponazzi were so dangerous and so widely disseminated that it is cheering to note the energy with which they were opposed. Treatises in refutation of them were composed by the philosopher Agostino

* Brochardo's letter was published by CIAN, Nuovi documenti su Pietro Pomponazzi, 29 *seq.* (Venezia, 1887). Only thirty-seven copies of this work were printed, and it is consequently scarcely known in Germany. Probably the only reference to it is my own in the Hist. Jahrb., XII., 223 *seq.* As the matter is one of great importance, the original text is given below. Il valente philosopho . . . assai pativa da certo tempo in qua gravissimi dolori di fianco, ardore di vessica, doglia per cagione di preda et indispositione istrema di stomaco: laonde deliberando di non mille ma una volta sola morire qual vero philosopho disprezatore di morte si pose a non voler mangiare ne dire parola ad alcuno et ne per preghi, minaccie o forza che sieno state adoperate mai non ha voluto far altrimenti se non che la settima et ultima notte intorno alle sei o otto hore comincio a parlare et dire: Abeo letus, abeo: et questi da cui sono informato di queste cose gli rispose: Quo ergo vultis abire Domine? et egli: Quo mortales omnes. Onde costui un altra fiata gli disse: Et quo eunt mortales? Gli rispose: Quo ego et alii. Et in questa lo incominciorono a confortare et di novo a porzeli il cibo. Ma lo stoico indignato cominciò a gridare: sinite, volo abire. Et così gridando solvuntur frigore membra. Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. The clever epitaph given by BAYLE, Art. Pomp. Note D., is possibly a play upon this account of the philosopher's death: Hic sepultus jaceo; quare? nescio, nec si scis aut nescis curo; si vales bene est; vivens valui; fortassis et nunc valeo; si aut non? dicere nescio.

† *Cf.* Katholik, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* MOTTA, Suicidi nel quattrocento e nel cinquecento in Arch. St. Lomb., XV., 96 *seq.*, with CIAN, *loc. cit.*, 22. See also LANDUCCI, 277.

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Nifo, who dedicated his book to Leo X., the Augustinian Ambrogio Fiandini, the Dominican Bartolomeo di Spina, Bartolomeo Fiera of Mantua, the Servite Jerome Amideus of Lucca, and a young Venetian noble, Gasparo Contarini. The latter writing to one who in earlier days had been his teacher, expressed himself in respectful and courteous terms. His arguments were mostly drawn from the philosophy of S. Thomas. Pomponazzi vouchsafed no reply to any of his opponents except Nifo and Contarini. His answer to Nifo is sharp and sometimes contemptuous in tone; to his old pupil he wrote courteously. Contarini in return composed a second and shorter treatise, in which with all deference to his former master he discusses and triumphantly confutes his opponent's arguments one by one.*

More reprehensible still were the conclusions which Niccolò Machiavelli, the most gifted representative of the false renaissance drew from the philosophy of the ancients.† Never perhaps has any man been so imbued with the spirit

* With the somewhat abstract dissertations of FIORENTINO, 41 *seq.*, 49 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 192 *seq.*, *cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 585 *seq.*; see also DITTRICH'S excellent monograph on Contarini, 222 *seq.*; REUSCH'S account of this matter (Index I., 60) is inadequate. Reusch is not even acquainted with Fiorentino.

† MOHL, III., 519 *seq.*, gives a summary of authorities upon Machiavelli. *Cf.* MOHL, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissensch., IV., 1093. REUMONT'S reviews of books by Trendelenberg, VILLARI and NITTI in the Allg. Zeitung, 1877, No. 248 *seq.*, Supplement, and in the Bonner Litteraturblatt, 1872, p. 147 *seq.*, are valuable. For the deficiencies in Tommasini's work see Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1884, No. 8; *cf.* also SYBEL'S Zeitschr., LII., 554 *seq.* *Cf.* also OWEN, 162 *seq.*; GIERKE, Althusius, 299; Le Correspondant, 1873, 1877, and 1882; ELLINGER (Die antiken Quellen der Staatslehre Machiavelli's in der Zeitschr. für die Ges. Staatswissenschaften, XLIV., 1-58 [enlarged edition, Tübingen, 1888]) shews how Machiavelli borrowed from the antique. For criticisms on the new edition of Villari, *cf.* PELLEGRINI in the Rassegna Bibliogr. d. Lett., Ital., II., n. 12. Pisa, 1894.

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of pagan antiquity as was this Florentine politician. Machiavelli's private life was regulated on pagan principles, and truly appalling are the glimpses into this, afforded by his letters to his friend and confidant, Francesco Vettori.* The two were kindred souls. Their interest in life was divided between politics and gallantry. Their fortunes indeed were very different. Vettori lived in considerable splendour as Ambassador in Rome. Machiavelli after the Florentine revolution of 1512, found himself condemned to an involuntary idleness, most distasteful to his restless nature. In characteristic fashion he sought consolation, on the one hand, in the study of the classics, and on the other, in low pot-houses and vile amours. These latter and the politics of the day are the principal subjects of his correspondence with Vettori. Not once does he allude to his wife or his three children (a fourth was born in 1514). Possibly Machiavelli exaggerated his love affairs, and told tales which are only partially true ; but all the same he must beyond doubt, have led a dissipated and immoral life.† He sought to drown his discontent in the tumult of the senses. "Although I am near 50," he writes, "Cupid's nets still enthral me. Bad roads cannot exhaust my patience nor dark nights daunt my courage. I have flung all serious thought to the winds ; I care no longer to read of the old, or to speak of the new. My whole mind is bent on love,

* N. MACHIAVELLI, Le lettere familiari, p. p. E. Alvisi (Firenze, 1883). By the kindness of Prof. Uzielli of Florence I obtained access to the editio integra of this work, which for decency's sake is withheld from the public. Repulsive as these documents are we cannot but regret that they are not published. They are essential to a true estimate of Machiavelli's character.

† *Cf.* Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., II., 176 *seq.*; VILLARI, II., 191 *seq.*; GASPARY, II., 342–69, and Allg. Zeitung, 1875, No. 25, p. 362. For Vettori see also H. RÖSEMEIER, N. Machiavelli's erste Legation zu Kaiser Maximilian I., 40. Bückeburg, 1894.

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for which I give Venus thanks.* Machiavelli describes many of these episodes in such vile language, as to disgust even his latest champion.† Several letters are so coarse that to this day no one has ventured to publish them. In the straits to which he was put for money, Machiavelli soon ceased to have the heart for this obscene jesting. He was not exactly poor, but he had not income enough to provide for his family. Accustomed to lavish expenditure he now saw himself obliged to count every farthing. In vain he sought to obtain some post which would have provided him with occupation and a salary, and his famous book the "Prince" was written to attract the attention of the Medici to his unfortunate position.‡

Every one, Machiavelli says, can see that it is more honourable for the private citizen in the daily intercourse of his home to keep his word and walk uprightly; nevertheless we learn by experience, that those who have done the greatest deeds, have by force or by cunning made other people their tools. To be honest and to act honestly in a public capacity is not only unnecessary but actually deleterious. A prudent man will learn to deceive and dissemble, so as to preserve an outward show of goodness;

* MACHIAVELLI, Lettere familiari, 361. *Cf.* preceding page, note *.

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 192; UZIELLI, 232.

‡ *Cf.* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 522 *seq.*, who disproves, first, Ranke's opinion (Zur Kritik, 163*), that the "Prince" was written from the point of view of 1514; and secondly Villari's, that the book was not written till 1515. MACHIAVELLI'S letter of Dec. 10, 1513 (Opere, VIII., 96), shews that the work was then finished. The treatise is moreover couched in general terms and does not touch upon contemporary politics and passing events. It was not composed for any special political situation nor directly for the Medici, since after the completion of the book, Machiavelli consults a friend, whether or not to dedicate it to them; GEIGER, in the Zeitschrift für vergl. Literaturgesch., Neue Folge, II., 251, agrees throughout with Baumgarten.

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but to act honestly under all circumstances would be to invite disaster. A man should be able to adapt himself to circumstances and be when necessary wicked, inhuman, brutal, now a fox, and now a lion. He who plays the fox best is always the most successful. A prudent man will avoid all parade of vice and scandal. If all men were good, such principles would indeed be wicked; but some are treacherous, and there is no need to keep faith with these; others again are such fools that they can only be ruled by tyranny; impostors will always find plenty of people who wish to be deceived. The only precaution which must never be omitted is always to turn the way of the wind and to take care to succeed. The rabble judges by appearances and results, and the world is mostly rabble.*

In excuse for Machiavelli it has been urged that his book was not meant to be a universal rule, but was intended to meet an exceptional state of things. This, from a Christian standpoint, is a lame excuse. The religion of the Incarnate Son of God knows only one law of conduct, universally applicable to high and low and in all imaginable cases, and that is, that a good end does not justify unlawful means.

Machiavelli's teaching is the exact opposite of this. In terse and admirably chosen language he advocates the complete severance of politics from the eternal principles of Christianity. Never were distinctive doctrines more plausibly and ably set forth, or with greater audacity. "Christianity has no place" in his conception of politics. God and divine justice are altogether left out. Hitherto

* MACHIAVELLI, Il Principe, c. 18; WEISS, Apologie, II., 623-4, ed. 2. The idea that a ruler is to be able to play the brute and be a fox or a lion, to which Machiavelli recurs again and again, is borrowed from Plutarch. See ELLINGER, in the Zeitschr. für die Geschichte Staatswissenschaften, XLIV., 50.

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Christianity had been regarded as the bond of union between nations, as the basis of States, as that which made Europe one spiritual family. The Church was the soil in which all the nations and all their laws and constitutions were rooted. Machiavelli ignores the entire system of Christian government. It is not only his style which is classical, his whole tone of mind is pagan in the strictest and most unqualified sense of the word. Just as in ancient Rome, cunning and violence were the basis of power, and justice seemed a superfluous ornamental accessory, a mere trifle, so the fulcrum of Machiavelli's politics, is a combination of terrorism with craft. Justice is left out of his scheme and no wonder, since he regards States and Peoples, not in their relation to God, but simply as the material in which his designs are to be carried out.*

Machiavelli measures the present by the standard of antiquity, and indiscriminately holds up whatever was done by the Romans as an example to his "Prince," although their action applied to strange countries with which they had no intimate connection, and which in race, language and civilisation, were entirely foreign to them. He attempts to graft modern politics on to Roman antiquity, to build on old foundations, as if Christianity the solid basis of the modern world, the tie which unites all civilised nations, had never come into existence. He has no hesitation in recommending, as parts of his system, acts which are even more inhuman than the most ferocious deeds of contemporary tyrants. Cæsar Borgia murdered his old allies, but he certainly never destroyed whole cities—as the 5th chapter of the "Prince" advises should be done in certain cases. "Whoever is lord of a town accustomed to freedom," it says, "and who omits to destroy it, may rest assured that it will depose him." No passage in the whole book shews

* FR. SCHLEGEL, quoted by WEISS, Weltgesch., IV., 963.

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more plainly that it cannot have been meant as practical advice to Lorenzo de' Medici. It is clear that Machiavelli was propounding an abstract theory, without any thought of its being literally put in practice.*

It is the same with the famous exhortation to the Medici in chapter xxvi., "to deliver Italy from tyrants," which was perhaps inserted later. "We see," it runs, "how Italy implores Almighty God to send her a deliverer, who would free her from this barbarous cruelty and wickedness. We see her ready and willing to follow any flag, if there were but a leader to carry it." Compare this with Machiavelli's confidential letters of 1513 and 1514. "As for Italian union," he expressly says, "the idea is laughable. First, because here, union in any good cause is out of the question, and even if the heads were of one mind, we have no soldiers but the Spaniards that are worth a farthing! Secondly, because the members would never agree with the heads."†

The whole passage in chapter xxvi. describing Italy as unanimous in her desire for freedom and calling for a leader, is only a fantastic episode and has nothing to do with the main drift of the "Prince." Machiavelli felt no "inward compulsion to justify his political opinions by pointing to some great patriotic act. Had he felt this necessity he would not have so carefully concealed the link between his politics and their purpose, that it has remained undiscovered for 300 years. His politics were the outcome of his own experiences and classical studies. He knew of no ruling power which did not rely on the unscrupulous use of force and intrigue. A State resting on

* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 531-2. The agreement here between Baumgarten and Schlegel is the more remarkable from the difference in their point of view.

† MACHIAVELLI, Opere, VIII., 75 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, Geschichte Karls V., I., 531-2.

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a moral basis was outside his sphere of thought, because morality did not enter into his conception of either public or private life. His 'Prince' systematises the political practices of his time in all their unvarnished hideousness, with the addition of a few touches borrowed from the antique, and he expected to make his fortune with the Medici by this undisguised confession of pure political heathenism."*

Views as objectionable as those in the "Prince" are expressed in Machiavelli's "Discourses on Livy." In the opening chapters the author makes excuses for Romulus who killed his own brother and murdered his colleague. "Wise men," says Machiavelli, "will forgive Romulus the ruthless deed, considering the end he had in view, and the result of his action." In another place he says "where it is a question of saving one's country, there must be no hesitation on the score of justice or injustice, cruelty or kindness, praise or blame, but setting all else aside, one must snatch at whatever means present themselves for preserving life and liberty."†

That the holder of such opinions must not only have stood aloof from the Church, but been in his heart an enemy of Christianity, is obvious. Machiavelli entertained a savage hatred of priests, and above all for the Popes. Any sort of attack on them, however criminal, was lawful in his eyes. He finds fault with Giampaolo Baglioni for throwing away the opportunity, in 1506, of getting hold of the Pope's person by treachery. "Baglioni out of cowardice did not see his chance, or rather did not dare to attempt what, had he done it, would have earned for him immortal fame; for all the world would have applauded his courage.

* BAUMGARTEN, Gesch. Karls V., I., 535-6.

† Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio, I., c. 9; III., c. 41; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 260-6.

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He would have been the first to shew those haughty prelates how little awe they inspire, because of the lives they lead. He would have succeeded in an enterprise, the greatness of which would have far outweighed any disgrace or danger that could have attended it." * Even pronounced enemies of the Papacy stigmatise this venomous passage as "revolting" on account of the utter want of moral sense which it displays.†

Machiavelli's hatred extended beyond the person to the cause. He acknowledges the importance, and the necessity of religion to the State, but in itself he believes it to be a pious fraud. To be perfect in his eyes, it should be simply a cult having a definitely political aim, that of fostering patriotism, the patriotism of the ancients. For this reason he thinks highly of Roman polytheism, and recommends it as the ideal of a State religion.‡ For him as for the ancients, it was a civil institution, a political instrument for keeping the masses in hand, and so he believed that each religion, having accomplished its predestined cycle, passed away like any other earthly thing.§ Christianity was a sealed book to him and he considers it dangerous for his ideal state. "The Christian religion," he says, "only teaches men to suffer, and thus the world seems to have been enfeebled and made the prey of scoundrels. The religions of antiquity raised none to their altars save those who achieved earthly fame, such as princes and successful generals; but the Christian religion extols humility and a contemplative life and seeks the highest good in meekness, self-denial and scorn of worldly honours. The

* Discorsi, I., c. 27.

† This is the opinion of BROSCH, Julius II., 128; GRIMM, Michel Angelo, I., 292, ed. 5; and GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 91 *seq.*

‡ OWEN, 166. *Cf.* ELLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 27.

§ HIPLER, 72.

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ancients, on the other hand, prized only commanding intellect, physical strength and all those qualities which tend to make men powerful."*

Machiavelli, steeped in the worship of pagan antiquity, can only see the Church, her earthly head and her priesthood, as he sees the Christian religion, in caricature. "If Christianity," he writes with hypocritical disregard of patent facts, "had remained what its founders made it, things would have gone very differently, and mankind would have been far happier, but there can be no plainer proof that this religion is falling to pieces than the fact that the people who live nearest to Rome are the least pious of any."† In thus blaming the Church for what happened in her despite, Machiavelli was aware that he stood almost alone, and that few shared his animosity. "Since some," he says himself, "are of opinion that the Italian nation owes its prosperity to the Roman Church, I will here mention two of the chief objections to this view." One of these is a repetition of his former remark that in consequence of the evil example set them by the Roman Court, Italians had lost every vestige of religion and piety.‡ This statement is simply false;§ and it is hardly necessary to observe that an affectation of zeal for the cause of religion, sits ill upon a man who had declared Christianity to be dangerous to the

* Discorsi, II., c. 2; VILLARI, II., 265.

† Discorsi, I., c. 12; VILLARI, II., 262; HIPLER, 73. The injustice of making the Popes responsible for the distracted condition of Italy is shewn by WEGELE, Dante's Leben, 5 (Jena, 1879, ed. 3). *Cf.* the quotation in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 20 (Engl. trans.). See also HÖFLER, in the Hist. polit. Bl., XLVII., 424.

‡ La prima è, che per gli esempi rei di quella Corte, questa Provincia ha perduto ogni divozione ed ogni religione. Discorsi, I., c. 12.

§ *Cf.* ***supra***, p. 11 *seq.*; MAULDE (Origines, 125), reverses Machiavelli's statement and remarks that it was not the Court which corrupted Italy, but the corruption of Italy which infected the Court.

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State. His second objection carries no more weight than the first; it is that the Papacy was the real cause of the weakness and disunion from which Italy was suffering.* Machiavelli as a historian might have seen that the Papacy "as the centre of the one Church founded by Christ, must of necessity have its seat in the ancient capital of learning, culture and power, and that Rome, in imposing the easy yoke of the gospel upon subject nations, was fulfilling an infinitely higher mission than the Pagan Empire which trampled them under its iron heel."† He failed to perceive that an absolute military monarchy would, besides destroying the municipal and provincial prosperity of Italy, and subjugating the inhabitants to the tyranny of a despot, have nipped in the bud the development of Art and Literature, and deprived Italy of the imperishable glory of the Renaissance.‡ For all this, Machiavelli, entangled in a web of classical dreams, had neither eyes nor ears. The Papacy for him was the root of all evil; it had ruined Religion and the State, and deserved in its turn to be annihilated. He was blind to the obvious truth that this would have entailed the destruction of both the religious and the political unity of the Italian race. His ultimate object however was something beyond the annihilation of the Papacy and of the Church of Rome. The State was in his eyes more important than religion or morals, and he aimed at nothing less than the secularisation of all religion. Consequently he could not but desire to place the religion of ancient Rome, or as he termed it, patriotism, in the place of Christianity, and the deified self-centred State on the throne of the Universal Church.§

* Discorsi, I., c. 12.

† HIPLER, 73.

‡ CANTÙ, I., 193, *cf.* 198 for a striking passage from Guicciardini. See also K. FISCHER, Gesch. d. Phil., I., 75, ed. 3.

§ A critic, who is by no means on the Catholic side, expresses him-

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It is not surprising that the holder of such views, one who, in theory and practice, represented a mixture of the cynic and the epicurean,* should have come to be regarded even by his fellow-countrymen as a scoundrel. No one believed in his death-bed conversion. "The universal hatred felt for Machiavelli resulted," writes Varchi, "from his licentious tongue, his disgraceful conduct, and his book the 'Prince.'"† This work marks the culminating point of the pagan renaissance, which, had it succeeded, would have been the ruin of Italy.‡

Although we must reject Machiavelli's picture of the condition of the Church as a caricature, it is nevertheless indisputable that a considerable proportion of the Italian clergy, from the Mendicant Friars to the highest dignitaries, were participators to a large extent, in most of the evils that we have been describing. The more intimately the Church was bound up with the public and social life of the community, the more must the corruption of the world affect her, and its perils menace her members. Cupidity, manifesting itself in the prevalence of simony and the accumulation of benefices, selfishness, pride and ostentatious luxury were but too common amongst ecclesiastics. The extent of the corruption is seen in the complaints of contemporary writers, and proved by well authenticated facts.§

self in almost identical language: K. FISCHER, Gesch. d. Phil., I., 86, ed. 3. *Cf.* also HAFFNER, in the Katholik (1875) I., 234; GASPARY, II., 356 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 192 *seq.*, and CARRIERE, 217 *seq.*, for Machiavelli's exaggerated idea of the State.

* This opinion is expressed by REUMONT, Bonner Lit.-Blatt. (1872), 147.

† VARCHI, I., 150; BURCKHARDT, I., 82, ed. 3.

‡ GREGOROVIUS (L. Borgia, 124) is also of opinion that this Humanist culture was tottering on the edge of an abyss which must have swallowed it up.

§ Confining ourselves to the testimony of devout Catholics which is

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Unhappily, the infection spread even to the Holy See. The corruption begins with Paul II.; it increases under Sixtus IV.* and Innocent VIII., and comes to a head in the desecration of the Chair of S. Peter, by the immoral life of Alexander VI.† The depravity of these times struck even such outside observers as the knight Arnold von Harff, with horror.‡

The lives of many cardinals, bishops and prelates, are a sad spectacle at a time when one man could hold any number of benefices,§ and squander unabashed the revenues derived from them in a career of luxury and vice. The serious corruption in the College of Cardinals, began under Sixtus IV.,‖ and during the reign of Innocent VIII.¶ it increased to such an extent that it became possible by bribery to procure the election of such a successor as Alexander VI. A glance at the lives of Ippolito d'Este, Francesco Iloris, Cæsar Borgia, and others, is enough to shew the character of the members admitted under this Pope into the senate of the Church.** It was not till the

doubly weighty, let us compare the words of Pius II., Nicholas of Cusa, and Domenico de' Dominichi, quoted in a previous volume (*cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, Vol. III., 269 *seq.*, Engl. trans.), with RODERICUS DE AREVALO, Speculum vitae, II., 20; BAPT. MANTUANUS, De calamitatibus temp. libri III., especially, p. 56 *seq.*, and the numerous denunciations of the preaching Friars, many of which have been collected by GÜDEMANN, 218 *seq.*

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 210–35 *seq.*, 413 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† For particulars see *infra*, Books I. and II.

‡ A. VON HARFF, Pilgerfahrt, 36–7.

§ Instances are given by ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 21; CANTÙ, I., 21, and in subsequent chapters in this history.

‖ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 409 *seq.* (Engl. trans.); BAPT. MANTUANUS, De Vita Beata, 182, complains that the most unsuitable persons tried to obtain bishoprics.

¶ See *infra*, Book I., c. 6.

** Details in regard to these persons will be given later. For Cardinal

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reign of Julius II. that a partial improvement took place, and even he bestowed the purple on such worthless persons as Sigismondo Gonzaga and Francesco Alidosi.* Strict ecclesiastical discipline was not re-established in the College of Cardinals till the middle of the 16th Century.

It is not surprising when the highest ranks of the clergy were in such a state, that among the regular orders and secular priests, vice and irregularities of all sorts should have become more and more common. The salt of the earth had lost its savour. Moreover, where moral purity languishes, faith cannot fail to suffer; and thus when to this was added the influence of the false renaissance, many were led astray. It was such priests as these who gave occasion to the more or less exaggerated descriptions of the clergy given by Erasmus and Luther, who visited Rome during the reign of Julius II.;† but it is a mistake to suppose that the corruption of the clergy was worse in Rome than elsewhere; there is documentary evidence of the immorality of the priests in almost every town in the Italian Peninsula.‡ In many places, Venice,

lloris, see PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 372. Of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, we are told that he hired assassins to put out the eyes of his natural brother Julius, because one of his mistresses had remarked that they were beautiful; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 72, ed. 3; CIAN, Cortegiano, 35; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 304 *seq.* For the extravagant expenditure of the Cardinals see, *inter alios*, GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, f. 87.

* Particulars of Alidosi's career will be given further on (PASTOR, Hist. Popes, VI., Book II., Engl. trans.). For the immorality of Cardinal S. Gonzaga, *cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 46–7. The state of things that prevailed even under Julius II., is shewn in the Ferrarese Ambassador's Report dated Rome, June 17, 1506, of the high favour which the courtesan Imperia enjoyed with several Cardinals. State Archives, Modena.

† NOLHAC, Érasme en Italie, 76–9.

‡ For a general description, *cf.* CANTÙ, I., 201 *seq.* For Genoa, *cf.* BELGRANO, 473 *seq.*; for Verona, Tüb. Quartalschrift, 1859, 16; for Fermo, LEOPARDI, N. Buonafede, 18; for Ferrara, SOLERTI, Vita

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for instance, matters were far worse than in Rome.* No wonder that, as contemporary writers sadly testify, the influence of the clergy had declined, and that in many places hardly any respect was felt for the priesthood. Their immorality was so gross, that suggestions in favour of allowing priests to marry † began to be heard. Rodericus de Sancta Ella composed his treatise dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV. against a proposal of this kind.‡

Many of the monasteries were in a most deplorable condition. The three essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, were in some convents almost entirely dis-

Ferrarese in Atti d. Romagna, 3 Serie, X., 18; for Nepi, Diario Nepesino, 121, 131, 157; for Chieti, Hist. Jahrb., V., 347; for Pavia, *Mandate of the Duke of Milan to the Podestà of Pavia, dated Sept. 27, 1470, containing complaints of the priests who went about at night in secular attire. (Municipal Archives of Pavia.) Much scandal was also given by the clergy in Sicily. *Cf.* the *Brief of Sixtus IV. to the Abbots of S. Maria de Bosco and S. Placidimo, dated Rome, Nov. 4, 1475. *Ordinance of the Viceroy, dated Palermo, Oct. 26, 1500, on priests who kept concubines. Both documents are among the Archives at Palermo.

* *Cf.* BROSCH, in SYBEL'S Histor. Zeitschrift, XXXVII., 309 *seq.*; Cenni sul libertinaggio, 22 *seq.*, 30, and INNOCENT VIII.'s **Brief of Oct. 31, 1487. (State Archives of Venice.) The clearest evidence of the state of things in Rome is to be found in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 240 *seq.*; II., 79 *seq.* See also **P. CANDIDUS, Venerab. fratri Antonio Ord. Jesuator., dat. Mediolani, 1453 Jun. 5 (Cod. J. 235 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan); a contribution by P. BARROCIUS, 1481, in the Anecdota Veneta, ed. Contarini, f. 202; *cf.* also Fl. AMBROSIUS, De rebus gestis ac scriptis operibus Bapt. Mantuani, 186 (Taurini, 1784); FREHER, III., 186; VOIGT, Pius II., III., 502 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 457 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 25 *seq.*

† *Cf.* GABR. DA BARLETTA, Sermones, f. 35.

‡ Roderici de Sancta Ella (*cf.* GRAESSE, Trésor VI., 1, 143; HAIN, Rep., IV., 13 *seq.*, 31–2; MAZZETTI, Prof. Bol. [1847], 266 *seq.*), contra impugnatorem celibatus et castitatem presbyterorum ad Xistum P. M., a magnificent Renaissance-Codex. with the arms of Sixtus IV. Cod. Vat., 3639—Vatican Library.

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regarded.* Too many regulars, says the Franciscan Roberto da Lecce, were monks in nothing but the name.† The painter Fra Filippo Lippi, and the novelist Bandello, though these men lived mostly at Court, are instances of the sort of characters to be found in some monasteries.‡ The discipline of many Convents of Nuns was equally lax.§

In the face of these scandals, however, we have undeniable evidence that there were, during the Renaissance, many faithful Generals of Orders, such as Aegidius of Viterbo,‖ holy bishops like SS. Antoninus and Lorenzo Giustiniani, and zealous Popes, unwearied in their efforts for reform.¶ A great deal was done to raise the tone of the religious houses. In the year 1412, the Benedictine congregation of S. Giustina was founded at Padua by the Venetian, Lodovico Barbo. The influence of this community had a lasting effect throughout Italy, both on public morals and in reviving the spirit of religion in convents.** New

* *Cf.* Cronica de Bologna, 736; MOLMENTI, 291; GÜDEMANN, 218 *seq.*; GHERARDI, Documenti, 69 *seq.*; CANTÙ, I., 205; REUMONT, Kl. Schriften, 19; Fl. AMBROSIUS, Bapt. Mantuanus, 190; MORSOLIN, L'Abate di Monte Subiaso, 4 *seq.*; Bollet. St. d. Suizz., Ital., VIII., 234.

† ROB. DE LITIO, Quadrag. de Peccatis, 53. The preacher also complains of the interference of the regulars with the parish priest in the cure of souls.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 9 *seq.*, and for LIPPI, *infra*. One great evil was that many persons entered religion who had no vocation, and were far too easily admitted. This is pointed out by ROB. DE LITIO, Serm., 35.

§ Examples are given in the Annal. Bonon., 897, and by BELGRANO, 477 *seq.*, 482. *Cf.* SANUTO, IV., 305, and the Giorn. Ligustico, XII., 37 *seq.*

‖ *Cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 65 *seq.*

¶ For the endeavours of the Papacy see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 104 *seq.*; III., 269 *seq.* (Engl. trans.) and *infra*, numerous passages. For a general account, *cf.* WEISS, Vor der Reformation, 22 *seq.*

** *Cf.* Katholik (1859), II., 1361 *seq.*, and DITTRICH in Hist. Jahrb., V., 320 *seq.*

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Houses were founded at Bassano, on Monte Agriano near Verona, in Genoa, S^to^ Spirito near Pavia, S. Dionisio at Milan, and in other places, and monks were sent to already existing monasteries to assist in reforming them. As time went on, many of the older Benedictine monasteries in Italy took up the movement, amongst others, S. Maria in Florence, S. Paolo in Rome, S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, S. Polirone in the Duchy of Mantua, S. Severino in the Neapolitan States, S. Pietro near Perugia, S. Proculo near Bologna, S. Pietro near Modena, S. Pietro de' Glisciate in Milan, S. Sisto near Piacenza. Unfortunately, many convents which had submitted to reforms, soon fell back into their former disorders, but this was not the case with the Benedictines.* The Dominican, Felix Faber of Ulm, who visited S. Giustina in 1487, gives a glowing account of the fervour and progress of this community, and the good that the example set by the Benedictines was doing amongst the other orders.†

A glance at the list of the great preachers of Penance, almost all of whom belonged to some order, affords further evidence that side by side with the corrupt and relaxed members, there were, even in the worst monasteries, many good and even fervent monks.

* Katholik, 1859, pp. 1360 *seq.*, 1489 *seq.*; 1860, 200 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*; DITTRICH, in the Hist. Jahrb., V., 320 *seq.*, where references to other books are given.

† F. FABRI, Evagatorium, ed. Hassler, III. (Stuttgardiae, 1849), 393. One of the sternest preachers of the day says: "Nonne videmus in hac vita multos religiosos et religiosas qui propter Deum mundum contemnunt, castitatem perpetuam et voluntariam paupertatem observant, quique rejecta propria voluntate usque ad sepulturam obedientiae praelatorum se submittunt." ANT. VERCELL., Serm., fol. 244.

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III.

Amongst the characteristic features of the age of the Renaissance, one of the most remarkable is that of the preaching Friars. In every Italian city, great or small, their voices were heard admonishing, exhorting, and denouncing sin. The good done by these men has been hitherto but little studied. All that is as yet known of their labours, shews them to have been most successful. They were truly the benefactors and saviours of society in those days. They knew how to touch the consciences of their hearers. "Their discourses are purely moral, containing no abstract ideas, but full of practical application, driven home by the ardent devotion and ascetic spirit of the preacher. They dwelt but little on the terrors of hell and purgatory. The argument on which they relied was a vivid description of the "maledizione," the curse which sin brings with it, and which haunts the evil-doer on earth. The consequences of grieving Christ and His saints are felt in this life. It is only thus that souls steeped in passion, vindictiveness and crime, can be aroused and brought to repentance and conversion, which is the really important point."*

Some of the chief preachers at the time of the Renaissance were S. Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444); Alberto da Sarteano (d. 1450); Antonio da Rimini (about 1450); Silvestro da Siena (about 1450); Giovanni da Prato (about 1455); S. Giovanni Capistrano (d. 1456); Antonio da Bitonto (d. 1459); S. Jacopo della Marca (d. 1476); Roberto da Lecce (d. 1483); Antonio da Vercelli (d. 1483); Michele da Carcano (about 1485); Bernardino da Feltre (d. 1494); Bernardino da Bustis (d. 1500). All these were Franciscans,

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 239-40, ed. 3.

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but other religious orders produced equally distinguished preachers. We may mention as among the most prominent, the two Servites, Paolo Attavanti and Cesario de' Contughi, the Dominicans, Giovanni Dominici, Giovanni da Napoli, and Gabriele da Barletta, the Carmelite Battista Panezio, and the Augustinians, Aurelio Brandolino Lippi and Aegidius of Viterbo.*

We have seldom read anything more striking than these sermons, in which the evils of the period are ruthlessly laid bare, often with exaggeration.† The series, so far as any order is observed, follow that of the Commandments of God and the Church. The corresponding sins and vices are portrayed in instances taken from life, and denounced in scathing terms. Most of the arguments are drawn from Scripture or from the Fathers. The instruction of the people in the truths of the Faith was left to the parochial clergy. The preaching Friars aimed mainly at the conversion of their hearers, and found their best opportunities during the penitential seasons of the Church, such as Lent or Advent; when the cities were torn with factions or private feuds; when some glaring scandal had occurred; or in times of peril or plague. Then the preachers appeared, devoting themselves with indefatigable zeal to the task of

* To the list of works in note ‡ on p. 32 of PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., (Engl. trans.) should be added: TIRABOSCHI, VI., 2, 422 *seq.*; and GRÄSSE, Lehrbuch der Litteraturgesch., II., 173 *seq.* The printed sermons are enumerated by HAIN, as well as by GRÄSSE. An immense number have remained unprinted, the national library in Florence being especially rich in them. The registers of the various churches shew how diligent the preachers were. *Cf.* for instance: Nota de' predicatori che hanno predicato in S. Martino di Lucca de' quali si è conservata la nota nell' Archivio de' Signori Canonici from A. D. 1406 (MS. in the Library at Lucca); Aegidius of Viterbo will be mentioned again later, particularly in our next forthcoming volume where details will be given.

* See GÜDEMANN, 259.

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converting sinners, encouraging the good, and strengthening the weak; while the part they had in the establishment of the Monte di Pietà shews their energy in the furtherance of such practical social reforms as came within their sphere of action. Occasionally, courses of sermons were given to promote the honour of some particular saint; thus, the two SS. Bernardino—both Franciscans,—in their time, gave a great impetus to the devotion to S. Joseph.* The preaching Friars tried to use the simplest language, such as would be most readily understood. They made use of anecdotes of daily life and personal experiences to fix the attention of their hearers. Sometimes they scolded or sternly rebuked the people, at others they talked to them in a friendly and familiar fashion.† Most of the preachers we have named were immensely popular, and the crowds which flocked to hear them shewed how exactly they hit off the taste of their audiences. Their appearance set the whole city and all the country round in commotion; the shops were closed as a rule, and they were often obliged to preach in the public squares, because the churches were not large enough to hold the vast concourse of people. Hour after hour the dense throng stood patiently hanging on their words, for the sermons were usually very long. It is recorded that 15,000 inhabitants of Perugia and its environs came to hear Roberto da Lecce preach in that city in 1448. All the places were occupied long before the sermon began, and it lasted nearly four hours.‡

* BEISSEL, in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach., 38, p. 284 *seq.*

† *Cf.* with BURCKHARDT, II., 240, ed. 3; TORRACA, Rob. da Lecce, in the Arch. St. Napolit., VII., 151 *seq.*

‡ GRAZIANI, 597 *seq.*, describes Roberto da Lecce's sermon. With this, *cf.* the account of S. Bernardino's appearance at Perugia, in the Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 5 *seq.*, and *ibid.*, 68 *seq.*, for the sermon by S. Jacopo della Marca.

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These sermons by Roberto da Lecce in 1448, were accompanied by dramatic presentations of their subjects which enormously added to their effect. A procession with Christ in the centre bearing His Cross, issued from the Cathedral, Mary, robed in black, advanced to meet Him, and then the whole cortège advanced together to the foot of the preacher's tribune where the Crucifixion, the weeping women at the foot of the Cross, and finally, the Descent from the Cross were represented. Sobs and loud lamentations from the crowd filled the air while these scenes were being enacted. Similar representations are mentioned as accompanying the sermons of other Franciscan preachers.*

The first results usually achieved by the sermons were the release of insolvent debtors, and the burning of "vanities," that is, of dice, cards, masks, false hair, charms, indecent pictures, frivolous song books, and musical instruments. Things of this sort were piled in a heap in some open space, a figure of the devil perched on the top, and the whole set on fire. After this "the more or less hardened sinners began to come in. Men who had long absented themselves from confession approached the Sacrament of Penance, goods unjustly withheld were restored, injurious and insulting words taken back." Towards the end of the course, when all hearts were prepared and softened, the speaker would approach whatever, under the circumstances, seemed the most urgent evil of the moment. This, in those days of bitter party feuds, was generally some exasperated quarrel, or some cruel project of vengeance. The preacher, holding the Cross aloft, would call upon the people to forget and forgive. Chroniclers graphically describe the sounds of weeping and cries of "Jesu mercy!" that would burst from the crowd,

* CREIZENACH, I., 313-14; D'ANCONA, I., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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and how overtures of peace were made on the spot from quarters where peace had long been unknown. "Enemies who had been such for years embraced each other, and even blood-feuds were relinquished. Outlaws were allowed to return, to forgive and be forgiven. Reconciliations (*paci*) thus effected, seem, on the whole, to have been kept to, even after the excitement had subsided, and in such cases, the memory of the Friar was blessed by many generations; but now and again a crisis occurred, such as that in 1482, between the Roman families of Valle and Croce, in which the hatred was so violent that even the great Roberto da Lecce lifted up his voice in vain." However, on the whole, the preaching Friars were wonderfully successful in effecting reforms, both social and moral. Few epochs can boast such splendid records of conversions of whole towns and provinces as the age of the Renaissance.* The preaching Friars were frequently revered by the common people as saints. After the closing sermon had concluded with the benediction "Peace be with you," it was customary to hold a solemn procession, in which the whole population, including the city magistrates, took part. Sometimes, at the close of a mission, all the adults of the place, from the magistrates down to the craftsmen, received the Blessed Sacrament.† When the preacher was leaving the city, enthusiastic demonstrations of popular gratitude towards their spiritual benefactor would frequently occur.‡

We cannot but admire the manner in which high and

* In addition to the works mentioned in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 34, note * (Engl. trans.), amongst which BURCKHARDT, II., 240 *seq.*, ed. 3, is as usual foremost, see also BARZELLOTTI'S treatise, 55 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Cronache di Perugia, ed. Fabretti, II., 34.

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 240–42, ed. 3. *Cf.* TORRACA, *loc. cit.*, 143 *seq.*, and Cronache di Perugia, ed. FABRETTI, II., 68.

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low, Popes and Princes, submitted to the rebukes of these Friars; and equally admirable is the fearlessness displayed by the preachers in denouncing the sins and vices of all ranks and conditions.*

The more earnest of these men lamented, among other evils, the extravagances which some of their brethren allowed themselves in their discourses.† We hear of preachers whose sermons were overcharged with vain learning, or full of hair-splitting theological questions, and again, of others who condescended too much to the taste of the populace. The newly revived pagan philosophy was too often brought forward in the pulpit at the expense of Christianity. Passages from the works of heathen poets and teachers replaced the customary quotations from the Fathers. The glamour of the new learning obscured the old simple doctrines, and heathen Mythology was mixed

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 33-4, and IV., 389-90 (Engl. trans.); also BURCKHARDT, II., 244, ed. 3, and GÜDEMANN, 218-59. The most despotic Pope of that brilliant period, Julius II. was one of the most strenuous supporters of those bold preachers. Time after time he sent them out. *Cf.* Lib. brev. 25 f., f. 44 : 1506, Dec. 20, Bonon. (A° 4°): fratri Martino Sennensi Ord. de Monte Carmelo. . . . . in ecclesia Cruciferorum Venetarum verbum Dei et doctrinam evangelicam iuxta traditam tibi a Deo facultatem festis nativitatis et quadragesimae proximae futurae praedicare. *Ibid.*, f. 117 : 1507, Jan. 28, Bonon. (A° 4°): Timotheo de Medicis Lucensi Ord. S. Francisci, is sent as a Lenten preacher to Siena. The *Brief of Nov. 4, 1505, addressed to Aegidius of Viterbo, printed in the Appendix, proves the importance attached by Julius II. to the sermons to be preached by Aegidius in Rome (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The Augustinian Mariano de Cavi also preached in Rome during the reign of Julius II. Cardinal Gonzaga in a letter dated Rome, Jan. 20, 1508, commends the learning and exemplary life of this monk, whose preaching in Bologna, Florence, and Naples had produced great results. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* ROB. DE LITIO, P. II., Serm. 8 ; see also MICH. DE MEDIOLANO, P. III., S. 50. Others are referred to by GÜDEMANN, 258.

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up with Christian dogma.* Equally objectionable was the conduct of those preachers who, instead of aiming at the conversion and edification of their hearers, thought only of making a name for themselves. Such men invented all sorts of miracles, sham prophecies and silly fables, painted exaggerated pictures of prevalent abuses, and gross ones of vices, recklessly attacked ecclesiastical dignitaries, even the Pope himself, and pronounced the Church to be utterly corrupt. Their sermons were full of omens and so-called revelations announcing the most appalling judgments, such as the destruction of Rome, the annihilation of the Church, and the coming of anti-Christ; dealing with politics and all sorts of worldly matters, and leaving out the one thing needful.†

Many of these characteristic qualities of the sermons of the day, both the good and the bad, were combined in the man who developed them to their fullest extent, and for a time made Italy ring with his name, Girolamo Savonarola. A mission sermon preached by an Augustinian monk, led this highly-gifted youth, a scion of an ancient family of Ferrara, to resolve, without his parents' knowledge, upon

* It was against this that the reaction of the Theatine fathers was afterwards directed. See Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift (1859), 12 *seq.*

† *Cf.* S. ANTONINUS, Summa Theol., P. III., tit. 18, c. 4, and *infra*, the provisions made by the Lateran Council. Previous to this Council there was doubtless a lack of due control, although, as a rule, only friars or priests were allowed to preach; but, as BURCKHARDT observes, I., 243, ed. 3, "It is difficult to draw any very sharp distinction in this matter, because the Church and the pulpit too, had so long been used to give publicity to all sorts of announcements, to acts of the legislature, for lectures, etc., and even at regular sermons, Humanists and laymen were sometimes allowed to speak." For the proceedings against a preacher at Milan in 1492, see GHINZONI, in the Arch. St. Lomb., XIII., 42 *seq.* These documents are unfortunately not explicit enough to indicate the precise offence of which the preacher was accused.

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entering the Dominican Order. Savonarola (born Sept. 21, 1452) chanced to hear this sermon on his way to Faenza in 1474. A year later he was a novice in the Dominican monastery at Bologna. Amongst his papers, his parents found one "On contempt of the world," in which the young enthusiast paints a terrible picture of contemporary morals. For the good, of which so much remained, he seems to have had no eye. He could have known but little of the world, but he sees only the evil, which reminds him of Sodom and Gomorrah. Early in his monastic career, Savonarola composed his famous poem "The decay of the Church," in which again we find only the dark side of the life of the period. The Church appears as a chaste virgin, because her faith had remained pure. Savonarola asks her "Where are the teachers, where is the learning, the Christian charity and the purity of former days?" The maiden takes him by the hand and says "Seeing how pride and vain-glory entered Rome and corrupted her, I withdrew and hid myself here, where I spend my life in mourning." Then she shews him all the wounds which she has received from the malice and rage of men. Profoundly grieved, he bids the saints and martyrs weep for her; "The temple, the sanctuary of purity, is defiled." He asks whose fault it is, and the Church replies that it is caused by pride, and the lust of the flesh and of the eyes. "Oh that I could stem this tide of wickedness!" cries Savonarola. "Weep" she answers "and be silent, for this is the better part." *

Henceforth the young Dominican seeks relief in prayer and penance from the torturing spectacle of moral and religious depravity. In Bologna, Savonarola had only been entrusted with the instruction of novices, but in 1481 or 1482, he was sent by his superiors to preach in Florence,

* Poesie di Fra G. Savonarola, ed. Guasti, 10-15.

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the very heart and centre of the Renaissance. The deep-seated corruption which encountered him in the capital of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the widespread immorality of the Florentines, and their scornful infidelity, caused him the most acute anguish. He overlooked, in his passionate indignation, the immense amount of good which remained; and seeing only the evil, he attacked it with a violence which turned many people against him. It was no wonder that his first sermons in S. Lorenzo met with no response. The speech and manners of this stranger were too rough and rude to please the Florentines, his Lombard accent too harsh, his expressions too homely, his gesticulations too vehement. They missed, too, the quotations from poets and philosophers, which they so much relished. Savonarola's reckless bitterness, the exaggerated severity of his fulminations against the immorality of his contemporaries, and their fanaticism for the classics, made him utterly repulsive to them. Their darling was Fra Mariano, a favourite of the Medici, whose sermons were so popular that the vast nave of S^to^ Spirito could hardly contain his audience. Angelo Poliziano praises Mariano's sonorous voice, his refined expressions, his well-turned sentences, the harmony of his cadences. "I never knew," he continues, "a more discreet and agreeable man. He neither repels his hearers by over severity, nor deceives them by too great leniency. Many preachers deem themselves lords of life and death, abuse their powers, look askance at everything, and weary men by perpetual admonitions. Mariano is moderation itself. A stern censor in the pulpit, he has no sooner quitted it than he becomes genial and courteous."* Savonarola was not discouraged by the coldness of his reception, but rather roused to a yet fiercer combat with vice. The stories of the heroes of both the Old and the New Testa-

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 390, ed. 2.

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ments possessed his brain, the imagery of the Hebrew Prophets and of the Apocalypse became a living reality to him; "he thought one day that he had seen a heavenly vision, and had heard a voice bidding him to announce the afflictions which were to come upon the Church and the people. Thus assured of his divine mission, and having once entered the charmed circle of dreams and visions, he never emerged from it until after his imprisonment." *

The young Friar must have been glad when his Superiors sent him to preach the Lenten sermons for 1485 and 1486 in the small hill-side town of S. Gimignano near Siena. Here he could venture to unfold his prophetic programme; and here for the first time he uttered his three famous sentences. "The Church will be punished, then she will be purified,—and that soon." Preaching at Brescia in 1486, he expounded the Apocalypse, threatening divine vengeance, and calling to repentance. The response which these sermons elicited gave back to Savonarola the confidence which he had lost in Florence. "I am more determined than ever," he wrote to his mother on Jan. 25, 1489, "to devote body and soul and all the knowledge which God has given me, for the love of Him, to the good of my neighbour; and since I cannot do it at home I will do it abroad. Bid all men walk honestly. I depart to-day for Genoa." He returned the same year to Florence; † entered the pulpit of S. Marco on Aug. 1, 1490, to preach upon the Apocalypse, and at once achieved a triumph. The revulsion in his favour was as sudden as it was great. In consequence of the crowds who flocked to hear him, the cathedral pulpit was placed at his disposal during the Lent of 1491. For hours the close-packed throng would await the arrival of the small sallow-faced Friar with his

* SCHWAB, in the Bonner Literaturblatt, 4, 898.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 89 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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furrowed brow, aquiline nose, and piercing fiery eyes.* To the Florentines Fra Girolamo was an entirely new phenomenon, and his sermons were totally unlike those to which they were accustomed. "A parallel to him could only be found by going back to the old Hebrew prophets, whose spirit filled him, and whose traditions he sought to revive."† "He introduced an almost new method of preaching the Word of God," writes the Florentine chronicler Cerretani, "in fact, the method of the Apostles. His sermons were not divided into parts, there were no intricate questions, no cadences or rhetorical devices. His sole aim was to expound Holy Scripture, and restore the simplicity of the primitive Church."‡ It is very remark-

* Next to the delicately cut gems of Giovanni delle Corniole, the portrait now exhibited in the convent of S. Marco is the most faithful rendering of the great man's features. It is a copy, not (as Woltmann, II., 602, and most recent critics think) the original picture by Bartolomeo della Porta, which is lost. *Cf.* RUBIERI, Il ritratto di Fra Girolamo (Firenze, 1855), and FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 94 *seq.* where more will be found about the other portraits and coins. The Dominican Fra BENEDETTO gives the following description of Savonarola in his epic poem, "The Cedar of Lebanon," edited by Marchese.

"Era parco di corpo, ma ben sano
Era di membra a modo delicato
Che quasi relucia sua santa mano.
Ilare sempre, e non già mai turbato;
Di sguardo desto e penetrante e bello:
Del occhio sufformato oscuro e grato.
Denso di barba e d'oscuro capello
La bocca svelta, e la faccia distesa
Arcato el naso alquanto aveva quello."

For the two medallions of Savonarola and Domenico da Pescia in the Vienna Museum, see Rivist. Ital. di Numismatica, 1892.

† PERRENS, Savonarola, 79.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 143, n. 1 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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able that this Friar should have steadily continued to rise in the esteem of the Florentines. While trampling with unsparing and often exaggerated scorn on all the predilections of this "race of artists, and worshippers of art," he told them that "their love of beauty was mere lust, the works of their painters immoral, and that even the pagan Aristotle had warned his disciples against indecent pictures, such as would corrupt the soul of youth. He described the whole of life in Florence as vain and frivolous, and merely sensual, in spite of all their intellect and wit."* Savonarola's manner in the pulpit was so impressive that his hearers accepted everything that he said, and frequently burst into tears. In the notes taken of his sermons, one constantly comes upon the remark "Here I began to weep, and could not continue." In reading these notes one cannot, of course, gain any adequate idea of the words as they were uttered; but "the phrases, even when written down, are so forcible in their simplicity and originality, as to have almost the effect of spoken words."† His vivid descriptions caught the lively fancy of the multitude, his awful threats of impending judgment were irresistible to an emotional people. Lorenzo de' Medici, who could never be satisfied until he had drawn whatever was remarkable or distinguished into his own circle, did all he could to attract this influential Friar, but in vain. Savonarola went out of his way to inflict a slight on the haughty magnate by omitting to pay him the customary visit after his election as Prior of S. Marco, a convent rebuilt by the Medici family; but Lorenzo had the prudence to take no notice of this. His attitude towards this most outspoken and even virulent opponent was that of a finished

* WEISS, IV., 231.

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 76.

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man of the world and wise statesman. Never, under any provocation, was he betrayed into a rash step; bearing with proud indifference all the annoyances and insults which the passionate preacher heaped upon him.* At the last, when he felt that his end was near, Lorenzo even sought spiritual consolation in that dread hour, from his fearless censor.† Had Savonarola known how to be moderate, he might have exercised an incalculable influence over this Prince, who, with all his worldliness and frivolity, was open to religious impressions; but he let himself be carried away by his impetuosity, and in his efforts to effect that searching reform which was his ideal, he overstepped the bounds of what was prudent and possible.

Savonarola's influence was materially increased by the separation which Alexander VI. effected between the Tuscan and the Lombard congregations of his order. A stringent reform was instituted at S. Marco; the Prior being himself a living example of the precepts he enforced. He always wore the coarsest dress; his bed was the hardest, his cell the smallest and meanest.‡

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 396, ed. 2.

† In regard to the famous controversy as to whether Savonarola really made his absolution conditional on the restoration of the liberties of Florence, and whether Lorenzo refused this, *cf.* VILLARI, I., 146–149, 168 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2), and Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, I., 201 *seq.*; SCHWAB'S examination into this question in the Bonner Literaturblatt, IV., 899, was apparently unknown to Villari as also to Frantz; see Fra BARTOLOMEO, 75 *seq.* *Cf.* for the whole matter, PELLEGRINI'S observations in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., X., 246 *seq.* The latter justly remarks that Villari relies too much on the Pseudo-Burlamacchi. See also Rev. Hist., XXXVIII., 168; ARMSTRONG in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 448 *seq.*; and HARTWIG in the Hist. Zeitschr., LXIV., 181, 188 *seq.*

‡ VILLARI, *loc. cit.* I., 179. PERRENS, 110 *seq.* The entrance to

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In 1493 Savonarola preached a course of Advent sermons in which with growing boldness and in very intemperate language he denounced the corruption of the clergy and the vices of the princes. The clergy he says "tickle men's ears with talk of Aristotle and Plato, Virgil and Petrarch, and take no concern of the salvation of souls. Why, instead of expounding so many books, do they not expound the one Book in which is the law and spirit of life. The Gospel, O Christians! ye should ever have with you; not merely the letter, but the spirit of the Gospel. For if thou lackest the spirit of grace, what will it avail thee to carry

Savonarola's cell was through an oratory, on the outer wall of which there is the following inscription :—

Leo X. P.M. die Epi ||
ph. MDXVI hoc ||
ora^m^ ingr^us^ X annos ||
et X quadr. fribus ||
totiens visitanti ||
bus concessit.

This oratory has, properly speaking, nothing to do with Savonarola, and it was irrespective of him that Leo X. granted Indulgences to those who visited it. It is only in recent times that it has been linked with the person of the great Dominican, owing to the monument erected there in his honour. Adjoining it are Savonarola's study and dormitory; both cells are very small, each only fourpaces square, with one narrow window about 2 feet in height and rounded at the top. See BRUNNER, Studien, I., 71. One was his sleeping apartment, the other the study. The first cell contains the "relics" of Savonarola, formerly preserved in the sacristy: his rosary, cloak, hair-shirt, under-garment, and a fragment of the stake at which he suffered. Two Bibles are also kept in S. Marco, with marginal notes attributed to Savonarola. VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 122, note (Engl. trans., ed. 2), disputes this, but believes the glosses in the two Bibles in the Bibl. Naz. and Riccardiana to have been really written by Savonarola. A Bible with copious marginal notes in Savonarola's handwriting was shewn me in 1888, among various treasures, by Count Paar, the Austrian ambassador to the Vatican.

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about the whole book; and again still greater is the foolishness of those that load themselves with briefs and tracts and writings, so that they are like unto stalls at a fair. Charity doth not consist in written papers! The true books of Christ are the Apostles and the Saints; the true reading of them is to imitate their lives; but in these days men are made books of the devil. They speak against pride and ambition, yet are plunged in both up to the eyes; they preach chastity and maintain concubines; they prescribe fasting and feast splendidly themselves. Those are useless books, false books, bad books, and books of the devil, for the devil hath filled them with his malice. These prelates exult in their dignities and despise others; these are they that would be feared and reverenced; these are they that seek the highest place in the synagogues, the chief pulpits of Italy. They seek to shew themselves by day in the public squares, and be saluted and called masters and rabbis, they make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the hem of their garments; they spit roundly; step gravely and expect their slightest nod to be obeyed." "See how in these days prelates and preachers are chained to the earth by the love of earthly things; the cure of souls is no longer their concern." "In the primitive Church the chalices were of wood, the prelates of gold; in these days the Church hath chalices of gold and prelates of wood."*

Savonarola's Lenten sermons in 1494 were still more startling. He now began to connect the impending judgments with the advent of a new Cyrus who would overrun Italy without opposition. In September he spoke again on the same subjects. Dim rumours of the French expedition were already afloat and the agitation increased in force. On the 21st September the excitement was at its height. The vast aisles of the Cathedral of Florence could

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 179-180, 182, 184 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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hardly hold the throng which for hours had stood waiting for the arrival of the preacher. At last Savonarola mounted the pulpit and gave out his text. "Behold I bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth. *Ecce ego adducam aquas super terram.*" The words fell like a thunderbolt; terror and dismay took possession of the multitude. So great was the alarm, writes the chronicler Cerretani, that sobs and lamentations burst from all, and the people went about the city in silence and only half-alive. Poliziano says that his hair stood on end.* A few days later the Medici were driven out and the French King entered Florence in triumph. So striking a fulfilment of Savonarola's predictions, together with his wonderful success in maintaining order in the city during the French occupation, of course enormously increased his prestige. The people regarded him as a true prophet, and in addition to this, he, and he only, had been able to mollify the French King previous to his entry into Florence, and it was he who had induced him to depart. Counsel, assistance, and even commands were now expected of him in the difficult task of remodelling the constitution.† Thus it was that circumstances forced the Friar of S. Marco into an unnatural position, and one full of peril. He justified his interference in politics on the plea that he found it necessary in order to save souls. "O my people!" he cries, "thou knowest that I have always refrained from touching on the affairs of State; thinkest thou that I would enter upon them at this moment did I not deem it necessary for the salvation of souls? Thou wouldst not believe me, but now thou hast seen how all my words have been fulfilled; that they are not uttered of my own will, but proceed from the Lord. Hearken ye, then, unto him that desireth nought but your

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 231 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† *Ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

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salvation. Purify the spirit, give heed to the common good, forget private interests, and if ye reform the city to this intent, it will have greater glory than in all past times. In this wise, O, people of Florence, shalt thou begin the reformation of all Italy and spread thy wings over the earth to bear reform to all nations." This reform, he goes on to say, must begin with spiritual things, and all temporal good must be subordinate to moral and religious good. Cosimo de' Medici had said that States could not be governed by *Paternosters*, but this was the speech of a tyrant. If they wanted a good Constitution, everything must be referred to God—he would have nothing to do with politics conducted on any other principle. In regard to the Constitution to be established, in his sermon in the cathedral he insisted especially on four points: First, the fear of God and reformation of morals; secondly, zeal for the popular government and public welfare, in preference to all private interests; thirdly, a general reconciliation whereby the friends of the past Government should be absolved of all their crimes, their fines remitted, and indulgence shewn to all debtors of the State; fourthly, a form of universal government comprising all citizens who in virtue of the city's ancient statutes were entitled to a share in the State.* Savonarola, like many of his contemporaries, believed in the "great modern fallacy," that Constitutions can be manufactured, that a well-considered system of checks and counter-checks will produce a Government.† Incredible as it seems, the Friar of S. Marco succeeded. He introduced a democratic form of government, and the ideas which he had preached became law. The Great Council was founded at his suggestion, the system of taxation altered, usury suppressed by the insti-

* VILLARI, *loc. cit.* I., 262, 265.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 81, ed. 3.

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tution of a Monte di Pietà, the administration of justice regulated, and the tumultuous meetings misnamed Parliaments, which had been the tools of the Medici were abolished.*

Political reform was only a part of the great task which Savonarola had set himself; his scheme embraced the renovation of social life, as well as science, literature, and art. Christianity was to reassert its sovereignty over the paganism of the false renaissance in every department of life. His "Evviva Christo" was to echo from lip to lip. Politics, society, science and art, were to have the commandments of God for their basis. Christ was to be proclaimed King of Florence and protector of her liberties.†

Savonarola had, however, another meaning also in thus entitling Christ the King of Florence. He claimed to be the organ of Divine messages and revelations. His poetic temperament, his ardent fancy steeped in the prophetic and Apocalyptic books of Scripture, and the predictions of Joachim and Telesphorus, at that time so much in vogue, combined to produce in him a firm conviction that he had direct intercourse with God and the angels. He imagined that he heard voices and saw faces. "Gradually the visions gained such mastery over his reflective consciousness that in the midst of an ordinary conversation he would see the heavens opened and hear voices, and it seemed impossible to him to doubt the reality of his immediate intercourse with the world of spirits." "That which I saw in the spirit and put into words was to me far more certain," he writes in the

* Savonarola, as the reformer of the Florentine constitution, *cf.* in addition to VILLARI, I., 269 *seq.*, 298 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2); FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 58 *seq.* See also GHERARDI, 323 *seq.* THOMAS, Les Révolutions Polit. de Florence, 348 *seq.* (Paris, 1881), and BERNON, in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., LXXXVIII., 563 *seq.*

† *Cf.* FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 74, 76–9; *cf.* PERRENS, 175 *seq.*

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treatise on visions, "than first principles are to philosophers." An accidental circumstance confirmed him in his fancies, and induced him resolutely to shake off any lingering doubts. There was in the convent of S. Marco a Friar named Silvestro Maruffi, who happened to be a somnambulist, and had frequent visions. Savonarola believed in this man so blindly as even on one occasion to publish a vision of Maruffi's as his own, commanded, as he supposed, by angels to do so. In his judgment of other people's dreams and visions, Savonarola was inclined to be critical, but he never admitted the possibility of any mistake in regard to his own.* "I know the purity of my intentions," he declares; "I have sincerely adored the Lord; I try to follow in His footsteps; I have passed my nights in prayer and watching; I have renounced my peace; I have consumed health and strength for the good of my neighbours. No, it is not possible that God should have deceived me. This light is Truth itself; this light is the aid of my reason, the support of my charity."†

Too often in his fulminations against the growing corruption, for which the Medici were so largely responsible, the impetuous Dominican, carried away by the torrent of his own eloquence, allowed himself to be betrayed into very extravagant statements. In one sermon he said—"The only good that Plato and Aristotle did, was to provide a good many arguments which can be turned against heretics. They and the other philosophers are fast in hell. Any old woman knows more about Faith than Plato. It would be good for the Faith if many of these seemingly precious books could be destroyed." On another occasion he declared that only a very few should occupy themselves with

* BURCKHARDT, II., 247, ed. 3.

† *Cf.* VILLARI, I., 318 (Engl. trans., ed. 2). SCHWAB, in the Bonner Literaturblatt, IV., 903 *seq.*, and TOCCO, in La Vita Ital., II., 381 *seq.*

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learning. All that was needed was a small body of intellectual athletes to refute heretical sophistries, the rest should confine their studies to grammar, good morals, and religious instruction.*

Language of this kind led to the belief that Savonarola was opposed to Art and Science, but recent investigations have proved the injustice of this accusation. It is certain that he made provision for study among his own friars, and wished them to learn Greek and Oriental languages with a view to missions, though not aiming at any great results in scholarship. It is also certain that Savonarola rescued the magnificent Medici Library for Florence. How then could he have been an enemy to science? We have his own defence of himself against the reproach of being an enemy of poetry and poets. "I have never been minded," he says, "to condemn the art of verse, but only the abuse made of it by many, although not a few have sought to calumniate me in their writings." He then proceeds to explain in what this abuse consists: "There is a false race of pretended poets who can do nought but run after the Greeks and Romans, repeating their ideas, copying their style and their metre; and even invoking the same deities, as if we were not men as much as they, with reason and religion of our own. Now, this is not only false poetry but likewise a most hurtful snare to our youth. Were this not already as clear as sunlight, I would labour to prove it, experience, the only teacher of all things, having so plainly manifested to all eyes the evils born of this false kind of poetry, that it is needless to pause to condemn it. And what shall we say on finding that even the pagans condemned poets such as these? Did not Plato himself, whom nowadays all extol to the skies, declare the necessity of making a law expelling from the

* BURCKHARDT, II., 249, ed. 3.

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city all poets, who by the example and authority of most iniquitous deities, and the allurements of most shameful verse, filled the world with ignominious lust and moral destruction? Why do our Christian rulers make no sign? Why do they dissemble these ills? Why do they not pass a law banishing from the city not only these false poets, but even their works, and those of the ancient writers treating of vicious subjects, and in praise of false gods? It would be an excellent thing were such books destroyed, and only those inciting to virtue preserved."*

Savonarola held similar views in regard to painting. What he there rightly opposed, was the Pagan false renaissance. "It was not Art itself which he condemned, but its desecration, the introduction of earthly and even immodest sentiments and dress into sacred pictures. On the contrary, pious and genuinely religious art would have been an efficacious support in building up that ideal State which he dreamt of, and for a while even made a reality." Again and again Savonarola explains what he finds fault with in contemporary Art, and what he desires to put in place of it. For him edification is the main object of Art; he will tolerate none which does not tend to the service of religion. He denounces the delineation of the undraped human form as unchaste and demoralising, all the more so because for women and children the church pictures serve instead of books.† "His quarrel was with the tendency to emphasise the sensuous side of Art, to please the taste of

* VILLARI, II., 149, 150, 151 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† BODE, 223. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 227, 229 *seq.* and 237. That Savonarola was no enemy of Art is convincingly demonstrated by L. GRUYER, Les Illustrations des écrits de J. Savonarole publiés en Italie au XV. et au XVI. siècle, et les paroles de Savonarole sur l'Art (Paris, Didot, 1879); RIO, De l'Art Chrétien, II., 368; FRANTZ, II., 666; HETTNER, Italienische Studien, 145–53.

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worldlings, and to ignore its true vocation, which is spiritual, and leads to God. Savonarola's fulminations against the nude in pictures were not directed against the study of the nude, nor the use of it in Art in general, but only on its use with the purpose of pandering to sensual thoughts." * His protest was against naturalism in Religious Art, although he admitted that all Art was based on the study of nature. His advice to artists was to dwell more on expression and ideal beauty, and less on perfection of form.

His endeavour was to eliminate the sensual taint from Art; but here, too, he generalised and exaggerated till he frequently overshot the mark. "Ye trick out the Mother of God in the frippery of a courtesan, ye give her the features of your paramours. Then these young men go about saying of this woman or that: Here is a Magdalene, here a Virgin, there a S. John. And then ye paint their faces in the churches, the which is a great profanation of divine things. Ye painters do very ill; and did ye know, as I know, the scandal ye cause, ye would certainly act differently. . . . Ye fill the churches with vain things; think ye the Virgin should be painted as ye paint her? I tell ye that she went clothed as a beggar." †

In contrast to this, Savonarola inculcated a severe and serious treatment of sacred subjects; "The figures should be larger than life, and thus be easily recognised as typical. Their drapery should be simple and correspond in its form with the age in which they lived."

Too many of Savonarola's criticisms on Art are certainly open to the charge of one-sidedness, harshness, and exaggeration; but his quarrel with the debasement of contemporary art was in many respects a just one. There is

* See AUG. REICHENSPERGER'S Essay: "Zur Charakteristik der Renaisance," in No. 347 of Köln. Volkszeitung, Dec. 16, 1881.

† VILLARI, II., 147 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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no denying the sensual pagan tendency which had crept into Italian Art towards the close of the 15th century,—a tendency which, even from an æsthetic point of view, was distinctly faulty. Again, a glance at many of the works of the period reveals a growing tendency towards realism, and an increasing delight in reproducing the hundred and one little accessories of daily life which pleased the eye of the painters and were dear to the Italian fancy. In Savonarola's time these two influences were doubtless "in the ascendant, and had become so prominent as on the one hand to obscure the typical meaning of the picture, and on the other, by an unintentional naturalism, seriously to detract from its influence as an aid to devotion."

The abuse of painting friends and acquaintances of the artist as Saints, grew apace during the latter half of the 15th Century. Donatello, in choosing a man like Poggio for a model of a prophet, was defying all sense of propriety. The same was, in a sense, true of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and in S. Gimignano, and of those painted by Ghirlandajo in S^ta^ Maria Novella in Florence.* The dissolute Carmelite, Fra Filippo Lippi, did even worse, for his Madonnas reproduce again and again the features of Lucrezia Buti, his mistress.†

Though up to the close of the 15th Century the abuse of introducing mythological subjects and sensuous methods of presentation into sacred pictures was still comparatively rare, there were, nevertheless, many lamentable exceptions to the rule. Thus, before his conversion, Fra Bartolomeo

* Many as are the beauties of Ghirlandajo's frescoes in the Choir of S^ta^ Maria Novella, we cannot but regard the introduction of twenty-one portraits of members of the donors' families as a profanation of sacred history. MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 230.

† GUHL, I., 24; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, III., 52 *seq.*

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painted a picture of S. Sebastian which, Vasari tells us, had shortly to be removed from the church, in consequence of the evil effects which the fathers found it to produce.* Many of Mantegna's pictures and etchings are by no means immaculate.†

Luca Signorelli, in his "Last Judgment," at Orvieto, makes far more use of the nude than is allowable in a cathedral, and even introduces mythological characters. Sundry naked deities, amongst others a Bacchante, were painted by the same artist for the elder Lorenzo in the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci at Siena.‡ Another of his productions, "The Education of Pan," a group of naked gods, is in a private gallery in Florence.§ The frescoes painted by Correggio in the Camera di San Paolo at Parma are most indecent. These, however, belong to a later date, 1518. They were executed for Donna Giovanna, the abbess of a rich convent, a cultured lady of the Humanist school. The ceiling of the hall is painted to represent an arbour of vines, with genii and cupids hiding in its foliage. The sixteen lunettes contain figures in grey monochrome, the Graces, the Fates, Fortuna, sundry satyrs, and even an undraped Venus. On the wall of this bower of the gods Diana appears in diaphanous attire. The whole composition is mythological; there is nothing Christian about it.‖ There are pictures of Venus by Sandro Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo,¶ which are also extremely reprehensible. The

* VASARI, III., 1, 39 (ed. 1598).

† PIPER, I., 1, 326.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1, 322.

§ CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 1st half, 85 *seq.*

‖ WOLTMANN, II., 706; NAUMANN'S Archiv. für Zeichnende Künste, VII., 117 *seq.*; and RUMOHR, Drei Reisen nach Italien, 159 (Leipzig, 1832).

¶ PIPER, I., 1, 327.

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so-called "Temple of Malatesta" at Rimini, a church built by Leon Battista Alberti, at the desire of this tyrant, is absolutely heathen. There is hardly a single Christian symbol or religious inscription in the whole of this magnificent structure. The statue of S. Michael is a portrait of Malatesta's mistress, the famous Isotta. In the Chapel of S. Jerome we find a nude Olympian group—Diana, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, and even Venus.* Again, the doors of the Cathedral at Como are decorated with classical figures purely mythological or historic. Centaurs bearing naked female figures on their backs, nymphs, and Heracles with Mucius Scaevola. These groups are partly borrowed from antique sarcophagi, coins and gems, and partly original. Similar mythological figures are to be seen in the arabesques framing the bronze doors, executed by Antonio Filarete in 1441–1447, for the old Church of S. Peter's.† Many of the monuments to the dead even bear no trace of Christianity. This is the case with Jacopo della Quercia's sarcophagus in the gallery at Florence,‡ and Verrocchio's tomb of Piero and Cosimo de' Medici in S. Lorenzo in the same city.§ No vestige of Christianity is discernible on the tomb of Rolando de' Medici in the Annunziata,‖ nor on that of Giovanni de' Medici by Donatello in S. Lorenzo.¶ Mythological allegories are freely used in the monument to Girolamo della Torre (d. 1506) and his son, executed by Andrea Riccio for the church of

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 118–119 (Engl. trans.).

† PIPER, I., 1, 292–4; PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 360 (Engl. trans.).

‡ Cupids, Tritons, and Centaurs mingle with Biblical scenes in the font designed by Quercia, in the Cathedral at Siena. *Cf.* PIPER I., 1, 293 *seq.*

§ MÜNTZ, I., 59.

‖ *Ibid.*, 424.

¶ *Ibid.*, 429.

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S. Fermo at Verona. Even on the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV., erected by his nephew Giuliano della Rovere, we find that medley of Christian and Pagan ideas which marks the transition stage between the Christian conception, and that utterly mundane treatment which prevailed later.* On the whole, however, during the 15th Century the Popes kept the vagaries of artists within bounds, although in Florence their extravagances were already deplorable.†

These transgressions had not as yet become common, but were numerous enough to account for the severity of Savonarola's censures. Perhaps he was sometimes unnecessarily severe, but the justice of his rebukes was acknowledged by more than one painter. Indeed, the eloquent Dominican exercised great influence over many artists.

The miniature-painters Benedetto, Filippo Lapacino, and Eustachio were then employed in the convent of S. Marco, so were the painters Agostino di Paolo del Mugello, Agostino de' Macconi, Andrea of Florence, and, most important of all, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta ; so, too, were the architects Domenico di Paolo and Francesco di Prato, as well as two of the Robbia family. Outside the convent also, Savonarola reckoned many an artist among his followers. We will mention only Sandro Botticelli and Lorenzo di Credi, who, like Fra Bartolomeo, burnt their studies from the nude. Perugino must not be left out, nor the architect Cronaca, nor again the sculptors Baccio da Montelupo, Ferrucci, Baccio Baldini, Giovanni delle Corniola, and Michael Angelo. The tragic death of their master affected

* GREGOROVIUS, Die Grabmäler der Römischen Päpste, 101 (1857); 101 *seq.*; and PASTOR, Gesch. der Päpste, II., 568, note 1, ed. 2.

† MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 224. "En thèse générale les papes montraient une réserve excessive vis-à-vis des beaux arts. On chercherait vainement à Rome ces compositions mythologiques, qui remplissaient dès-lors les palais de Florence."

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both Fra Bartolomeo and Sandro Botticelli so profoundly, that the former ceased painting for a time, and the latter laid aside his brush and never resumed it. Savonarola's influence can be traced in many of the works of Art produced by his contemporaries,* notably in those of Giovanni della Robbia, representing the dead Christ in His mother's arms, with the other mourners. This incident, so graphically described in many of Savonarola's sermons, became at that time a more frequent subject of Florentine Art than at any previous or later period. Pietro Perugino during the last years of the 15th Century painted hardly any pictures but these "Pietà"—the immortal fresco of the Crucifixion in the chapter-house of S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, the Deposition from the Cross in the Palazzo Pitti, Christ on the Mount of Olives, Christ on the Cross, and the Pietà in the Academy at Florence, all belong to the years 1494–1497. About the same time Michael Angelo painted the "Deposition," now in the National Gallery in London, and Sandro and Filippino produced those in the Pinakothek in Munich. "The erection of the marble shrine containing a Pietà, from the hand of Andrea Sansovino, at S^to^ Spirito, and Filippino's commission to paint the great Descent from the Cross (in the Academy at Florence) belong to a somewhat later date. The latter work was finished by Perugino in 1504. About this time Fra Bartolomeo painted a fresco of the Last Judgment for S^ta^ Maria Novella, and Michael Angelo carved the Pietà in S. Peter's at Rome, the crowning monument of this tendency in Art." †

The Art of the period shewed a dangerous tendency towards excessive naturalism, and a *baroque* style which was

* BODE, 222–3; WOLTMANN, II., 602; SCHULTZE, S. Marco, 61; P. MARCHESE, Memorie dei più te insigni Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Domenicani, I., 512 *seq.*, ed. 4; MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 231–2.

† BODE, 224.

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apt to lose itself in irrelevant details. Thus the return to a more serious treatment of religious subjects, and to a greater simplicity of form and sobriety of colour, was in itself meritorious; but in the majority of these works we miss that freshness and originality, in short, that sincerity, which we admire in other 15th Century artists. In these painters there is a certain constraint of manner and an affectation of exaggerated solemnity.*

The tone of unreality in the Art influenced by Savonarola corresponds exactly with a certain extravagance and violence which characterised the whole of his teaching and work, especially in the matter of social reform.

His sermons, particularly those of 1495, had an effect in Florence which for the moment was almost miraculous. The whole aspect of the city was changed. Women laid aside their costly ornaments and flaunting manners, and were transformed into patterns of plain dressing and modesty. Roystering youths became suddenly decorous and devout. Deadly enemies were reconciled. Rich bankers and merchants hastened to restore ill-gotten gains. Feasting and amusements of all sorts were abandoned. Hymns took the place of licentious songs and carnival choruses. The churches overflowed, the number of communicants immensely increased, and the stream of alms had never been known to flow so abundantly. There were now 238 instead of 50 monks in the convent of S. Marco. Among the new comers were youthful sons of noble families, and men of mature age who had made names for themselves in literature, or science, or politics, such as Pandolfo Ruccellai, Georgio Vespucci, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, Pietro Paolo Urbino, Professor of Medicine, a Jewish tutor of Pico della Mirandola, and many more.†

* BODE, 225.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 344-5 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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A new life had begun in Florence. The great question was, would it last? Unfortunately, in combating the corruption encouraged by the Medici, the zealous Friar had not only overstepped the bounds of prudence, but even those of fairness and justice.

Savonarola introduced into the religious life a narrowness and scrupulosity hitherto unknown in the middle ages. Essentially a rigorist of the type of Tertullian, to him due moderation was impossible. Starting with the false impression that the whole community was corrupt throughout, he overlooked all the good which really existed. "The Renaissance was for him a foreign world, and he only knew it in its extremes."* To these he opposed an extreme of his own, of a sort which in Florence, of all places, could not possibly have held its ground for any length of time.

Savonarola, no doubt, was animated by the highest motives in his endeavours to purge the Church of all taint of worldliness; but, in his ardent zeal, he overlooked the fact that the Church, from her very nature and constitution, must remain in the world. He had never seen much of practical life, and now, in attempting to carry the spirit of a religious house into the every-day world and the relations of citizens with each other, he condemned many things that were quite permissible. The standing reproach of his enemies that he wanted to turn Florence into a cloister and all its inhabitants into monks and nuns was by no means without foundation. What the Church only inculcated as counsels of perfection to be embraced by a few chosen souls, he endeavoured to enforce as binding upon all. "A Dominican Friar," writes the Mantuan Envoy on November 17, 1494, "has so terrified all the inhabitants of Florence that they are wholly given up to piety; three days in the week they fast on bread and water, and two

* BÖHRINGER, 1033; STERN, I., 277.

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more on bread and wine. All the maidens and many of the wives have taken refuge in convents, so that only men and youths and old women are ever to be seen now in the streets."* It actually became necessary to remit a portion of the taxes ordinarily paid by the butchers, as they were almost ruined. In direct contradiction with the rule of the Church, Savonarola permitted married women to enter convents, and even to separate from their husbands, against the wishes of the latter.† He forbade his penitents from joining in perfectly innocent amusements.‡ The fever of religious excitement stirred up amongst the Florentines by Savonarola§ made the city the laughing-stock of Italy. Those who held aloof from the movement expressed their annoyance at being supposed to take part in proceedings so palpably extravagant and often absurd, with such vehemence that even some of his adherents began to think that he was going too far, and he found it necessary to defend himself in a sermon. "Brother," he makes the objector complain, "thou hast brought us very low; all day long we are praying and fasting, and fasting and praying. We can endure no longer; we are the talk of all Italy. Our neighbours jeer at us. 'What,' they say, 'have they given up fasting in Florence? We are persecuted about our incessant fasts. They say Florence has put on a cowl; all her people have become monks. We can no longer endure the ridicule that our perpetual praying and fasting is bringing upon us.' Well, let us talk it over. Tell me, is

* Arch. St. Lomb., I., 331.

† PERRENS, 200 *seq.*, 203, 214.

‡ *Cf.* GASPARY, II., 199 and 664, where he cites a remarkable passage from D. Gianotti.

§ The followers of Savonarola—writes Piero Vaglienti—take everything he says for Gospel, and believe more in him than they do in S. Paul. Rivista delle Biblioteche dir. di G. BIAGI, IV., 52.

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what you are doing good or bad? You cannot say that it is a bad thing to fast and pray. If, then, it is good, go on your way, and let people say what they will." *

It is impossible also to approve of some of the means by which Savonarola sought to carry out his reforms. The penalties he imposed were immoderate. Gamblers were to be punished with torture, and blasphemers were to have their tongues pierced.† He required servants to act as spies on their masters, and did not shrink from any violation of the privacy of domestic life, which in Florence was very jealously guarded. Every possible method of coercion, espionage, and delation was to be employed in order to enforce a standard of perfection in conduct, for which the citizens of Florence were by no means prepared. If anything were wanting to the proof that Savonarola was the last man who would have been likely to succeed in producing a permanent social reform,‡ it would be found in the fact that this tyrannical police of his consisted entirely of children, mere boys who had not yet attained the age of reason.

These inquisitors patrolled the whole city hunting out all evil-doers, and their jurisdiction extended even to girls and women. They made their way forcibly into houses, seized the cards and dice and even the money on the gaming-tables, and confiscated harps, lutes, perfumes, mirrors, masks, and poems, and carried them off to be burnt. The indignation aroused by this intolerable insolence

* PERRENS, 265-6.

† BÖHRINGER, 853-4.

‡ See BURCKHARDT, II., 249 *seq.*, ed. 3, who remarks: "The complete transformation of public and private life, which the iron-handed Calvin in later times could only succeed in producing in Geneva with the help of an external state of siege, was foredoomed in Florence to be no more than a futile attempt arousing the bitterest opposition."

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increased from day to day, but Savonarola only laughed at it. When some of the citizens took to defending themselves with sticks against the incursions of these children, he provided them with men from the city-watch to protect them. Parental authority had no sanctity in his eyes when exerted in opposition to his wishes. He publicly preached disobedience; and when some parents spoke of sending their children to France, in order to withdraw them from his influence, he answered defiantly, "Send them where you please; they will soon come back again."* The fanaticism of these children grew to such a pitch that they threatened to stone any one who ventured to say a word against their Prophet, who was now exercising absolutely dictatorial powers; but Savonarola only saw in them the saintly citizens of the Florence of the future.† The waves of party spirit, which the leader of the people should have been striving to calm, rose higher and higher, and the situation became daily more and more unnatural and unbearable. Instead of the promised peace, discontent and dissensions reigned in every family in Florence. As far as this goes, the charges against Savonarola made later by his enemies were perfectly true.

"Every house," they said, "was divided. Husbands and wives, fathers and children, were at daggers drawn, so that one heard nothing but threats and angry words all day long. Mothers-in-law drove their sons' wives out of the house, and men their own wives; the only thing in which they were agreed was that they could not live together. Women wrote privately to Savonarola to inform him of their husbands' plots against him." Parents abandoned their children in order to go into convents. Half-distracted women rushed to the cathedral at midnight to argue with

* PERRENS, 206-9; BÖHRINGER, 857.

† SANUTO, I., 79.

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the opponents of the Prophet, shrieking that he was the true light, and any one who did not believe in him was a heretic.* They were only repeating what he had said himself a hundred times in asserting his divine vocation.

From the very first there was often a want of dignity in Savonarola's way of speaking, that seemed difficult to reconcile with the inspiration which he claimed. "You live like swine," he said to the Florentines. He called the Princes who, he prophesied, were to invade Italy, barbers armed with gigantic razors; the distress which they would bring upon her was like a salad of borage, bitter in the mouth; the reform of manners, like a mill which would grind out the flour of wisdom. When they had been preached to in this style, his followers often behaved in strange ways, which they called being "fools for the love of Christ."† The "burning of vanities" also began to assume a fantastic and theatrical character. At the sound of a bell from the Palazzo Vecchio, the Signoria came out on the balcony, and, accompanied by the singing of hymns and the clang of trumpets, the solemn procession issued for S. Marco's to celebrate what Savonarola himself called the feast of the Higher Folly (*maggior pazzia*). Three circles were formed enclosing the pyre: the innermost consisted of the Friars of S. Marco, interspersed with boys dressed to represent angels; the next was of youths, clerical and lay; the outer one of old men, citizens, and priests. All were crowned with wreaths, and a solemn dance was executed round the pyre.‡

* PERRENS, 210. *Cf.* VAGLIENTI'S description in the Riv. delle Bibliot., IV., 53, 61; HASE, 35.

† HASE, 125; *cf.* 32.

‡ BURCKHARDT, II., 251, ed. 3; PERRENS, 267 *seq.*; HASE, 84 *seq.* The ways of the followers of Savonarola seem very similar to those of the Salvation Army in the present day.

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Savonarola was quite unable to see the absurdity of all this. He defended dancing by pointing to the example of David, and announced that stranger scenes than these would shortly be forthcoming.* It never struck him that such excitement of the religious sentiments must end by producing exhaustion, nor could he see that his violent methods of conversion were paving the way for an equally vehement reaction. Another unsatisfactory side of the behaviour of Savonarola's disciples was, that they formed a church within the Church. This sort of separation was the first step towards the institution of a National Church, which would have been an inevitable result of the movement had it continued long enough.†

The same unhealthy extravagance and narrowness of vision characterised Savonarola's action when, as very soon happened, he passed on from the field of morals into that of politics. Here also he claimed Divine inspiration, and had no perception of incongruity when, in his prophecies, God was always made to adopt the Florentine point of view, whether the subjects were the French King, the greatness of the city, or victory over her enemies and the reconquest of Pisa. He even went so far as to apply the words of Christ, "no iota shall remain that shall not be fulfilled," to his own predictions. It must not be forgotten that these predictions were not concerning the growth of the kingdom of God or spiritual things, but had to do with purely external and political matters, such as the future of Florence, the conquest of Pisa, and the like. Such a method of prophesying seems almost blasphemous.‡

When Savonarola thus took upon himself the two functions of a divine prophet and a political leader, the result

* PERRENS, 268.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 246, ed. 3.

‡ BÖHRINGER, 881-6.

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was not only to turn him aside from the straight path both of religious vocation and the work of the priesthood, but to drive him to the brink of the abyss in which he was destined finally to be engulfed. It cannot be denied that the Friar of S. Marco not only stirred up political passions in others, but became himself the victim of political fanaticism.*

Even the warmest admirers of Savonarola must admit that in the pulpit he frequently allowed himself to use language which was not befitting for one who should have been devoted to the cause of peace. Thus in his sermon against the tumultuous assemblies, misnamed parliaments, which the Medici encouraged to serve their own ends, he says: "If he that would summon a Parliament be of the Signoria, let his head be cut off; if he be not of it, let him be proclaimed a rebel and all his goods confiscated; . . . . should the Signoria seek to call a Parliament . . . all may cut them to pieces without sin." This sermon was preached on the 28th July, 1495, and a fortnight later Savonarola's proposals had become the law! When, in October, after Charles VIII. had left Florence, the Medici made an attempt to return, "Savonarola in the pulpit, crucifix in hand, openly and loudly counselled the citizens to put to death all who sought to re-establish tyranny." A few days afterwards a law was again passed putting a price on the heads of the Medici, which was virtually equivalent to a general summons to arms.†

The man who proposed and carried out measures such as these, claimed at the same time to be the direct interpreter of the Divine will in regard to the government of

* See SCHWAB, in the Bonner Theol. Literaturblatt, IV., 902; GRISAR, 396.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 292-3, and II., 17-18 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

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the city. He aimed at establishing a theocracy in Florence, resembling that by which the Jews were ruled in the time of the Judges. Thus the religious idea took form in politics, and a monarchy was to be erected by the democracy, under the immediate guidance of God; Savonarola, as the Daniel of the Florentines, was to be the medium of the Divine answers and commands.* Florence, at the end of the 15th Century, was utterly incapable of enduring for any length of time such a theocracy as this, in which Savonarola, in the last instance as the interpreter of the Divine will, represented the monarchical principle, and claimed a sort of Infallibility. This was the weak spot in all his ecclesiastical relations in Florence. The promise of magisterial Infallibility is only given to the Church in the Sovereign Pontiff; by what right could Savonarola pretend to be the immediate organ of the will of God in matters that regarded the government of the city? The days were past in which the will of God was announced to His people by the mouths of prophets and judges. The fulness of truth has now been manifested in Christ and committed to His Church, ordained by Him for all time to be the one Fount of Salvation, and endowed with the gift of Infallibility in her teaching office.†

Savonarola's claim to be a prophet was a two-edged sword, which in the end turned against him, and brought about his ruin. Easy as it had been at first to win the confidence of the people, it was equally easy, when they found their hopes disappointed, to persuade them that he was an impostor, and that they had been betrayed.‡

After the tragic downfall of the great preacher, it soon became evident how feebly rooted his teaching had been in

* MARCHESE, I., 181.

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 88 *seq.*

‡ BÖHRINGER, 886.

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the rocky Florentine soil.* The reform which he had inaugurated, only held its ground in restricted and isolated circles; the mass of the people fell back almost at once into their old ways. The revolution in manners had been carried into all sorts of trivial and harassing details, and was essentially a merely external one.† Even during his lifetime Savonarola had learnt by experience how ephemeral was the effect of his sermons. The moment he was silenced, vice and unbelief began at once to raise their heads again, and he broke forth into bitter invectives against the people whom he loved so dearly, threatening them with the wrath of God, and declaring that all the promised prosperity would be turned into judgments. But all his eloquence was powerless to extinguish the passion for politics which was ingrained in the character of the Florentines; and the breach between the prophet and his people was one that could not be healed. Savonarola in throwing himself into the revolution in politics was aiming mainly at the interests of religion; the State was to be the instrument for doing away with corruption and carrying out a thorough moral and religious reformation. The Florentines, on the other hand, cared only for reform in religion in so far as it carried with it political freedom. Hence arose the curious phenomenon that whenever in a sermon Savonarola made no allusion to politics, he failed to interest his hearers. Then he found himself obliged to declare Christ the King of Florence, and to announce from the pulpit that the Blessed Virgin desired the acceptance of the new constitution, and that the Lord had commanded that the Parliaments should be done away with. The hierarchy of the Angels and the seven days of Creation were made

* On the conflict between Savonarola and Alexander VI., and his end, see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., chap. 6 (Engl. trans.).

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 84; *cf.* 75, and MARCHESE, I., 292 *seq.*

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to figure in the organisation of the constitution and the revolution in Florence. But it was all in vain. Savonarola could not eradicate the evil effects of the rule of the Medici. The religious and moral revival which he had evoked passed quickly away, a sudden flame which flared up for a moment and then went out.*

In Florence itself Savonarola had achieved a certain measure of success, but his wider schemes of universal reform, boldly conceived though somewhat vaguely formulated, failed entirely. In the first place his reliance on so frivolous and profligate a monarch as Charles VIII. was fatal to their success.† When this new Messiah quitted Italy, the French plans were wrecked, and the visionary hopes of his prophet melted away; but, possessed by the delusive theory that a General Council was superior to the Pope,‡ Savonarola set himself in opposition to the, doubtless unworthy, but still legitimate, occupant of the Chair of S. Peter, and thus not only ruined himself, but damaged the cause of true reform. This was not to be attained by revolutionary methods.

S. Catherine of Siena, writing to the Government of Florence, had said that even were the Pope a devil incarnate, he ought to be obeyed in obedience to God, whose vicegerent he is.§ Savonarola defied Alexander VI., disregarded his sentence of excommunication, and attacked the very foundations of ecclesiastical order by threatening the Pope with a Council.‖ The calling together of a

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 84–7 (Engl. trans. ed. 2); and GELLI, Fra G. Savonarola. App. alle Letture di Famiglia, 9 (Firenze, 1857).

† HÖFLER justly says, Rom. Welt., 226, that from the moment that Savonarola identified his cause with that of Charles VIII. of France, failure became inevitable.

‡ TOCCO in La Vita Ital., II., 391.

§ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 106 (Engl. trans.).

‖ For further details on the point see Vol. VI. of this work, Book I., chap. 1. (Engl. trans.).

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General Council to deal with the reform of the Church was certainly in itself a most desirable thing; but a Council assembled without, or rather in opposition to, the Head of the Church, far from doing away with the evils that existed, would have enormously aggravated them.* The Synod of Basle, in the endless difficulties which it had raised, instead of the hoped for amendment had shewn what confusion the false doctrine of the supremacy of a Council over the Pope had introduced into the Christian world, and what disastrous consequences must necessarily attend the attempt to upset the natural constitution of any government, and most of all of that which was proper to the Church.†

Savonarola, in the state of nervous excitement produced in him by his imaginary visions and revelations, was not fully conscious of the meaning of the attitude which he adopted.‡ What kind of forces he had set in motion when he thus abandoned that submission to the supreme lawful authority which is the corner-stone of all reform in the Catholic sense, was destined soon to appear.§ After his death a violent persecution broke out against his adherents, in consequence of which many of them retired into the country;‖ but in a short time the Frateschi, as they were called, raised their heads again, and in March 1499 they had possessed themselves of all the public offices. The old veneration for the Friar flared up again, although the General of the Dominicans repressed it to the utmost of his power.¶ Towards the close of the year 1500, an

* See the Dominican P. MARCHESE (I., 254), a devoted adherent of Savonarola.

† PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, I., 235 *seq.* ed. 2.

‡ FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82.

§ RÖSLER, Dominici, 60.

‖ SANUTO, I., 969.

¶ RANKE, Studien, 328; MARCHESE, I., 305 *seq.*; GHERARDI, Doc., 329 *seq.*

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eccentric popular preacher, Martino di Brozzi, appeared in Florence. His ragged garments and matted hair, together with the fearful prophecies of impending judgments which he incessantly poured forth, almost gave the impression of a maniac; but the inflammable populace of Florence were fascinated by the fool of Brozzi (Pazzo di Brozzi, which is a little village near Florence, on the road to Pisa). He gladly adopted the nickname. "God," he announced, "was going to punish Italy, Rome, and Florence for the death of Savonarola; they would not believe the wise prophet, and so God had sent them a fool." The authorities twice put him into prison, but did not succeed in silencing him.*

A little later it began to be known that a new and audacious attempt was being made to carry out Savonarola's notions of the constitution of the Church. "If any doubts yet lingered in men's minds as to the results which would follow if his ideas were pushed to their logical conclusions, the question was now decided. Not that this fact in any way justifies the proceedings of those who, by means of torture, extorted Savonarola's so-called confession; but it puts us in a position to form a just appreciation of the judgment pronounced upon him by the authorities of the Church." †

According to the account of the Florentine chronicler Cerretani,‡ twenty of Savonarola's disciples belonging to the lower classes formed themselves into a society, holding frequent meetings and electing a "pope," to whom they

* CAMBI, XXI., 168; MARCHESE, I., 310.

† HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände gegen Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts, 30.

‡ *Cf.* in the Appendix for the beginning of the year 1502, the text of this remarkable narrative, to which HÖFLER (Italienische Zustände, 30 *seq.*) was the first to draw attention. As, however, Höfler's transcript is in many places inaccurate and the account is extremely interesting, I have thought it necessary to publish it verbatim.

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yielded implicit obedience in all things both spiritual and temporal. This "pope" was a citizen of Florence, of humble extraction, called Pietro Bernardino, aged twenty-five. He was small in stature, had dark eyes, a long nose, and a hoarse voice. He was absolutely illiterate but extremely cunning. This was the man who was to inaugurate a new series of "popes," who were to reign over the purified Church in opposition to the worldly successors of S. Peter.* By close attention to Savonarola's sermons, and diligent reading of his works, Bernardino had almost learnt the Bible by heart. Even during the Master's life-time, he had acquired a high reputation as a preacher to children and the poorer classes. On the death of the prophet he continued to exercise these powers in secret assemblies. His teaching was in the highest degree inflammatory and revolutionary. The Church, he said, must be purified by the sword; now that Savonarola was dead, there was not one just man left on the earth. Until the Church had been reformed, it was useless to go to confession, as there were no priests or religious who were worthy of the name. Bernardino himself assumed priestly functions, and anointed the rooms which the brethren used as churches, with oil. This he called the unction of the Holy Ghost. The new sectaries prayed in silence, did not hear mass, and dressed poorly. When they were at meals together, Bernardino would often stop suddenly and say, "The Holy Ghost desires us to pray." Then all would cease to eat, and keep silence in prayer until he gave the sign to resume their

* HÖFLER, 31, who observes that Bernardino's attempt recalls that of a similar prophet in Parma in the 16th Century, who under the pretence of a Divine Commission and special favour from the Holy Ghost, had attracted a large following, professing evangelical poverty and simplicity of life. Finally, the extreme licentiousness of his life obliged the authorities, both spiritual and temporal, to interfere.

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meal. The new "pope" was venerated by his disciples as a prophet. All his words and actions were believed to be significant, and to presage either political changes by means of the French, the Germans, or the Turks, or else the overthrow of the Church.

The secret meetings of these sectaries could not permanently be concealed from the Inquisition and the Archbishop of Florence. On their information the Council of Eight forbade the meetings and arrested several of the members. "The new 'pope' told his followers that he had foreseen this, and advised them to leave Florence secretly." They betook themselves to Bologna, and thence to Mirandola, where they were kindly received by an ardent admirer of Savonarola, the learned Count Gian Francesco, nephew to the celebrated Giovanni of Mirandola. The Count was shortly afterwards besieged by his brothers Ludovico and Federigo, who claimed to be the heirs of Mirandola, and were supported by Ercole I. Duke of Ferrara, and Gianjacopo Trivulzi. Gian Francesco found himself in such difficulties that he lost courage and would have given way, but Bernardino's disciples assured him that it was the will of God that he should overcome his enemies. Fortified with this belief he continued the struggle, but was no match for his assailants, and was finally, in August 1502, driven out of his castle.* He barely escaped with his life, and the sectaries, who called themselves "the anointed ones," fell into the hands of the victors. Their lives were judged to be immoral and their doctrines heretical. In consequence Pietro Bernardino and some of his associates were burnt and the rest banished, or delivered over to the Florentine authorities.† "Such

* GUICCIARDINI, V., c. 4; TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 397; Mem. di Mirandola, II., 53; BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 10.

† In the same year, 1502, Savonarola's followers had again been

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was the unhappy end of another of those attempts, so often repeated in Italy, to set aside the means of Salvation provided by the Church and her system of Orders, and to found a new Ecclesiastical Society, in which laymen, unprepared and unauthorised, assumed the pastoral office; but owing to the increasing decay of discipline in the Church, this was by no means the last effort of the kind, and any person who pretended to have a special call to reform her, had no difficulty in finding followers."* Thus in Florence, where the veneration for Savonarola and the style of preaching on the reform and chastisement of the Church which he had inaugurated still survived,† a hermit, Hieronymus of Bergamo, appeared in 1508 and drew many after him. Tall, haggard, and pale, with a long beard, he preached in the Church of S^to^ Spirito and announced that Italy would be devastated, and Rome, Venice, and Milan destroyed by a nation hitherto unknown.‡ Other preachers in the same city held forth in a similar style, prophesying terrible visitations, and a purification of the Church.§

In the following years similar voices were heard in Rome itself announcing the downfall of priestly domination, and the humiliation and reform of the Church.‖ Under Leo X. these prophesying hermits and friars became so numerous that the ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to take the matter in hand. In the eleventh sitting of the

giving trouble in Florence, as we see from an ordinance issued by the General of the Dominicans, Bandello. See Docum., 335, in GHERARDI.

* HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 33.

† LANDUCCI, 285; CAMBI, XXI., 204, 256; VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 309 (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

‡ HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 33. The "preacher from Bergamo" mentioned by SANUTO, VII., 409, is probably this Hieronymus of Bergamo.

§ LANDUCCI, 285.

‖ Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 133, and SANUTO, XII., 323.

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Lateran Council (Dec. 19, 1516) it was decreed that no priest, whether secular or regular, should be allowed to preach until he had been carefully examined by his proper superior and found fit for the office by age, conduct, discretion, prudence, and knowledge. Wherever he intends to preach he must submit his credentials to the Bishop of the place. Preachers are required by the Council to preach the Gospel, and explain Holy Scripture in conformity with the interpretation of the doctors of the Church, taking away nothing and adding nothing of their own. They are especially forbidden to assign any date for impending judgments, the coming of anti-Christ, or the Last Day; for Holy Scripture declares (Acts i., 7) that times are not for us to know. "All who have done this," the Council goes on to say, are "liars and tend to throw discredit on other preachers who announce the word of God in simplicity. No one may attempt to predict future events either out of the word of God, or as having any private revelation, or with the help of vain divinations. Preachers are to obey the Divine command of preaching the Gospel to every creature, teaching them to eschew vice and practise virtue, and to follow peace and have charity one towards another in accordance with the will of the Saviour. All must beware of rending the seamless garment of Christ, and be careful to say nothing tending to disparage bishops, priests, or superiors, before the world." In regard to prophecies nothing must be publicly announced until it has been submitted to the Pope or the Bishop of the Diocese for his approval, for not every spirit is to be believed, and therefore the Apostle requires that they should be examined. Any one who disobeys these ordinances is to be suspended from preaching and incurs the greater excommunication from which the Pope only has power to release him.*

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 707, 708.

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A glance at the preposterous things that were said and done in the earlier years of the reign of Leo X. by these preaching hermits and soothsaying friars will shew how necessary some such regulations as these had become.

Jacopo Pitti tells us that in the year 1513 twelve friars belonging to the order of Franciscan conventuals, agreed to divide Italy between them into twelve districts and thus traverse the whole country in order to announce coming events to the people.* One of these, Francesco da Montepulciano, preached during Advent in S^ta^ Croce at Florence, and drew such an appalling picture of the doom which was to overtake the Italians generally, and the Romans and Florentines in particular, that his hearers almost went out of their minds. Cries of "misericordia! misericordia!" filled the church, and the whole city was stirred as the terrible tidings, no doubt not softened in any way in the telling, passed from mouth to mouth and penetrated into its most distant quarters. Savonarola's predictions were recalled and repeated with redoubled emphasis, and those who were discontented with the government began to stir so that the administration became alarmed. The Archbishop's Vicar summoned the preacher to appear before him and found his conduct blameless and only his judgment at fault. On S. Stephen's day Francesco predicted the downfall of Rome and of the priests and monks. None of the bad ones would be left alive. For three years there would be neither mass nor sermons. The land would be bathed in blood; nearly all the men would be slain and even women and children would not escape. All the bonds of social life would be loosed, mothers would destroy their own children. All these things were to happen when the

* PITTI, 112. This and the examples which follow shew that TOCCO (La Vita Ital., II., 395) is mistaken in supposing that prophesying ceased when Savonarola died.

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King of France should lose his power, the son of King Federigo return to his kingdom, and a canonically elected Pope occupy the chair of S. Peter. The preacher concluded by exhorting his hearers to do penance. The congregation remained motionless when the sermon ended, petrified with terror. The government despatched a messenger to Rome to consult the Pope as to what should be done; but suddenly on December the 31st, 1513, Francesco died of inflammation of the lungs. The people came in crowds to kiss the dead man's feet as though he had been a saint. In consequence, the corpse was taken away and buried secretly at night. But once rekindled, the spirit of prophecy was not so easily extinguished. Other monks came forward and foretold terrible persecutions for the Church, that an anti-Pope would be elected, and there would be false Cardinals, false Bishops and false prophets. Presently nuns, bed-ridden women, young girls and peasants began to prophesy on all sides. Finally the Bishops in Council forbade under severe penalties any one to preach or hear confessions without permission from the local authority, and prohibited all prophesying, arbitrary interpretations of Holy Writ, secret religious assemblies, and the wearing of relics of Savonarola or his companions.*

In spite of these repressive measures the movement set going by Savonarola could not be arrested so quickly. For a whole generation after his death his followers lingered on in Florence as a hidden sect. Their views had developed into a system which aimed practically at forming a sort of national state religion for Florence. The prophet, in these circles, was looked upon as a saint. The power of working miracles was ascribed to his relics, and the fulfilment

* PITTI, 112, 113. On Francesco de Montepulciano, *cf.* also CAMBI, XXII., 37-39; LANDUCCI, 343-4; BURCKHARDT, II., 244 *seq.*, ed. 3; D'ANCONA, II., 163, ed. 2.

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of his predictions, in regard to the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Florentine republic, was confidently expected. Even Michael Angelo appears not quite to have escaped the influence of these fancies. "In an old Florentine manuscript we find it recorded that in the year 1513, he saw a meteor in Rome of which he immediately made a sketch on a sheet of paper. It was a star with three tails, one directed downwards on Rome, the other towards Florence, and the third to the East. Any one might see the drawing at his house; and its meaning was clear. It evidently portended some fearful calamity for Rome, Florence and the Church, through the instrumentality either of the Sultan, or one of the great Christian powers. The barbarians would encamp in Rome and Florence, and things would be worse than when Prato was occupied in 1512." *

For many years Savonarola's prophecies of a reform in the Church, and a period of happiness and well-being for all Christendom, and especially a time of peace and freedom for Florence, were current amongst the lower classes in the city. Enthusiasts were always on the watch for the signs which were to be the harbingers of the great change. In the time of Machiavelli, a prophet of this sort appeared in the person of Francesco da Meleto,† the son of a citizen of Florence and a Circassian slave. Apparently he had gone to Constantinople in 1473, when quite a youth, on some commercial business, and there had frequent discussions with Jews whom he endeavoured to convert to Christianity. While residing in the city of the great enemy of Christendom, his mind seems to have been very much occupied with a strong desire to penetrate the future, and see how the

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, II., 30, 31, ed. 5.

† *Cf.* for what follows, the interesting essay by S. BONGI, in the Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, III., 62 *seq.*

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world was to be delivered from the barbarity of the Turk. On his return to Florence he appears to have been drawn into the movement of which Savonarola was the leader. Later he devoted himself to the study of prophetical literature. Finally he came to believe that he had received from the Holy Ghost the gift of raising the veil which shrouded the future from the eyes of others. He embodied the result of his investigations, which were mostly founded on numerical calculations, in two treatises which he printed. The first of these, on the mysteries of Holy Scripture, was so well received as greatly to strengthen his belief in his prophetical mission. Thus encouraged, he ventured to dedicate his second work to the newly-elected Pope, Leo X., who received it graciously. In this second treatise he announced that the great revolution would begin in 1517, with the conversion of the Jews, and be completed in 1536, by the annihilation of the Turkish Empire. Meanwhile, these views had been widely diffused in Florence and proclaimed from the pulpit by several preachers. From the point of view of the Church this was evidently dangerous. The Florentine Provincial Council assembled in 1517, under the presidency of the Cardinal Bishop Giulio de' Medici (afterwards Clement VII.), decided to forbid the reading of Meleto's book, and also the preaching of his views. Leo X. confirmed their judgment, and the deluded prophet seems to have submitted at once, for we hear no more of him ; and his book is now so rare, that it is plain that all the copies of it that could be got hold of, must have been destroyed.

It is especially noteworthy that, at this decisive period, similar prophets appeared also in other parts of Italy.

In August 1516, at Milan after its second conquest by the French, a Tuscan recluse Hieronymus of Siena began to preach in the Cathedral without the permission of the Arch-

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bishop. The appearance and demeanour of this prophet were so unusual, that soon the whole city flocked to see and hear him. Contemporary writers liken him to S. John the Baptist; they describe him as a tall, gaunt figure, bare-headed and bare-footed, and clad only in a single garment of coarse cloth, surmounted by a ragged mantle of the same stuff. His unkempt locks and long matted beard added to the stern, almost savage, effect of his appearance. He seemed about thirty years of age, and spoke with ease and fluency. At the close of all his addresses he used to prostrate himself before the altar of our Lady, and remain for a long time in prayer. Every evening he caused the Cathedral bell to be tolled to call the people together to recite the *Salve Regina*. His popularity with the common people increased from day to day. The extreme severity of his way of living produced a great impression. He ate nothing but bread and roots, drank only water, and slept on the bare ground. He accepted no alms for himself, whatever was given to him he exchanged for candles to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin, and for a lamp and altar to Our Lady, which he erected in the Cathedral. Such proceedings would have been impossible for a layman without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, had it not been that public affairs in Milan just at that time were in great confusion. But, even so, he could not fail in time to meet with opposition, especially as he was perpetually haranguing against priests, and still more against the Friars, and never preached without making some attack upon them. Meanwhile the people, especially the women, came to hear him in ever increasing numbers. When questioned as to his doings by the authorities, secular or religious, he answered curtly that he had come to proclaim the Word of God.

One day a monk in the Cathedral interrupted him and

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told him roundly that he was incurring excommunication by preaching as he was doing, as only priests, deacons and sub-deacons had the permission of the Church to do this. Hieronymus replied that S. Paul, without being ordained, had converted the world; and when against this it was urged that S. Paul had received the Holy Ghost, he answered that he too had been sent by God. At last, the annoyance caused by his attacks on the clergy, and the interruption of the ordinary services, became so great, that the doors of the Cathedral were closed against the preacher. Upon this, he left the city on December 28, and the excitement gradually died away.*

In the May of the same year, 1416, a still more troublesome and mischievous person appeared in Rome. This was a certain Fra Bonaventura, who announced himself as the long-expected Angelic Pope who was to be the Saviour of the World. In him too, probably, as with the other prophets, we have another result of the influence of Savonarola, whose views were quite in harmony with the ideas of the Joachimites and of Telesphorus. It is also a striking coincidence, and one that no doubt is not accidental, that in that same year the prophecies of Telesphorus were printed in Venice by an Italian Augustinian hermit.† Bonavenatura's followers were about 20,000 in number. They used to kiss his feet, considering him as Christ's Vicegerent. He wrote a paper addressed to the Doge of Venice, in which he called the Roman Church the scarlet woman of the Apocalypse. The title page of this began with the words "Bonaventura, chosen by God to be the Pastor of the Church in Zion, crowned by the hands of

* PRATO, Storia di Milano, in Arch. St. Ital., III., 357-359. *Cf.* BURIGOZZO'S Report, *ibid.*, 431, 432.

† *Cf.* GRAUERT, in the Deutscher Hausschatz, XVII., 710. In regard to Telesphorus see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 152-155 (Engl. trans.).

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angels, and commissioned to be the Saviour of the World, sends greeting and his apostolic blessing to all believers in Christ." He goes on to excommunicate Leo X. and all the cardinals and prelates, and warns all the faithful to separate from the Roman Church. All Christian kings are admonished to support him. The Venetian government is specially recommended to stand by the King of France, because this monarch is the instrument designed by God for the reform of the Church and the conversion of the Turks. It is not surprising to find that this fanatic was imprisoned in the Castle of S. Angelo, whereupon his followers disappeared.*

The frequency of these phenomena shews the ferment that was going on in men's minds, and the urgent need that was felt of reform in the Church. The point upon which everything depended was, that this reform should not be the work of revolutionists and fanatics, but should be effected within the Church, on the right lines, and by her own divinely constituted authorities. Julius II. had at last put an end to the unfortunate procrastinations of his predecessors, and set to work in the best and only way to produce satisfactory results, by calling together the Lateran Council. Savonarola's adherents shewed how little in the way of true reform was to be expected from them, by choosing this decisive moment to throw all their weight on the side of the revolutionary mock synod at Pisa, supporting the purely political aims of the French King, as against the true Council of the true Pope, Julius II.† The death of this energetic Pontiff, just as the Council was approaching the most important question of the day, made the next Papal election a doubly important one.

* HÖFLER, Italienische Zustände, 36, 56–7. As early as the year 1491, a prophet had appeared in Rome and announced the speedy advent of the Pope of the Angels. See *infra*, Book I., Chap. 6.

† PERRENS, II., 480–81. VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 130.

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The task that fell to the lot of the successor of Julius II. was the most difficult that could be imagined. The fate of all human things had overtaken the human element in the Church and in the Papacy. The inner kernel, the essence, was untouched, but the canker had gone very deep, not only in Italy, but also in nearly every other country in all Christendom. Almost everywhere ecclesiastical life was full of abuses and evils, and the prestige of the Papacy was seriously shaken.* In many directions masses of inflammable material lay heaped together, so that the slightest spark might at any moment set up a conflagration in which good and bad would be destroyed together. A catastrophe such as had been dreaded in the days of the Borgia,† such as in many countries, especially Italy and Germany,‡ had been announced in the form of terrible prophecies, or a schism, with which the Popes had been repeatedly threatened by the rulers of Spain, Germany and France, could only be averted by a fundamental reform in both head and members.§ Whether this would be possible, was the important question on which the future of the Church and the world depended.

* Further details on this subject will be found in a future volume of this History.

† The common belief that the coins struck by Louis XII. with the inscription "Perdam Babilonis nomen," belong to the time of Julius II. (GIESELER, II., 4, 191, note), is mistaken. The Envoy from Ferrara to Alexander VI., in a *Despatch dat. Rom. 1502, Aug. 11, says: Qui se he monstrato da diversi ducato novo facto stampare per la Maesta Christianissima, il quale da uno canto ha sculpita la testa de Sua Maesta, de l'altro ha li tri ziglii cum lettere che dicono: Perdam nomen Babilonis. Et pigliandosse universalmente Roma per Babilonia qui se ne fa varii iudicii. State Archives, Modena.

‡ See DÖLLINGER in the Hist. Taschenbuch, 1871, 281 *seq.* *Cf.* 358 *seq.* In a future volume we shall revert to these German prophecies.

§ In regard to these threats, see Vol. VI. of this work, Books I.-II. (Engl. trans.).

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BOOK I.

INNOCENT VIII. 1484–1492.

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CHAPTER I.

DISTURBANCES IN ROME DURING THE VACANCY OF THE HOLY SEE.—ELECTION OF INNOCENT VIII. AND FIRST YEARS OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

THE news of the death of Sixtus IV. which had taken place on the 12th August, 1484, set all Rome in commotion, and the most violent disturbances among the troops with which the city was scantily garrisoned, were the immediate result. A strong movement in favour of the Colonna and in opposition to the chief favourite of the late Pope, Girolamo Riario, soon made itself felt. With wild shouts of "Colonna, Colonna," the infuriated populace invaded the palace of Girolamo on the 13th August, and devastated it so completely that nothing but the bare walls remained; the rabble vented their rage even on the trees and shrubs of the adjacent garden.*

The compatriots and partisans of the Ligurian Pope fared no better than the nephew; on the very same day the granaries in Trastevere as well as two ships laden with wine which belonged to Genoese, were seized by the infuriated mob. No Ligurian property in Rome was now safe; even the Genoese Hospital was destroyed. The provisions which Caterina, the wife of Girolamo had stored up in Castel

* Report of G. Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 498. *Cf.* Report of Stefano Guidotti in CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 8 (line 25 read *soi* instead of *doi*, and line 27 *desfono* instead of *desono*). INFESSURA, 161. *Cf.* also the continuation of the Chronicle of Caleffini by G. MERENDA in Cod. I—1—4 of the Chigi Library.

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Giubileo shared the same fate; they were either destroyed or carried off.* Caterina herself, full of courage, hastened to the Castle of S. Angelo, deposed the Lieutenant-Governor, and declared that she would give up the stronghold to no one except the newly-elected Pope.† The Cardinals, a number of whom assembled in the Palace of the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario, did their utmost to re-establish order in the city,‡ but for the present they were powerless before the prevailing excitement.

Girolamo Riario on hearing the sad news of the death of Sixtus IV., had immediately raised the siege of Paliano, and his retreat was so hurried as to bear all the appearances of a precipitate flight. Artillery, ammunition, tents and horses were left behind. On the Eve of the Assumption, Girolamo arrived with his troops before Rome, and by order of the cardinals encamped at Ponte Molle, where he intended to remain until the election was over. It was feared that the Pope's nephew would use force to ensure the nomination of a Pontiff of his own choice,§ and indeed the courage of the Count by no means failed him; he trusted in his army, in the power of the Orsini and the possession of the Castle of S. Angelo, Riario also expected to be supported by some members of the College of Cardinals.‖ However, after two days, he deemed it advisable to retreat to Isola Farnese; the old castle, which was situated in the vicinity of the ancient Veii, belonged to Virginio Orsini.¶ This change of tactics

* INFESSURA, 161-3; Not. di Nantiporto, 1089.

† PASOLINI, I., 148.

‡ *Despatch of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 15. State Archives, Modena.

§ Despatch of L. LANTUS of 14th August, 1484, Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 618. On the siege of Paliano, see PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, II., 565, ed. 2.

‖ Report of G. Vespucci of 15th Aug., 1484, in THUASNE, I., 499-500.

¶ Not. di Nantiporto, 1089; THUASNE, I., 502.

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must be ascribed to the fact that the fortunes of his enemies were improving from day to day. The inhabitants of Cavi, Capranica and Marino had recalled the Colonna ; in Rome Cardinal Giovanni was received with enthusiasm. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna also returned there with a powerful army.* In a short time the city, to which all the armed vassals of both parties flocked in crowds, had become an open camp. Civil war threatened to break out every moment. All shops were closed ; no one could venture into the streets without endangering his life. The palaces of the Cardinals were changed into small fortresses ; according to the account of one of the ambassadors, the owners seemed to be prepared for an immediate attack. The Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia especially had filled their houses with troops, had erected outworks and provided themselves with artillery. In Trastevere bridges and gates were closed, so that all traffic was stopped. The Orsini had entrenched themselves in Monte Giordano, for they expected every moment to be attacked. The whole town was in arms and uproar.†

Such was the state of Rome when the obsequies of Sixtus IV. began on the 17th August, 1484. Only a few of the Cardinals were present. Giuliano della Rovere did not leave his strongly fortified palace on the heights of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The Cardinals Colonna and Savelli likewise refused to go either to S. Peter's or to the conclave in the Vatican, as long as the Castle of S. Angelo was in the hands of the energetic wife of Girolamo Riario. Not content with the number of their adherents who had flocked to Rome, they sent for troops from Aquila, Terni,

* INFESSURA, 164–5.

† *Cf.* Not. di Nantiporto, 1089-90, also the Sienese and Florentine reports in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 619-20, and in THUASNE, I., 502.

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Amelia, and other Ghibelline cities. The majority of the Cardinals, especially Cardinal Cibò, shared the opinion of the former, that it was absolutely necessary to secure a safe place for the Papal election.* In the meanwhile, the excitement and confusion increased from day to day. A double election and an impending schism were already talked of,† when, owing to the energetic interference of Cardinal Marco Barbo, affairs assumed a more promising aspect. This prudent and universally esteemed prelate possessed the confidence of all, even of Giuliano della Rovere. He began by bringing about an agreement with Girolamo Riario. In return for the payment of 8000 ducats and other concessions, he obtained the surrender of the Castle of S. Angelo, which was entrusted to the Bishop of Todi, in the name of the Sacred College. It was further stipulated that Girolamo should repair to his own States, and Virginio Orsini with his adherents to Viterbo, whilst the Colonna were to evacuate the city, and Giacomo Conti was to give up the guard of the Palace; a truce was also concluded which was to begin on the Coronation-day of the new Pope and to last for a month.‡

When order had thus, to a certain extent, been re-established, it was possible to think seriously of making preparations for the Conclave in the Vatican. On the 25th August the obsequies of Sixtus IV. were finished, and on the day following, the 25 Cardinals present in Rome went into Conclave.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 207.

† *Cf.* the despatch of Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 502, 504, as also the Latin account in SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 377.

‡ INFESSURA, 164–5; SANUDO, Vite, 1235; PASOLINI, I., 156 *seq.*; THUASNE, I., 507, 510, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 622–3. Caterina made difficulties in the beginning, see PASOLINI, *loc. cit.*

§ PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI (I., 209) erroneously states Aug. 27th as the date on which the Cardinals

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For many years the number of the electors had not been so considerable; at the Conclave of Nicholas V., Pius II. and Sixtus IV., only 18 Cardinals had been present; at that of Calixtus III. only 15; at the election of Paul II., 20. With regard to the different nationalities, the proportion was about the same as in 1471; the Italian Cardinals had a complete majority over the 4 foreigners,—2 Spaniards, Borgia and Moles; 1 Portuguese, Giorgio da Costa, and 1 Frenchman, Philibert Hugonet.

We have shewn in our account of the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. the disastrous effects of his having augmented the number of the worldly-minded Cardinals.* The Conclaves of 1484 and 1492 are among the most deplorable in the annals of Church History.

The first step taken by the Cardinals in Conclave was to draw up an election capitulation; in doing so, they openly disregarded the prohibitions of Innocent VI. This capitulation, which was signed by all the Cardinals on the 28th August, shews a notable increase in their demands; the monarchical constitution of the Church was to be changed into an aristocratic one, and the personal interests of the electors were the primary consideration. The first clause in the document provided that each Cardinal should receive every month 100 ducats from the Apostolic Treasury, unless he had a yearly income of 4000 ducats from his own benefices. The next regulation, a new

went into Conclave. The number of electors varies in different accounts. See NOVAES, 56 and CIACONIUS, III., 92, 103; however, all the authentic sources agree in the number of 25, see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 209 *seq.*; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, *loc. cit.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 24; Arrivabene in a *Report of 25th Aug., 1484 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Acta Consist., Arm. 31, T. 52, f. 69. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 409 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), and *supra*, Introduction, p. 170.

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one, secured a complete indemnification for such Cardinals as might be punished by secular Princes for their vote, with the confiscation of their revenues. Not till these matters have been settled do the really salutary measures affecting the public welfare appear, such as the vigorous prosecution of the war with the Turks, the reform of the Church, the convocation of a Council, the suppression of nepotism. "It does not seem to have occurred to the Cardinals that the good election of a worthy Pope would have been a much more efficacious remedy against abuses than the most detailed election capitulation."*

There existed a great divergency of opinion as to who would be raised to the Pontifical dignity. The Mantuan Envoy reported on Aug. 15th that Cardinal Stefano Nardini had the best chance, because he was popular with the people of Rome, and favoured by a great number of the Cardinals. "Others mention the old Cardinal Conti who belongs to the party of the Orsini, a worthy man whose clever brother is held in high esteem. Cardinal Moles' Spanish descent is objected to, but as he is a good and venerable old man, and a stranger to all the intrigues carried on at Rome, many think that he stands a good chance of being elected. Marco Barbo is also spoken of as a candidate; he would make an excellent Pope, because of his noble character, his ability, and the general esteem in which he is held, "but," the Envoy adds, "he is a Venetian."† We have already mentioned the valuable

* DÖLLINGER, Kirchengeschichte, 357. For the original text of the Election Capitulation, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 28 *seq.*; ARETIN, Beitr. z. Geschichte, I., 6, 73 *seq.*; and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 33 *seq.*; in the same work, p. 62, is the confirmation by oath of these regulations, by the elected Pontiff. On the different clauses of this document, *cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 238, 288, 291.

† Report of Stefano Guidotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 15th, in CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 9.

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services rendered by Barbo in the time of confusion after the death of Sixtus IV.; his election would no doubt have proved a blessing for the Church. Other contemporaries are of the same opinion. "All the courtiers," writes the Sienese Envoy, Aug. 22nd, "and those who are not blinded by passion, are anxious for the election of Barbo or Piccolomini in the interests of the Church. Piccolomini is supported by Naples, Barbo by Milan; Cardinal Borgia is zealously canvassing for himself."* The party of the Orsini, leagued with Count Girolamo, had exerted all their influence in favour of Borgia and eventually of Conti, ever since the death of Sixtus IV.†

Italian diplomacy was of course not idle. All the States which had been in alliance before and through the peace of Bagnolo,‡ joined hands to procure the Tiara for a friend of the Italian League, or at least for one who would be neutral. Venetians, Genoese and Ultramontanes (non-Italians), were to be excluded; but with regard to individual candidates, there was a great divergency of opinion among the allies. The personal ambition of the Cardinals also played an important part in the contest. Arlotti, the Envoy of Ferrara, says in a despatch of Aug. 26th: "The competition may possibly become so hot, that in the end a neutral candidate like Moles, Costa, or Piccolomini—all worthy men—may be elected."§ Alfonso, duke of Calabria and

* Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 623-4.

† Report of the Sienese envoy of 16th August, 1484, *loc. cit.* 618-19.

‡ PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 385 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

§ *Per quelli da Milano se fa puncta per Novara o Milano, per la M^ta^ del Re per Napoli o Vice-cancelliero. Per altri S. Marco o Malfeta. Et tanta poteria essere la concurrentia tra costoro che la sorte poteria achadere supra uno de questi tri Gerunda, Portugallo o Sena che sono tenuti neutrali, et persone digne. *Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, August 26th. State Archives, Modena.

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Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Bari, Vice-regent of Milan, tried to influence the electors more directly by a letter sent to their ambassadors at Rome, August 26th. It contained express orders to request Girolamo Riario and Virginio Orsini to use all their influence to oppose the election of Cardinals Costa, Cibò, Savelli and Barbo, without, however, having recourse to violence. In this document, six other Cardinals are recommended; unfortunately, however, their names are not mentioned. On the same day a corresponding despatch was sent to the Cardinals Giovanni d' Aragona and Ascanio Maria Sforza, to be handed at the Consistory to all the Cardinals, and to be read there in public. If this document had arrived in time, we should have the first instance of a formal interference, both exclusive and inclusive, by a Government in the Papal election.*

The real leader of the Cardinals who sided with the league, was the Vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia. All the reports agree in stating that this ambitious prelate was trying his utmost to obtain the Tiara. As early as August 18th, 1484, the Florentine Envoy reports that Borgia was working hard for his own election, and that he had promised the post of Vice-chancellor and his own palace to Cardinal Giovanni d' Aragona, and 25,000 ducats and the Abbey of Subiaco to Cardinal Colonna, and that he had held out similar bribes to Cardinal Savelli.† "Rodrigo Borgia certainly is one of the most active competitors," says the Envoy from Ferrara, three days later; "however, it is impossible to give a decided opinion as yet, as to what his chances are." The Envoy then recalls the Roman proverb, which is here perhaps mentioned for the first time in writing. "He who

* THUASNE, I., 512-13; GENNARELLI, 55; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 308 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 104-5.

† THUASNE, I., 503.

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enters the Conclave a Pope, leaves it a Cardinal."* Giovanni d' Aragona, the son of Ferrante of Naples, Ascanio Sforza and the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario were entirely on the side of Borgia; the latter counted with such certainty on success, that he had made all necessary preparations for protecting his magnificent palace against the pillage which generally followed the election.† However, in spite of all his promises of money, lands and benefices, he was unable to obtain the decided majority. "Borgia has the reputation of being so false and proud," the Florentine Envoy writes, August 21st, "that there is no danger of his being elected."‡ He had given them a specimen of his faithlessness immediately after the death of Sixtus IV. Hitherto he had always sided with the Colonna, he now went over to the Orsini through whose help he hoped to secure his election;§ but at last he recognised the impossibility of attaining his object; he therefore began to promote that of his countryman Moles, whose age and infirm health would probably soon entail a fresh Conclave.‖ The head of the opposition party, Giuliano della Rovere, found himself in a similar position. He could only count with certainty on the Cardinals Savelli, Colonna, Cibò and the two La Rovere. The weakness of both parties became apparent in the first scrutiny on the morning of the 8th August: Cardinal Barbo obtained ten, or according to other accounts eleven or twelve votes. Jakob Burchard, the master of ceremonies reports that for fear of Barbo

* Sopra tutti piu forza de pratica fa el Vice-cancelliero per se, ma certamente perfin a qua non se può firmare el iudicio. Anche è qua proverbio, che per opinione intra papa in conclave usisce fuora cardinale. *Report of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Aug. 21. State Archives, Modena.

† Not. di Nantiporto, 1091; THUASNE, I., 519.

‡ THUASNE, I., 507.

§ SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 377.

‖ *Cf.* Reports of the Envoys in THUASNE, I., 512, 516, 518.

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obtaining the necessary seventeen votes it was resolved that in the first scrutiny there should be no *accessit*.*

Giuliano now began to bestir himself in earnest. His candidate was a man who owed everything to him: Giovanni Battista Cibò, Cardinal of S. Cecilia and Bishop of Molfetta. He threw himself into the contest with all the unscrupulous energy of his nature and did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery in order to attain his object.† The worldly-minded Cardinals were all the easier now to win over, because they were afraid that he might ally himself with the Venetians, in which case Barbo, whose principles in morals were very strict, would have ascended the chair of S. Peter. Giuliano succeeded first in gaining the Cardinals Orsini, Raffaele Riario, then Ascanio Sforza. Sforza was followed by Borgia, and the latter persuaded Giovanni d'Aragona to join their party.‡ Jakob Burchard, who took part in the Conclave, relates that Cardinal Cibò won the votes of his future electors by signing petitions for favours which they presented to him during the night in his cell.§

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 56–57. In the *Mandati of Innocent VIII., Vol. I. (1484–86), we find entered 28th Sept., 1484, a sum paid to Joanni Burkardo, clerico cerimoniar. State Archives, Rome.

† The statements of the Envoys referring to this matter can nearly all be proved correct. *Cf.* HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 14–15.

‡ *Cf.* Reports of Vespucci in THUASNE, I., 516 *seq.*; also INFESSURA, 170 *seq.*, and SÄGMÜLLER, 108 *seq.*; B. Arlotti reports, 1st Sept., 1484, to his master: *Como sia proceduta questa ellection seria un lungo dire, ma questa è la verita che San Piero ad vincula è quello che Io ha facto papa et li rev^mi car^li Aragona et Visconti l'hano seguito. Perche altramente tocavano cum mane, che San Piero ad vincula se seria inteso cum li cardinali Venetiani el seria ne caduta la sorte in el car^li S. Marco, el qual nel primo scrutinio hebbe più voce cha niuno altro et per questo la seguente nocte fuo voltata tutta questa pratica in modo che costui è papa et chiamase Innocentio ottavo. State Archives, Modena.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 61. I agree with SÄGMÜLLER, 110 *seq.*, against HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 8 *seq.*, in the interpretation of this passage.

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The negotiations had lasted through the whole night: by the morning of 29th August, 1484, Giuliano della Rovere had secured eighteen votes for Cibò. The opposition party now gave up all resistance as useless. At 9 o'clock a.m. Cardinal Piccolomini was able to announce to the crowd assembled outside the Vatican, that Cardinal Cibò had been elected and had assumed the name of INNOCENT VIII. The people burst forth into acclamations, the bells of the palace of S. Peter's began to ring, and the thunder of cannons resounded from the Castle of S. Angelo.*

The newly-elected Pontiff, who, for the first time, again assumed a name borne by a Pope during the Schism, was 52 years old. He was above middle size, strongly built, and his face was full, his complexion strikingly fair, and his eyes weak.† He was descended from a Genoese family of good position, who were related to the wealthy Doria.‡ In the accounts of his genealogy there is much that is legendary, and it remains uncertain whether the Cibò are of Asiatic origin, or whether they are connected with the Tomacelli, the family of Innocent VII.; but Aran Cibò is mentioned in Genoese documents of 1437 as having been made *Anziano* in that city, and employed for some time both in the government and the administration of justice

It can hardly be doubted any longer that the election of Innocent VIII. was simoniacal.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 62; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106.

† *Cf.* Reports in THUASNE, I., 517; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37. Portrait of Innocent VIII., on the papal coin in FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 227.

‡ For an account of the family of Cibò see STAFFETTI, I., 5 *seq.* Arrivabene specially mentions the relationship of the Pope with Lazzaro Doria in a *Report dat. Rome, 1485, May 10th: He says, L. Doria è molto intimo al Papa; è lo più riccho citadino di quella cita. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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at Naples, and also as having been a Roman senator in 1455.* He married Teodorina de' Mari, a Genoese lady of patrician birth; Giovanni Battista Cibò, born in 1432, was the issue of this marriage. He studied at Padua and at Rome, and in his youth had no intention of taking Orders, and his life at the licentious court of Aragon was no better than that of many others in his position. He had two illegitimate children, a daughter, Teodorina, and a son, Franceschetto.† It is characteristic of Cardinal Giuliano, that he did not scruple to help in promoting a man of such antecedents to the supreme dignity. However, it is certain

* VIANI, Memorie d. famiglia Cibò (Pisa, 1808); Atti Mod., VII., 309 *seq.*, 319; CIACONIUS, III., 104; MARINI, I., 228; REUMONT, Beiträge, IV., 192 *seq.*; VITALE, Storia de' Senat. di R., II., 430. The statements of CERRI, 59 *seq.*, are mostly unreliable.

† The accusation brought against him by INFESSURA (p. 175) of his having violated his "votum castitatis" when a priest, is false, for SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI says expressly (II., 33): Habuit Innocentius Francischettum et Theodorinam filios ante sacerdotium. But the statement that these children were the offspring of a legitimate marriage is equally incorrect, for Sigismondo adds immediately after: non ex uxore susceptos; *cf.* also II., 37, and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 321, as well as the authors there quoted. It is doubtful whether there were any other children besides these, although this might be inferred from the Envoy's Reports in THUASNE, I., 517–19; see CREIGHTON, III., 120. The statements of Infessura and of the poet Marullus who speak of seven or sixteen children are exaggerations. In a matter of such weight an epigrammatist is as doubtful an authority as Infessura, whose untrustworthiness we have proved above. The epigram of Marullus:

> "Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
> Hunc merito potuit dicere Roma patrem"

which has often been literally interpreted, is clearly a mere play of words. In 1883 the Museum of Berlin bought a more than life-size bust of Teodorina Cibò, with the following inscription on the pedestal: Teodorina Cibò Inno. VIII., P. M. f. singul. exempli Matrona formaeque dignitate conspicua.

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that from the moment Giovanni Battista entered the ecclesiastical state, all the accusations against the purity of his private life cease. The fact also that the irreproachable Cardinal Calandrini took him into his service seems to indicate a reform in his morals. In April 1469, Paul II. bestowed on him the bishopric of Savona, which he exchanged under Sixtus IV. for that of Molfetta (situated near Bari on the Adriatic).* Cibò formed a close intimacy with Giuliano, the nephew of Sixtus IV., and to him especially he owed his speedy promotion. The Pope liked the Bishop of Molfetta because of his gentle amiable character; he made him his Datary, and gave him the Red Hat on the 7th May, 1473.† Cibò was generally called Molfetta from the name of his bishopric.

In the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry, Cibò gained great popularity. "Nobody left him without being consoled," says a contemporary, "he received all with truly fatherly kindness and gentleness; he was the friend of high and low, of rich and poor."‡ Sixtus IV. thought so highly of him, that at his departure from Rome in June 1476, he left him behind as Legate. Cibò filled this post, an extremely thorny one in the state of affairs at that time, to the complete satisfaction of the Pope.

* GAMS, 822, 898, and UGHELLI, IV., 741; I., 918; Jacob. Volaterranus in MURATORI, XXIII., 119.

† B. Arlotti writes 1st Sept. 1484 to his Duke: *That he knew the new Pope very well when he was a Cardinal, but honores mutant mores, ma certamente la benignita et afabilita l'ha tanto innata et abituata ch' ogniuno sta in ferma speranza che habiamo un bon Papa. (State Archives, Modena.) Aegidius of Viterbo says of Innocent VIII.: *Qui cum omnium mortalium humanissimus ac comis maxime atque urbanus esset, Sixto carus effectus datarius ac tandem cardinalis est factus. Hist. viginti secul., Cod. c. 8, 19, f. 314. Angelica Library at Rome.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 211-12; THUASNE, I., 517-19; and also GOTTLOB, in the Historische Jahrb., VII., 316.

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All accounts agree in praising the kindness, the benevolent and amiable disposition of the newly-elected Pope, but they are equally unanimous in condemning his want of independence and weakness. "He gives the impression of a man who is guided rather by the advice of others than by his own lights," says the Florentine Ambassador of him, as early as Aug. 29th, 1484, and he also speaks of him as wanting in solid education and experience in political affairs.* It is not surprising that Giuliano della Rovere, to whom Cibò owed his promotion to the dignities both of Cardinal and Pope, obtained an unbounded ascendency over a character of this kind. "While with his uncle he had not the slightest influence, he now obtains whatever he likes from the new Pope," remarks the Envoy from Ferrara, Sept. 13th, 1484. "Send a good letter to the Cardinal of S. Peter," the Florentine Envoy writes to Lorenzo de' Medici, "for he is Pope and more than Pope."† The practical result of these relations was that Cardinal della Rovere came to reside in the Vatican, while his brother Giovanni, already Prefect of Rome, was named Captain-general of the Church, in December.‡

* FABRONIUS, II., 257, 259; THUASNE, I., 517; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 200, ed. 2.

† See FABRONIUS, II., 259, and BROSCH, Julius II., 308. The Genoese Envoy at Rome, Lazzaro Doria, remarks in a *Report of 23rd Aug., 1485, that it was the same thing to treat with the Pope or with Giuliano della Rovere: che è tutto uno effecto. State Archives, Genoa.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 71, 124; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093; and CAPPELLI, Carteggi, I., 277. Innocent VIII. had communicated the news of his election to Giovanni della Rovere on the day itself, and had added an invitation to come to Rome. (*Lib. brev. 18, f. 2b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Sept. 13, says: Madama. Se la V. S. J. ha inteso de la gran bona gratia ha cum el novo papa tra et sopra l'altri el r. carle Sanpiero ad vincula l'ha inteso

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Immediately after his election, Innocent VIII. had pledged his word to the magistrates to bestow all civic offices and benefices on Roman citizens only. It was his failure in keeping this promise, which so incensed Infessura, the secretary of the Roman Senate, that he composed a series of caustic epigrams against him.* In judging this matter we must consider, however, that it was very hard for the Pope "to keep his promise in the face of the claims of the greedy prelates."† The electors and their adherents had to be rewarded, personal relations and friends to be considered; but the just complaints against this unpromising beginning of his Pontificate were kept in the background for the time being, by the brilliant festivities of the Coronation and the *possesso*.

On Sept. 11th, all the preparations for the Coronation, in which artists like Perugino and Antoniasso Romano were engaged, were completed.‡ The ceremony itself took place on the following day. In the morning the Pope went to S. Peter's, celebrated High Mass there, and gave his benediction to the people. Then Cardinal Piccolomini crowned him outside the Basilica. After a short interval, he went in solemn procession to take possession

molto ben el vero; et la causa è nota che Sanpiero ad vincula lo fece far vescovo (but only of Molfetta); et poi cardinale et novissimamente li ha durato fatica assay et havuto bona parte a farlo papa et S.S. vole li stia apresso et alogia in pallatio. (State Archives, Modena.) Innocent VIII. had proposed the nomination of Giovanni della Rovere in a Consistory held Nov. 26th, and all the Cardinals had agreed to it. *Letter of A. Sforza written on this day. State Archives, Milan.

* INFESSURA, 174.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 272, ed. 3.

‡ SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 371. In the *Mandati, 1484–86 we find entered for the 28th September, 1484, payment for XIII. tibianis qui interfuerunt coronationi S.D.N. On the 19th January, 1485, there are still several sums entered pro festo coronationis. State Archives, Rome.

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(*possesso*) of the Lateran Palace. The homage of the Jews usual on such occasion took place in the interior of the Castle of S. Angelo; the object of this arrangement was to protect them against ill-usage from the populace. Burchard gives a minute description of the magnificent procession to the Lateran, and there exist several other accounts of it in Italian, and one in German, so that we possess ample information in regard to all its details. An immense crowd of people thronged the streets, which were decorated with green boughs and gorgeous hangings and carpets. Sixteen noblemen carried "the canopy, under which the Pope rode on a white horse richly caparisoned in white and gold. He had on his head a golden crown, and over his shoulders the pallium; and wore round his neck a costly amice, and a cross of gold on his breast, and blessed the people as he passed."*

Innocent VIII., whose affability is highly praised by the Envoy from Ferrara,† had all the more cause for being satisfied in so far that the day and all the ceremonies had passed over without any hitch or disturbance worth mentioning.‡ On the same day the solemn Bulls were

* CHMEL, Materialien zur Oesterreich. Gesch., II., 358 (Wien, 1838). The above account taken from the Archives of Riedeck has been overlooked both by Reumont and Gregorovius. *Cf.* also especially BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 90 *seq.* (see CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 46 *seq.*; BERLINER, II., 75); letter of Vespucci of Sept. 13th, 1484, in GENNARELLI, 48; PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, ed. Pelaez, 106, and the *Report of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1484, Sept. 13th. State Archives, Modena.

† For the *Report quoted see *supra*, p. 242, note ‡.

‡ The Duke of Milan wrote to his envoy F. A. de Talentis, Sept. 19th, 1484, that he learned with very great pleasure from his letter of the 14th, that the Coronation of the Pope had taken place con tanta solemnita et quiete de quello populo quanto desyderare se fosse potuto. (State Archives, Milan.) *Cf.* also Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 629.

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drawn up which acquainted all Christian Princes and States with the accession of the new Pope, and asked their prayers for a prosperous Pontificate.*

Prayers were certainly greatly needed, for Innocent VIII. entered upon the government of the Church and the Pontifical States under circumstances of great difficulty, aggravated by the deplorable state of the finances of the Holy See.† It cannot be denied that the newly-elected Pontiff was full of good intentions. Three things, he repeated on his Coronation-day, he was resolved to pursue with the greatest zeal; peace, justice, and the welfare of

* The Pope had informed some princes and prelates of his election, before his Coronation. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 46 *seq.* The official *Bull Salvator noster, dat. prid. Id. Sept., has been preserved in the Archives of Florence, Cologne and Mantua. From ENNEN, III., 880, it appears that a similar Bull had been sent to the Universities of Cologne, however this Bull no longer exists, though the one addressed to the University of Cracow is still extant, see Monum. Pol., XI., 306. The Universities of Paris and of Heidelberg were also informed of the election by a special letter, see GUETTÉE, VIII., 60; HAUTZ, I., 354. The cities of the Papal States (*cf.* Cod. C., IV., 1, of the Library of the University of Genoa) and the chief prelates and archbishops received likewise a special notice. *Cf.* the Regest. of the Bull addressed to the Archbishop of Salzburg in the Archives of the Imperial and Royal government of Salzburg, Rub. I., fasc. 4ª. The numerous Embassies of Obedience are all entered in Burchardi Diarium. Of the Envoys' addresses of congratulation to the new Pope, many of which were printed at the time, those of Tito Vespasiano Strozza (*cf.* the monographs of Albrecht [Dresden, 1891] 36), and of John von Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, were the most admired; the latter was considered a wonderful production for a German; the fact that it passed through two editions in Rome proves how highly thought of it was. *Cf.* MORNEWEG, Joh. v. Dalberg, 95–99. Heidelberg, 1887.

† Breve regibus Hispanie, dat. ut s. (7 Dec., 1484): Invenimus in hac nostra ad apostolatus apicem assumptione aerarium camere apostᵉ non modo pecuniis exhaustum, sed debitis etiam magnis gravatum. Lib. brev. 18, f. 74, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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the city.* Accordingly, he provided for a stricter surveillance and administration of justice in Rome, and commissioned some of the Cardinals to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between the Colonna and Orsini.† Even beyond the boundaries of his own territory, Innocent was anxious to extend the blessings of peace. He was especially desirous of putting an end to the prolonged dispute about Sarzana. On the 17th Sept. he had entered into negotiations on this subject with the Envoys of Naples, Florence and Milan. In accordance with the recent understanding, the Pope said on this occasion, he considered it a supreme duty of his Apostolic office to bring about this peace, so that all Italian States might enjoy its happy results, and might recover from the heavy expenses which had left the Holy See burdened with a debt of more than 250,000 ducats. The dispute about Sarzana, complicated by the attack of the Florentines on Pietrasanta, caused him great anxiety, because of the character of the Genoese, who would not hesitate to set the world on fire, and who had already brought foreigners to Italy on other occasions. Genoa had applied to him to settle the affair by a judicial pronouncement. He knew that his predecessor had failed in his attempt to do this, but, being a Genoese himself and in a more favourable position than Pope Sixtus, he hoped to attain his object, especially as he felt sure that the Signoria of Florence would do their utmost to smooth the way.‡

* *Che ad tre cose vole attender cum studio et efficatia: a pace, iustitia, et abundantia. * Report of B. Arlotti of 13th Sept., 1484. Arlotti had already reported, Sept. 1st, that the dispositions of the Pope were extremely pacific. (Both *Letters in the State Archives, Modena.)

† INFESSURA, 177, and Ambassadorial Report in Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XI., 631. On the deputation of Cardinals *cf.* * Letter of Card. A. Sforza dat. Rome, Sept. 26, 1484. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Report of Vespucci of 18th Sept., 1484, in GENNARELLI, 51 *seq.*;

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A few days later, 22nd September, the names of the new Cardinal-Legates were published. Nardini was to go to Avignon, Moles to the Campagna, Savelli to Bologna, Orsini to the March of Ancona, and Ascanio Sforza to the Patrimony of S. Peter. Arcimboldi was confirmed as Legate of Perugia.* Existing circumstances made it a matter of especial urgency that a Legate should be sent at once to Avignon,† however, neither Nardini nor Moles ever entered upon the duties of their office; the former died October 22nd, the latter, November 21st, 1484.‡

The Pope himself had fallen ill in October 1484.§ Soon it became evident that in spite of his good resolutions, he had neither energy nor prudence enough to be successful in his mediation between the jealous and quarrelsome States of Italy. His interference in the dispute about Sarzana had no effect. In the Spring of the following year, Innocent again fell sick, and at the same time the feud between the Orsini and Colonna broke out afresh. Sigismondo de' Conti tells us, that on the 12th March, 1485, the Pope was seized with a violent fever, which kept him in bed for three months; and he was in such a critical state

REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 208, *cf.* 197, 232 *seq.*, ed. 2. See also the very rare treatise of GIACOMO DA FIENO, Della legazione a Roma di Lazzaro Doria il 1485: Saggio di studi sulla diplomazia Genovese. (Sampierdarena, 1863), which Reumont has overlooked.

* In BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 125, it is stated, without date, that this took place in the second Consistory. The date given above is taken from a ** Report of A. Sforza of Sept. 22nd, see Appendix, N. 1. State Archives, Milan.

† *Cf.* on this point the * Brief to the King of France of Oct. 16th, 1484. Lib. brev. 18, f. 36. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 113, 115; * Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 24th. State Archives, Milan.

§ "Last night the Pope fell ill," Cardinal Ascanio Sforza reports in a *Letter, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 9th. State Archives, Modena.

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that one day it was rumoured that he was dead. The Protonotary, Obbietto Fieschi, sent word at once to the Orsini that the Pope had expired. They immediately posted troops on the Ponte Molle and all the bridges of the Anio in order to secure free communication with the city; but they had soon to repent of this manœuvre, for the report of the Pope's death proved false. The skilful treatment of the famous physicians, Podocatharo and Giacomo da Genesio, had saved the life of Innocent VIII. The Pope, who had always favoured the Colonna, now grew more partial to them than ever. The fortune of war also seemed to smile on them in the beginning; in two days they took Nemi and Genzano, but they were afterwards defeated by the Orsini.*

These endless disputes, which Innocent VIII. tried in vain to allay, were seriously aggravated by the estrangement between the Pope and the King of Naples, which continued to increase from day to day.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 218–20; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 142; INFESSURA, 178; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093. In a *Letter dated 1485, April 5th, Cardinal A. Sforza specially mentions the weak state of the Pope after his illness. State Archives, Milan.

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CHAPTER II.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND FERRANTE OF NAPLES (1484–1487).—THE CIBÒ AND MEDICI FAMILIES ALLIED BY MARRIAGE.

ALTHOUGH King Ferrante of Naples had done his best before the Papal election to exclude Cardinal Cibò, he now made a great show of cordiality, and immediately sent him a letter of congratulation. Innocent lost no time in sending his thanks, and reminding him of his former relations with Naples, assured him that he would do for him all he conscientiously could, but he added, that he hoped Ferrante on his part would shew himself a true Catholic Prince.*

The first note of discord in the relations between Rome and Naples was struck by the King's son, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. He came to Rome on the 20th October, 1484, on his return from Ferrara, and was received by the Pope with all possible marks of honour and friendship;† but when the Duke demanded the incorporation of Benevento, Terracina, and Ponte Corvo, with the territory of his father, Innocent VIII. refused to accede to his request. It is said that Alfonso replied in a menacing tone, saying, that before long he would make the Pope beg for the annexation, of his own accord. In consequence of this collision,

* RAYNALDUS, ad. an. 1484, n. 47.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 111; LEOSTELLO, 43 *seq.* The Pope received Alfonso on Oct. 22nd; after that Cardinal Borgia gave a splendid banquet in his honour, see Appendix, N. 2, letter of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza of Oct. 22nd, 1484. State Archives, Milan.

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it seemed doubtful whether the Neapolitan Embassy of Obedience would be sent to Rome. To bring this about, the Pope had recourse to a very strange expedient. Bulls were drawn up annexing the cities as demanded, but these, instead of being handed over to the King, were entrusted to the keeping of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, while Innocent VIII. made a declaration before a notary, that the documents were only intended for show, in order to appease the impetuous King for the moment. It was not at all his intention to give up his claim to the cities, and he was resolved, if necessary, to meet force with force. As Alfonso drew up troops on the borders of the Papal States, the Pope also began to collect an army and to look out for allies.* Above all, Innocent VIII. tried to gain Venice. On February 28th, 1485, the canonical penalties imposed by Sixtus IV. upon the Venetians were withdrawn, and the Signoria responded by sending their Embassy of Obedience.† Tommaso Catanei, Bishop of Cervia, was sent to Venice, to arrange for the transference of Roberto Sanseverino, the captain of the mercenary troops, to the Papal service.‡

The relations between Rome and Naples became more and more strained, owing to the conduct of Ferrante, who not only refused to pay the tribute for his fief, but interfered unjustifiably in purely ecclesiastical matters, de-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 216.

† The Bull of Absolution in RAYNALDUS., ad an. 1485, n. 45; *cf.* NAVAGIERO, 1192; MALIPIERO, 301. *Brief to the Doge G. Mocenigo, of March 2nd, 1485 (State Archives, Venice). *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Feb. 28th (State Archives, Milan), and *Despatch of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, March 26th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the Obedience, see BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 148–9; *June 29th, Innocent VIII., thanked the Doge for it; see Lib. brev. 18, f. 207 b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 217.

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spoiled the clergy by arbitrary taxes, and openly sold his bishoprics to utterly unsuitable persons.* In the Summer of 1485 the two Courts came to an open rupture. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the Neapolitan Envoy appeared with the customary white horse but without the tribute. It was impossible for the Pope to accept the lame excuse that the King was not able to pay because of his expedition against Otranto, as several years had passed since this event. When Innocent refused to accept the palfrey without the money, Ferrante's ambassador entered a formal protest.†

Nearly at the same moment the Barons' war broke out at Naples. This, "the most appalling of all the tragic dramas of the 15th Century," was caused by Alfonso of Calabria. This "overbearing, faithless and cruel" Prince persuaded his father to attempt to put down the discontented nobles by a sudden and treacherous attack. In the Summer of 1485 he found an opportune moment. Count Montorio, who was Governor of the rich town of Aquila, was enticed to come to Chieti, and there taken prisoner; the citadel of Aquila was immediately occupied by Neapolitan troops.‡ The Barons soon saw that the same fate awaited them which Louis XI. had prepared for his nobles; they determined not to submit to the tyranny of the house of Aragon, but to take measures to defend themselves. In the autumn of 1485, the inhabitants of Aquila expelled the Neapolitan garrison and planted the banner of the Church on their walls.§ Their example

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 226 *seq.* *Cf.* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 217, ed. 2; CHRISTOPHE, II., 311–12.

† GIANNONE, III., 350 *seq.*

‡ PORZIO, 59 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 217, ed. 2; GOTHEIN, Süditalien, 226.

§ Croniche di Napoli, in Arch. St. Nap., I., 57; NOTAR GIACOMO, 156,

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was followed by several other Neapolitan cities and territories.*

Rome in July was visited with an outbreak of the Plague,† and at the same time the course of events in the neighbouring kingdom was watched with anxious attention. "Innocent VIII.," the Mantuan Envoy reports, July 18th, 1485, "is entirely taken up with the affairs of the Barons." They had already laid their complaints against Ferrante before the Pope on a former occasion; now again their messengers appeared in Rome to ask for help. Their language was that of men driven to desperation; they would rather suffer any extremity than submit to the tyranny of Ferrante or Alfonso; if the Pope did not help them, they would put themselves under the protection of some foreign power.‡

Thus we see that Innocent found himself forced into taking part in the war, and no great efforts were needed on the part of Giuliano, the sworn foe of the Aragonese, to bring him to a point. The danger was all the greater because both contending parties were capable of seeking aid from the Turks. It was evident which side the Pope would take. Ferrante's conduct in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the experience of former Popes of his violence and treachery, left no room

and RIVERA, La dedizione degli Aquilani ad Innocenzo VIII., in Bollett. d. Soc. patria negli Abruzzi, I., 36 *seq.* Aquila, 1889.

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 157; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 422.

† *Cf.* on this point the *Letters of A. Sforza, dated Rome, July 2, 11, and 22, 1485: many deaths—numbers are flying from the city (State Archives, Milan). On the 7th July, Arlotti mentions the number of deaths; on the 18th, he says that the Plague is spreading, and in October it was still raging. *Reports of the 7th, 8th, and 10th October, all in the State Archives, Modena.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 227-8. *Despatch of the Mantuan Envoy Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, July 18th. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

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for doubt on this point.* At this moment Ferrante tried once more to avert the impending storm by sending his son, Cardinal Giovanni d' Aragona as mediator to Rome; but the Plague was raging there, the Cardinal was stricken and died on October 17th.† Whilst Ferrante's son was on his death-bed, the Cardinals‡ discussed the affairs of

* *Cf.* LEBRET, VI., 345, and REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 218, ed. 2. As to Giuliano's motives, see BROSCH, Julius II., 34 *seq.*; and also CIPOLLA, 632. On calling in the Turks, see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 228.

† INFESSURA (ed. Tommasini, 186 *seq.*) makes out that Cardinal d'Aragona died of poison (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 2, 927). The editor, Tommasini, does not mention Gennarelli's remark (72): Monumenta legationum Florentinorum ne verbum quidem faciunt de veneno. NOTAR GIACOMO, 153, does not speak of poison either; LEOSTELLO, 81, expressly states that the Cardinal succumbed to a fever. Infessura, who moreover does not give the correct date for the Cardinal's death, is contradicted besides by several *Reports of Ambassadors which I have discovered, so that even Tommasini will hardly maintain the accuracy of the chronicler in this case. The documents on which I rely are: (1) *Report of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1485, Oct. 17th: Questa nocte a le hore X., se ne morto lo card. de Aragona. (There is no mention of poison. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). (2) *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1485, Oct. 7th: Plague at Rome. Immediately after the arrival of Cardinal d'Aragona two of his companions died. The Cardinal himself is in bed. Oct. 8th: Numerous deaths in Rome. El qual cardinale (d'Aragona) sta pur cosi debile con la febre continua et doi proportionali (*sic*) benche mostrano esser legieri, pur questa sira ha preso una medicina de renbarbaro et prima per via del stomacale se li è facta in piu volte bone evacuation de sangue. S. S^ria^ R^ma^ spera ben de se et anche li medici non desperano. Oct. 10th: The Cardinal is better. Oct. 17th: In quest' hora el rev. et ill. quondam cardinale de Ragona vestro cugnato (the letter is addressed to Duke Ercole) expiravit. Con gran devotion et religione è passato. Panegyric of the deceased. Io de continuo me li sum trovato in la infirmita et in la morte. State Archives, Modena.

‡ The absent Cardinals were invited by *Briefs of Oct. 4th, 1485, to return speedily for the following Saturday. Briefs to this effect were

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Naples with the Pope. The result was, that the Holy See warmly embraced the interests of the Barons, took Aquila under its protection, and declared war against the King.* The Bull drawn up to justify this step is dated October 14th, and was affixed to the door of S. Peter's ten days later.†

The King of Naples soon proved the insincerity of his proposals of peace to Rome, by openly declaring himself the protector of the Orsini who had a short time before rejected the offer of the Pope to act as mediator.‡ Ferrante's attempt to come to terms with his nobles completely failed, for nobody trusted him; the rebellion soon spread over the whole kingdom.

In order to intimidate the Pope, Ferrante now had recourse to the expedient generally adopted by those who

received by the Cardinals of S. Mark, Angers, Lisbon, and Naples. Lib. brev. 19, f. 12. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 222. The *Briefs to the episc. Balneoregien., dat. 1485, Oct. 18th. (Joy expressed at the return of Aquila to the Church), dil. fil. camerario et quinque artium civit. nostre Aquil., dat. ut s. (the latter Brief is now printed in Bollett. St. d. Soc. patria. negli Abruzzi, I., 42), Lib. brev. 19, f. 21; in the same place, see a *Brief of Oct. 26th, by which the immediate despatch of troops to Aquila is decreed; it is addressed to Giov. Franc. de Balneo, Hector de Forlivio, and other Papal captains. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Bull is in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 223–4. It is alluded to in the Report of Arrivabene, of Oct. 25th, 1485: Heri la S^ta di N.S. fece attachar a le porte di S. Pietro la bolla piombata de la justificatione suoa circa questa impresa del Reame. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 227, is mistaken when he says the Bull was first published on the 1st November, which is also contradicted by the Report in CAPPELLI, 45.

‡ With INFESSURA, 180–83, *cf.* *Letters of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, July 3rd and 8th (State Archives, Milan), and the *Despatches of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1485, July 7th and 18th. State Archives, Modena.

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had any quarrel with Rome; he renewed the question of convoking a Council. For this end he put himself in communication with Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary. The Neapolitan Envoy was instructed to ask Mathias to support his father-in-law by giving him material help, to dissuade Venice from taking the Pope's side, and to appeal to a Council against the greed and unbearable arrogance of Rome.* Mathias Corvinus agreed to these proposals, January 29th, 1486; he declared in a solemn assembly of the Hungarian prelates and magnates, and in presence of the Venetian and Florentine Envoys that he would not forsake the father of his wife. He threatened the Pope with the withdrawal of his allegiance and an appeal to a Council, and the Venetians with war. At the end of March, 800 Hungarian cavalry, and later on 200 cavalry and 700 infantry started for Naples. At the same time Mathias made an alliance with the Turks in virtue of which they were to prevent the Venetians from assisting the Pope.†

Milan followed the example of Hungary and declared for the King of Naples. The latter tried to gain Lorenzo de' Medici also. In order to hinder this, the Pope sent the Florentine Archbishop Rinaldo Orsini to Lorenzo. He explained to the Duke that "Innocent VIII. was determined to resort to arms; that for many months he had warned the King by the late Cardinal d' Aragona and through his brother Don Francesco; but that Ferrante had become more and more overbearing in his conduct, so that at last things must take their course." The mission of Orsini had no effect; Lorenzo declared for Ferrante.‡

The Pope now began to look for alliances and succeeded

* FERDINANDI Primi Instruct., ed. Volpicella (Napoli, 1861), n. 5. TALLARIGO, Giov. Pontano, I., 181. S. Severino-Marche, 1869-71.

† FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 228.

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 222 *seq.*, ed. 2; CHRISTOPHE, II., 318.

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in concluding one with Genoa through the mediation of Lazzaro Doria in November, 1485. He next tried to win the Venetians, as did also the Neapolitan Barons, but neither the Pope nor they could obtain anything from that quarter. The utmost that Venice would concede was permission to Roberto Sanseverino, whose services Innocent VIII. was extremely anxious to secure, to depart "if he pleased."*

The Pope was so impatient to see Roberto Sanseverino, that he ordered him to hasten to Rome without his troops, in order to arrange the plan of campaign.† Roberto entered the city on horseback, November 10th, 1485, through the Porta del Popolo and was ceremoniously received. On the same day Innocent VIII. sent word to Aquila of his arrival, adding that after consultation with Roberto, he would inform them of his plans.‡ During the following days, the Lord of Anguillara, Pierro Giovanni de Savelli, Francesco de Colonna and others were called to Rome, to take part in the Council of War.§ On November 30th, Roberto swore fealty to the Pope as Standard-bearer of the Church.‖ It was not a moment too soon, for the enemy was already at the gates of Rome.

Alfonso of Calabria had invaded the Papal territory with

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 43; ROMANIN, IV., 422 N. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 3, the *Brief from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See in Appendix, N. 4, the *Brief of 30th Oct., 1485 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 230.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 158, and the Brief of Nov. 10, 1485, in Bollett., St. d. Soc. patr. negli Abruzzi, I., 49.

§ *Lib. brev. 19, f. 46b: Dom. Anguillarie Pier Joh. militi de Sabellis, Paschali viceduci Gravine, dat. 13th Nov. [1485]; Francisco de Columna notario nostro, episc. Massan., dat. 14th Nov. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 166 *seq.* In SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 239, *read* Decemb. *instead of* Novemb.

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twelve battalions, and had joined Virginio Orsini at Vicovaro. Florence sent a considerable force, Milan only 100 soldiers.* The enemy took possession of the Bridge of Nomentana and carried their raids to the very gates of Rome. The greatest disorder prevailed in the city. Amidst the general alarm and excitement there was one man only who kept his head on his shoulders, and that was Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. If Rome did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and if their hopes of help from within the city itself were disappointed, it was to the iron energy of that prelate that the Pope's thanks were due. Day and night he allowed himself no rest. In the cold December nights, he was to be seen with Cardinals Colonna and Savelli making the round of the guards of the gates and walls. The Vatican was turned into a fort, the house of the Neapolitan Ambassador was pillaged, the castle of the Orsini on Monte Giordano was set on fire. Virginio Orsini swore that he would have his revenge; that the head of Giuliano should be carried through the town spiked on a lance.†

The courage of the enemy rose from day to day as they discovered how feebly Rome was garrisoned. Roberto Sanseverino and Giovanni della Rovere had as yet no troops; the Colonna with all their men were at Aquila, so that in reality the city was only defended by the guards of the palace and a small force of artillery and cavalry.‡ In this extremity all criminals were allowed to return; this was done in order to reinforce the ranks of the defenders.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 238; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 223, ed. 2. As late as Nov. 1st, 1485, the Pope had sent *Briefs to Virginio and Paolo Orsini commanding them to desist from their depredations. Lib. brev. 19, f. 41. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 189 *seq.*, 192; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 239 *seq.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241.

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It was not surprising therefore that robbery and murder became every-day occurrences.*

Virginio Orsini carried on the war with Rome with the pen as well as with the sword. He wrote pamphlets calling for the deposition of Cardinal Giuliano, whom he accused of the most horrible vices, and of Innocent VIII. The Romans were urged to rebel against the degrading tyranny of the "Genoese sailor," who was not even a true Pope. Orsini offered to assist in bringing about the election of a new Pontiff and new Cardinals, and threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber.†

Although the Romans did not respond to this invitation, the position of the Pope was very critical; none of the roads leading to the city were safe, travellers and even envoys of foreign powers were mercilessly plundered.‡ The distress in the city, which in reality was in a state of siege, was becoming intolerable, when at last the troops of Roberto Sanseverino arrived, December 28th, 1485. He at once presented his soldiers to the Pope and the Cardinals, and then marched against the enemy.§

The situation now began to change for the better. In December of the same year the bridge of Nomentana was taken by storm, and in January 1486 Mentana was wrested from the Orsini. After this, Cardinal Orsini surrendered Monte Rotondo and repaired to Rome to seek reconciliation with the Pope.‖ The desertion of Cardinal

* Not. di Nantiporto, 1097; INFESSURA, 190.

† INFESSURA, 192-3; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241-2.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 241. *Cf.* INFESSURA, 196, and Not. di Nantiporto, 1099, on the spoliation of the Envoy of Maximilian of Austria by mercenaries of Roberto Sanseverino in 1486.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 171 *seq.*, and *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Dec. 27th. State Archives, Milan.

‖ Not. di Nantiporto, 1099; INFESSURA, 193; LEOSTELLO, 97 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 243 *seq.*; CAPPELLI, 49-50. On the

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Orsini filled Duke Alfonso with dismay. He left his army and fled to Pitigliano. Paolo Orsini took the command of the troops thus abandoned by their leader and led them to Vicovaro.* Innocent VIII., who had been in a precarious state of health for several months of the preceding year, fell ill at this moment. On January 21, a rumour was started that the Pope was dead, and that Virginio Orsini had entered the city—which spread like wild-fire. An indescribable panic seized the inhabitants of Rome, for a general pillage was apprehended. The excitement lasted the whole day, and did not abate even when the Pope shewed himself in person at the window. In consequence of this false report Mentana rebelled, and Innocent VIII. ordered this fortress to be demolished.†

After the miserable fashion in which these wars were conducted in Italy at that period, the struggle dragged on through the following months without any definite result. The Papal States suffered severely, and there seemed no prospect of any end to the devastations.

As early as Jan. 30th, 1486, Innocent VIII. had despatched an Envoy to the Emperor to explain his position, and ask for help.‡ But more efficacious assistance might

engagement at the bridge of Nomentana, see also the *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1485, Dec. 28. State Archives, Milan.

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 224, ed. 2.

† INFESSURA, 196–8; Not. di Nantiporto, 1099; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 240; CAPPELLI, 50; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 423 *seq.* See *Letter of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, Jan. 24th, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Anonymous Letter from Rome of Jan. 21, 1486, in the State Archives, Milan.

‡ See *Brief of Jan. 30th, 1486. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* *Brief to Basle of the same day. (City Archives, Basle.) On the attitude of Innocent VIII., with regard to the election of Maximilian I., in Feb. 1486, see ULMANN, in the Forschungen, XXII., 156. *Lib. brev. 19, f. 237, Secret Archives of the Vatican, confirms Ulmann's conjecture

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be expected from the Spanish royal couple than from Frederick III. This rising power from henceforth began to take a more and more active part in the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand and Isabella tried to negotiate peace, for which service the Pope expressed his thanks, February 10th, 1486. Eight days later, Innocent VIII. replied to the Duke of Brittany who had exhorted him to make peace, by a detailed enumeration of all Ferrante's misdeeds, stating in addition that the tyranny of the King had driven the nobles to such desperation that they were prepared to call in the Turks if the Pope had refused to assist them.*

As no assistance could be hoped for from Venice, the Pope, or rather Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Cardinal de La Balue,† who, from the February of 1485, had been acting as Envoy of Charles VIII., and protector of French interests in Rome, had begun to turn their eyes towards René, Duke of Lorraine. This Prince had inherited from his grandfather, claims on Naples and Sicily, which Innocent VIII. now supported. The members of the Sacred College, however, were by no means unanimous on this point. On March 5th, 1486, the discussions in Consistory grew so warm, and La Balue and Ascanio Sforza came to such angry words, that the Pope had to silence them both.‡

In spite of this opposition La Balue and Giuliano managed to persuade Innocent to adhere to his former policy, and to apply to the French for help;§ on March 23rd, Giuliano

expressed in his note 1, with regard to the date of the Papal letter, that both letters (the one to the Emperor Frederick and the other to Maximilian I.) are dated March 9th, 1486.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 2, 3.

† *Cf.* the excellent monograph by FORGEOT, J. de La Balue, 125 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Letters of A. Sforza, in Arch. St. Ital., IV., 2, 66 *seq.*, and in Arch. St. Napol., XI., 759 *seq.*, and the **Report of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, March 6th, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ On March 10th, 1486, the Pope wrote to the French King to ac-

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embarked at Ostia for Genoa, where he arrived at the beginning of April. To all appearances his mission was to proceed from thence to the Court of Charles VIII. of France, in order to induce the King to send assistance. However, the Cardinal remained at Genoa, where he occupied himself in negotiations with René's Envoy and in superintending the equipment of a fleet by the Genoese.*

On May 9th, Innocent VIII. addressed a letter of encouragement to the Neapolitan nobles, and assured them that he would do his utmost to continue the struggle.† About the same time Alfonso of Calabria defeated Roberto Sanseverino at Montorio.‡ The enemy again marched upon Rome. Not only the city, but nearly the whole of the Papal States were in the greatest danger. For months the Florentines had been secretly inciting Perugia, Città di Castello, Viterbo, Assisi, Foligno, Montefalco, Spoleto,

knowledge the receipt of his letter on the situation in Naples; the Brief concludes by praising the King. Lib. brev. 19, f. 240; *ibid.* *Brief of commendation of the same day to duci Borbonii; and f. 250, *Brief to the French King, of March 15th, as an acknowledgment of his good dispositions the Pope sent him some blessed candles. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See BROSCH, Julius II., 36 *seq.*, where, however, the departure of Giuliano is wrongly stated to have taken place at the "end of March." The date given above in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 182, and in CAPPELLI, 53 (Brosch was acquainted with both sources, but preferred to cull from them the unauthenticated rumours rather than the facts which they contain), is confirmed by the Report in cypher of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, 1486, March 23rd. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Concerning this matter, *cf.* also BUSER, Beziehungen, 246 *seq.*, and in the Appendix, N. 5, the *Brief to Giuliano of May 11th, 1486. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Principibus et baronibus regni Neapolit. Nobis et S. R. S. adherent, Lib. brev. 19, f. 361. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ PORZIO, Congiura de' Baroni, lib. II., c. 33 *seq.*; ROSMINI, Trivulzio, II., 143 *seq.*; CIPOLA, 637; Bollett. d. Soc. negli Abruzzi, I., 177.

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Todi and Orvieto, to rebellion, and although these intrigues were not crowned with success, they had the effect of obliging the Pope to divide his forces.* In April 1486, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni seized the town of Osimo;† at the same time the news reached Rome, that Mathias Corvinus was sending an army to invest the important city of Ancona,‡ and that Turkish ships had been sighted on the coasts of the Adriatic. An exhausted treasury added to the difficulty of the situation; this is mentioned in several of the Papal Briefs.§

When Innocent VIII. saw how things were going, he began to repent of having taken part in the Neapolitan war trusting to the assistance of the faithless Venetians.‖ Cardinal Giuliano, who might be called the soul of the resistance to Ferrante, had hitherto always succeeded in overcoming the misgivings of the Pope, but he was now far from Rome. On the last day of May, the Envoys of the French King and of Duke René arrived in

* SISMONDI, XI., 289–90. The greater number of the cities remained faithful to the Pope. *Cf.* the * Briefs of commendation to Viterbo of Feb. 10th, and to Perugia of Feb. 28th, and of March 5th, 1486. Lib. brev. 19, f. 178, 215, 228b. We see how the Pope was obliged to divide his forces, from the * Briefs to Perugia, dat. Rome, 1486, Feb. 5th, 20th, and April 12th. Cod. C. IV., 1. of the University Library, Genoa.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 272 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 49 *seq.*; CECCONI, Carte dipl. Osimane, 71–2, and Boccolino Guzzoni, 50 *seq.*

‡ * Gubernatori Marchie. Ex quodam magnae fidei viro e partibus Segnie nuper accepimus regem Hungariae aliquas copias suas navibus versus Anconam transmittere decrevisse non tam uti regi Neapolit. auxilium ferat quam ut terris nostris damnum aliquod inferat. Then follows an injunction to oppose him and not to allow Ancona to fall away. Dat. Rome, 23rd April, 1486, Lib. brev. 19, f. 317. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ For proofs of this, see *infra* Chap. VI.

‖ CAPPELLI, 52; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 258.

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Rome * and entered into negotiations with Innocent about the affairs of Naples; but the Ambassador of Ferdinand of Spain, who was naturally anxious to prevent the French from establishing themselves in Italy, did his utmost to frustrate their efforts and to persuade the Pope to come to terms with Ferrante. The Spanish Envoys were supported by the Cardinals Borgia and Savelli; La Balue and Borgia had a violent altercation on the subject in the Consistory.† In Aquila a rebellion against the government of the Church broke out, whilst the army of Duke Alfonso made alarming progress. His victorious troops steadily gained ground; their skirmishers were almost at the gates of Rome. Disaffection was spreading so rapidly amongst the Pope's own people, that it seemed absolutely necessary to bring the war to a close. Treachery was the order of the day; only a small number of the Castellans could be trusted.‡ A far less irresolute man than Innocent VIII. might have made peace under such circumstances. Messages were sent to Cardinal Giuliano and to Duke René to the effect that, as they had delayed so long, it would be better now to postpone their arrival to a still later period, and that the ruin of Rome and of the Papal States could only be averted by a Treaty of Peace.§

Cardinal Micheli was entrusted with the negotiation of

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 204. On their journey, *cf.* *Lib. brev. 19, f. 386–7. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 202; SISMONDI, XI., 292; FORGEOT, J. de La Balue, 131–2. Concerning Aquila, see CAPPELLI, 55.

‡ INFESSURA, 206, 209, 210–14; LEOSTELLO, 110 *seq.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 260. He states, p. 259, that the Peace was concluded in August 1486, in order to prevent the French from reaping the fruits of the war and thus rousing the jealousy of the Spaniards, and possibly causing them to side with Ferrante. Giuliano returned to Rome, Sept. 12th, but found the Pope so little inclined for a new war with Naples, that he retired to Ostia. CAPPELLI, 59.

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the conditions of peace. The agreement was concluded without difficulty, as Ferrante made great concessions out of fear of the French; the captain of his forces, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio and the Humanist Pontano, repaired secretly to the Vatican, where, in the night of 9th–10th August, 1486, the preliminaries were signed.* The principal clauses of the treaty, which was guaranteed by their Spanish Majesties, Milan, and Florence, were the following: —Ferrante recognised the Papal supremacy, and engaged to pay the customary tribute with arrears; the revolted nobles were to submit to the King, who promised a complete amnesty; Aquila was to take its choice between Rome and Naples; Virginio Orsini was to ask the Pope's pardon; and Innocent VIII. was to have the free disposal of all bishoprics and benefices.†

Looking at the conditions that Ferrante accepted, no one would have guessed that his was the victorious side. In this he can hardly have been actuated by the fear of France alone. The clue to his apparent amiability must rather be sought in his subsequent conduct, for his facility in making concessions on paper was more than counterbalanced by the skill with which he evaded the fulfilment of his engagements. The whole compact was as quickly broken as it had been concluded. There can hardly be

* *Cf.* the Letter of Trivulzio in ROSMINI, II., 149–50.

† INFESSURA, 214 *seq.*; SANUDO, Vite, 1238 *seq.*; PORZIO, 148; CIPOLLA, 638–9; in the same place, details of the fate of R. Sanseverino whose fidelity (according to Sigismondo de' Conti) the Pope had been led to suspect. *Cf.* also in Appendix, N. 6 the *Despatch of Arrivabene of Aug. 11th, 1486. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *The same Envoy announces in accordance with BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 208, on Sept. 12th, the publication of the Treaty which had not taken place till then. *Cf.* NOTAR GIACOMO, 160. An account of the festivities in honour of the Peace is to be found in GHIRARDACCI, Istoria di Bologna ad an. 1486. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

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found in all the annals of history a more scandalous violation of a treaty. Before the end of September Ferrante had expelled the Papal troops from Aquila, murdered the Pope's representative, and taken possession of the city. Then came his revenge on the nobles. Not only the Barons themselves, but their wives and children also were thrown into prison, and all their property was confiscated, including even monies invested in foreign countries. When the Barons had been thus disposed of, the turn of the Pope came next. The payment of the tribute was refused, and benefices given away as before without any reference to the Holy See. "The hand of the King is heavier on the Church than ever."*

Not content with all this, Ferrante set himself to harass the helpless Pope by stirring up disturbances in the Papal States.† To this systematic policy of violence Innocent VIII. had nothing to oppose but the most abject irresolution and vacillation. By his feeble policy of groping about for alliances first in one direction and then in another, he had lost the confidence of all parties. In 1486, the Pope had entered into fresh negotiations with Venice, which resulted in a new Veneto-Roman league proclaimed at the end of February 1487; but before another month had elapsed he had swung round again and sided with Florence.‡ A project of a marriage between Lorenzo's second daughter Maddalena and Franceschetto Cibò was broached; but on account of the youth of the bride its celebration had

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 261; II., 30; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 228 *seq.*, ed. 2, and Rom, III., 1, 192; GOTHEIN, Süditalien, 527 *seq.*

† LEBRET, VI., 349 *seq.*

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 39. On the league with Venice which had greatly startled Lorenzo, see CAPPELLI, 63; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 281, 423 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 237 *seq.*; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 82.

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to be postponed for a while. "In the meantime several events occurred of which Lorenzo might have taken advantage had not other circumstances tended to strengthen his desire of obtaining a footing in Rome, and his hopes of domineering over the feeble Pope."*

In 1487 Lorenzo de' Medici had already had an opportunity of laying the Pope under an obligation. In Osimo, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni had rebelled again and entered into communication with the Sultan Bajazet. It is a fact proved by letters which have been discovered, that this daring rebel was prepared to hand over the Marches to the Turks.† As the Sultan did not seem unwilling to accept the proposal, everything depended on prompt action. Innocent VIII. lost no time. In March 1487, Giuliano della Rovere was sent against Boccolino,‡ but was so crippled by want of funds that he found himself unable to achieve anything; and the Pope appealed to Milan for help. The Milanese in May sent Gian Jacopo Trivulzio, one of the ablest generals of the period, but he too was unable to take Osimo. In July, Giuliano asked to be recalled, and was superseded by Cardinal de La Balue. By the time the latter arrived before Osimo, Trivulzio had reduced the city to such extremity that it was on the point of surrendering.

By skilful management, the Florentine Ambassador succeeded in inducing Boccolino, "on the payment of 8000 ducats, to give up the city and to repair to Florence."§ The

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 240–42, ed. 2. *Cf.* Pandolfini's *Report on March 21, 1487. State Archives, Florence.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 273 *seq.* 310; SUGENHEIM, 361; BROSCH, Julius II., 41, 309–10; ROSMINI, II., 158 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 54 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 641 *seq.* See also MORUS, Bibl. Picena, V., 197, and CECCONI'S monograph, Boccolino Guzzoni, 74 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* the *Reports of Pandolfini of 2nd, 10th, and 11th March, 1487. State Archives, Florence.

§ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 238, ed. 2; and CECCONI, Boccolino

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friendly relations of the Pope with the Medici were advantageous to the Orsini, for Lorenzo's wife was a sister of Virginio Orsini. To no one was this change more distasteful than to Cardinal Giuliano. On July 19th, 1487, he had returned from Osimo in very ill-humour, and when in August the Pope formally received the Orsini back into favour he left Rome and retired to Bologna; however, he soon made it up again with Innocent.*

Whilst the war at Osimo was dragging on without any decided result, Ferrante took advantage of the Pope's embarrassment to bring his dispute with the Holy See to a climax. In May 1487, Trojano de' Bottuni was sent to Rome, Florence and Milan, as Extraordinary Ambassador, with instructions coolly to repudiate all the stipulations contained in the treaty of August 11th, 1486.† "Towards the end of July 1487, Innocent VIII. held a Consistory to deliberate on Neapolitan affairs. The whole college of Cardinals agreed with him, that it was incompatible with the honour of the Holy See to remain passive any longer. It was resolved that letters should be sent to Spain, Milan and Florence, the co-signatories of the treaty, to inform them of its violation. A Nuncio was to be sent to Naples to remonstrate, and in case of any fresh breach of faith with

Guzzoni, 83 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 156, 164 *seq.*; FORGEOT, 142. In a * Brief of 16th Aug., 1487, Innocent VIII. thanked the Duke of Milan for having sent Trivulzio to take Osimo. (Original in the State Archives, Milan.) Innocent VIII. likewise thanked the Perugians in a * Brief of Sept. 1st, 1487, for subsidies sent. C. IV. 1 of the University Library, Genoa.

* INFESSURA, 227; Not. di Nantiporto, 1105; BROSCH, Julius II., 42. According to a * Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, July 19th, Giuliano returned on that day.

† FERDINANDI Instruct., L., 217 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 242 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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the Barons to assist them in obtaining redress through the ordinary means." These resolutions were embodied in the instruction dated 24th July, 1487, to the Nuncio Pietro Vicentino, Bishop of Cesena.* The way in which the Nuncio was treated at Naples, is characteristic of Ferrante. He was denied an audience, whereupon he stopped the King at the gate of the palace when he was going out hunting, and forced him to listen to the demands of the Pope. Ferrante's reply was a flat refusal expressed in the most scornful terms. He had not forgotten the tribute, but he had spent so much on the Church that he had no money left. With regard to his interference in ecclesiastical affairs, Ferrante remarked that he knew his subjects, whereas the Pope did not; he would therefore continue to confer benefices on those whom he considered worthy, and Innocent VIII. must content himself with the right of confirming his nomination. When, finally, Vicentino reproached him with violating the treaty by imprisoning the Barons, the King reminded him of the arrest and subsequent release of the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli by Sixtus IV., and added: I choose to deal in the same way with my traitorous subjects. Then he ordered the bugles to sound, and rode off without even saluting the Nuncio.†

In face of Ferrante's insolence, Innocent VIII. seems to have completely lost his head. "Gian Jacopo Trivulzio," the Envoy from Ferrara writes 6th September 1487, "speaks of the pusillanimity, the helplessness, and incapacity of the Pope in the strongest terms, and adds that, if some spirit

* REUMONT, *loc. cit.* The text of the instruction is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1487, n. 10. On the Consistory, see CAPPELLI, 67, and a *Letter of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, July 19th. State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* the Modenese despatch in BALAN, 242, note 3, with INFESSURA, 229-30. See also NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 3.

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and courage cannot be infused into him, the consequences will be very serious."*

Emboldened by the Pope's weakness, Ferrante's next step was to publish a solemn appeal to a Council.† A few days after the news of this had reached Florence, the Papal secretary Jacopo Gherardi arrived there, with secret instructions to endeavour to bring about a league between Milan and Venice against Naples; as, however, Lorenzo was determined not to fight, and dissuaded the Pope from pronouncing ecclesiastical censures, this came to nothing.‡ In Rome a rumour began to be bruited about in October, that Innocent was preparing a decree of excommunication, interdict, and deposition against Ferrante, but as negotiations with Milan and Florence continued to be kept up, it was inferred that these extreme steps might possibly be avoided and an accommodation arranged.§ Lorenzo had considerable influence with the Pope at that time, for the marriage of Franceschetto Cibò was just about to take place.

On November 13th, the bride entered Rome, accompanied by her mother. On the 18th, the Pope gave a banquet in honour of the bridal pair, and made them a present of jewels worth 10,000 ducats.‖ At the beginning of his Pontificate, Innocent had refused to allow Franceschetto to reside in Rome;¶ now with almost incredible

* CAPPELLI, 68; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 247, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* the Reports in BUSER, Lorenzo, 85 *seq.*; and in CAPPELLI, 68, also BALUZE, I., 518 *seq.*

‡ TABARRINI in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VII., 2, 3 *seq.*; X., 2, 3 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 248 *seq.*, ed. 2; and BUSER, Lorenzo, 86 *seq.*

§ **Letter of B. Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1487, Oct. 25th. State Archives, Modena.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 275; CAPPELLI, 69; STAFFETTI, 4.

¶ We have this from a very authentic source, viz. a *Letter from Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1484, Oct. 12th. * Sono circa tre dì

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weakness he celebrated the nuptials in his own palace. The marriage contract was signed on January 20th, 1488.* Lorenzo was vexed at finding that Innocent VIII. shewed no disposition to make an extensive provision for the newly married couple, but his annoyance was still greater at his delay in the bestowal of the Cardinal's Hat which had been promised to his second son Giovanni.†

The marriage of Maddalena with Franceschetto, who was by many years her senior, was not a happy one; though utterly rude and uncultured, Cibò was deeply tainted with the corruption of his time; he cared for nothing but money, in order to squander it in gambling and debauchery; but quite apart from this the alliance between the Cibò and Medici families was a most questionable proceeding. "This was the first time that the son of a Pope had been publicly recognised, and, as it were, introduced on the political stage."‡ Aegidius of Viterbo justly passed a very severe judgment on Innocent VIII. on account of this deplorable aberration.§

chel figliolo de N. S. è venuto qui con poca dimonstratione de S. Sta et sta molto privatamente et per quanto intendo vole parta da qui et vada stare a Napoli o altrove ne li lochi de la chiesa. State Archives, Milan.

* GREGOROVIUS, Archive of the Notaries of the Capitol, 503.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 359 *seq.*, ed. 2; who remarks: "The complaints in the letters addressed by the bride's relations to her father-in-law are more creditable to Innocent VIII. than to those who wrote them."

‡ REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 240 *seq.*, ed. 2; STAFFETTI, 5, 8 *seq.*

§ In the November of the following year Innocent VIII. celebrated also in the Vatican the marriage of his grand-daughter Peretta (daughter of Teodorina) with the Genoese merchant Gherardo Usodimare: the Pope himself sat at table at the banquet. See BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 320–22, he remarks: Res hec secreta non fuit, sed per totam urbem divulgata et prescita. Ego non interfui, sed fratre prefati Guillielmi camerarii secreti, qui interfuit, hec mihi referente, notavi, licet contra normam ceremoniarum nostrarum acta sint, que expresse prohibent

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CHAPTER III.

TROUBLES IN THE ROMAGNA.—DISPUTES AND FINAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ROME AND NAPLES.

THE Spring of the year 1488 witnessed the outbreak of serious disturbances in the Romagna. On the 14th April Girolamo Riario, who was hated for his brutal tyranny and cruelty, was treacherously murdered by three conspirators. The downfall of the Riario family now seemed inevitable; but Caterina, the courageous consort of the assassinated noble, held the citadel of Forli till it was relieved by the Milanese troops, and thus preserved the government for her young son Ottaviano.*

mulieres esse in convivio cum pontifice. The verdict of AEGIDIUS of Viterbo in his *Hist., XX. saecul. (not complete in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 271, ed. 3), runs thus: Primus pontificum filios filiasque palam ostentavit, primus eorum apertas fecit nupteas, primus domesticos hymeneos celebravit. Utinam ut exemplo prius caruit, ita postea imitatore caruisset (f. 315). On satires upon the nephews of Innocent VIII., see LUZIO in Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 89, and also Cod. 9846 of the Court Library, Vienna.

* CIPOLLA, 647; PASOLINI, I., 199 *seq.*, 207 *seq.* Little is known of the relations between Girolamo Riario and Innocent VIII., who, soon after his election, had invested him with Imola and Forli. In regard to this matter a *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, written partly in cypher, dated Rome, 1485, Sept. 17th, which runs thus, is of great interest (the passages in cypher are as follows), * Da bon loco sono avisato che el C. Hieronymo ha facto offerire al papa squadre dece de gente d'arme per la impresa del Reame et lo Papa le ha acceptate. (State Archives, Milan.) I do not know of any confirmation of this statement.

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The conspirators had immediately applied to Lorenzo de' Medici and Innocent VIII. for help. The suspicion expressed by Checho Orsi, the real instigator of the conspiracy, that the Pope was implicated in the plot, is without foundation. Apart from the untrustworthiness of the testimony of such a man, Checho refuted himself by asking Lorenzo to act as mediator with the Pope, and to induce him to favour the enterprise.*

Part of the population of Forli eagerly desired to be under the immediate rule of the Church, and despatched envoys to Rome with a petition to the Pope to take the town under his protection. Innocent VIII. in consequence sent troops under the command of the protonotary Bernardino Savelli, from Cesena to Forli; they were, however, captured by the Milanese. Upon this the Pope gave up all further interference, although he had a perfect right to support the party which had formally offered the town to him. Although Girolamo had been most unfriendly to him during the reign of Sixtus IV., Innocent recommended his infant children to the people of Forli, and gave instructions in the same sense to his Envoy, Cardinal Raffaele Riario.†

Innocent VIII. had a special reason for abstaining from interference in the troubles in the Romagna, for just at that time the Neapolitan King was straining every nerve to stir up the cities of the Papal States to rebel against their

* Report of Stefano de Castrocaro in GENNARELLI, 101–3, and THUASNE, I., 521–4. It is also worthy of note that the other assassin, Lodovico Orsi, said in his evidence that no one in the world beside himself, Checho, and the third conspirator had any knowledge of the plot. *Cf.* also PASOLINI, I., 248; III., 116; CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 15, agrees with Pasolini, but he thinks the attitude of Innocent VIII. in regard to the troubles in the Romagna was similar to that of Sixtus IV. towards the Pazzi conspiracy.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 315–16.

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rightful ruler. The revolt of the important city of Ancona, which had been apprehended for the last two years, now actually broke out. In the beginning of April 1488, the Council of Ancona hoisted the Hungarian flag on the belfry of the town hall and on the masts of the ships, as a sign that the city had placed itself under the protection of Ferrante's son-in-law, Mathias Corvinus.* If Innocent was not strong enough to retain his hold on his most important seaport on the Adriatic, how useless would it have been for him to think of taking Forli in hand. The reproaches showered upon him by the impetuous Roman chronicler Infessura on this subject, are quite unjust.† If the Pope had responded to the requests of the citizens of Forli, he would have had Florence as well as Milan to contend with. Lorenzo de' Medici said openly that he would rather see Forli in the power of Milan than under the rule of Rome. The Church, he said to the Envoy from Ferrara, was more to be feared at that moment than Venice itself, and this had decided him to assist King Ferrante against the Pope.‡

Innocent VIII. was once more alarmed by another piece of bad news from the Romagna. On the 31st of May Galeotti Manfredi, lord of Faenza, was killed through the jealousy of his wife. This led to disturbances, and for a time war between Florence and Milan seemed imminent. The Pope, through the Bishop of Rimini, did his best to maintain peace.§ In Perugia, also at that time sadly torn with party strife, Innocent laboured in the same cause, but

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 22 *seq.* In the same place the details of the rupture between Ancona and Hungary, which soon followed, will be found.

† INFESSURA, 232, whose "ut fertur," is noteworthy.

‡ CAPPELLI, 72; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 270 *seq.*, ed. 2.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 316.

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without much success.* In December 1489 he appointed his own brother, Maurizio Cibò, Governor of that city.† This "able and honest" man attempted to bring about a peaceable settlement of these interminable quarrels, but his endeavours were as fruitless as those of Franceschetto Cibò, who was sent to Perugia in July 1488.‡ At the end of October the hereditary feud between the families of Baglione and Oddi broke out afresh, to the great grief of the Pope,§ and filled the unhappy city with rapine and murder. The conflict terminated in the expulsion of the Oddi, and as the Baglioni were expecting military assistance from Ferrante, Innocent VIII. thought it advisable to refrain from stringent measures against them. In November 1488 he sent Cardinal Piccolomini to Perugia, who, by his admirable tact and indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in pacifying and winning over the Baglioni, and thus preserving the city, which seemed on the point of being lost to the Holy See.‖

Cardinal Piccolomini also displayed great skill in adjusting the ancient dispute about the boundary line between Foligno and Spello, and thus freed Innocent VIII. from one cause of anxiety;¶ but, on the other hand, it must

* *Cf.* the * Brief to Perugia, dat. 1487, Januar. 10. Cod. C. IV., 1, of the University Library, Genoa.

† * Brief of 18th Dec., 1487, *loc. cit.* The vice-governor for M. Cibò, who did not go to Perugia till 22nd Feb., 1488 (GRAZIANI, 669), was Angelo da Sutri.

‡ *Cf.* the Papal * Briefs to Perugia, of 9th and 11th July and 22nd Sept. 1488, with GRAZIANI, 670 *seq.* *Cod. cit.* of the University Library, Genoa.

§ *Cf.* * Brief to Perugia of Oct. 31, 1488, *loc. cit.*

‖ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 317; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 279 *seq.*, ed. 2. Regarding the nomination of Piccolomini *cf.* GRAZIANI, 690 *seq.*, and a * Letter from Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1488, Nov. 9. State Archives, Modena.

¶ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 317.

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be confessed that Ferrante's attitude of persistent and insolent hostility kept the Pope in a constant fever of alarm and perplexity. "When, in the Spring of 1489, the Spanish Court attempted a mediation, Ferrante did everything in his power to irritate the Pope by attacks on his person and his family, and seemed bent on bringing about an immediate rupture. His conduct can only be explained on the supposition that he thought he might now with impunity vent all his spite against his enemy, or that he wished to provoke a contest which might lead him with a victorious army to the gates of Rome, regardless of the risk that it might also lead a foreign power into Italy. The events of 1495, so fatal to Ferrante's dynasty and kingdom, were thus the results of his own conduct six years earlier. It was through no merit of his or of his son, who was worse than himself, nor yet of the Pope, that the catastrophe was delayed for so long. Neither Ferrante nor Innocent had any inkling of what was coming; the one was blinded by his grasping tyranny and pride, the other by his short-sighted weakness. That the impending ruin was averted for the time being, was chiefly due to Lorenzo de' Medici,—a merit which would suffice to outweigh many shortcomings."*

The King of Naples received considerable support in his defiance of Rome from the Hungarian King, Mathias Corvinus, who at that time was trying to get the Turkish Prince Dschem into his own hands. Failing to obtain this through his Ambassador at Rome, Mathias threatened to bring the Turks into Italy. He felt himself bound in honour, he declared to the Papal Nuncio, not to forsake the King of Naples.†

The King of Hungary had not felt it inconsistent with

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 370–71, ed. 2.

† FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 262. On the subject of Dschem, see the following chapter.

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his honour to seize Ancona, neither did it now prevent him from tampering with the vassals of the Pope and with the famous condottiere, Giulio Cesare Varano.* He hoped by stirring up a revolt in the Papal States to reduce the Pope to submission. Innocent defended himself as well as he could. In May 1489 he resolved to pronounce the extreme penalties of the Church against Ferrante.† On June 27th Niccolò Orsino, Count of Pitigliano was named Captain-general of the Church. Three days later Ferrante was threatened with excommunication if he did not carry out the stipulations contained in the Treaty of Peace within two months.‡ Ferrante shewed no greater inclination than before, either to pay the tribute, to release the Barons, or to abstain from interference in ecclesiastical matters; and Innocent VIII. thought the time had come to adopt decisive measures. He relied on the assistance of foreign powers, and was encouraged in this hope by Cardinal de La Balue.§ Charles VIII. of France and Maximilian of Austria had just concluded a peace at Frankfort-on-Main (July 1489). "Might not the two reconciled Princes combine together as loyal sons of the Church to restore order in Italy and then begin the crusade against the Turks? Might not one or other of these Princes, on behalf of Genoa or Milan, bring pressure to bear on Lodovico and oblige him to give up his ambiguous attitude towards the Pope and render him hearty and effective support against Naples? Could Ferrante still hold out if he saw the whole of Christendom ranged on the side of the Pope?" Anticipations such as these certainly corresponded very little with the real state

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 262-3.

† *Cf.* the letter of PIER VETTORI, Florentine Ambassador at Naples, of May 30th, 1489. Av. il princ., LI., n. 8. State Archives, Florence.

‡ INFESSURA, 245; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 360.

§ FORGEOT, J. Balue, 136.

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of affairs, but were nevertheless cherished in Rome, especially by the sanguine Cardinal de La Balue and by some of the French Envoys.* From Spain Innocent VIII. also expected assistance.†

At the beginning of September 1489, the term assigned to the King of Naples had expired. On the 11th of that month, the Pope held a Consistory, to which all the Ambassadors at Rome were invited. In a lengthy discourse Innocent VIII. explained the historical and legal relations between Naples and the Holy See. He set forth in detail the behaviour of the two last Kings towards the Church, and especially Ferrante's refusal to pay the dues for his fief, and to fulfil his treaty obligations, and he enlarged on the consequences of these acts. Then the notary of the Apostolic Chamber read a document drawn up in the last Secret Consistory, which declared Ferrante to have forfeited his crown, and Naples to have fallen to the Holy See as an escheated fief. The Neapolitan Ambassador, who was present, asked for a copy of this document, and for permission to read a reply in defence of his master, to which the Pope consented. The defence explained the reasons why the King did not hold himself bound to pay the tribute, and stated that he

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 269-271; FORGEOT, *loc. cit.* Innocent VIII. had a claim on Maximilian's gratitude, having previously used his influence to release the King out of the hands of the rebels in Flanders; see Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, XXII., 158; MOLINET, Chroniques, ed. Buchon, III., 294. We can see from a despatch, in CAPPELLI, 70, overlooked by Ulmann, how the French were still intriguing at the Papal Court against Maximilian I.; this despatch confirms the historian's conjecture, that it was owing to French influence that Maximilian's confirmation was only conditionally granted by Rome on the Peace of Frankfort; *cf. infra.*

† LANFREDINI'S Report of Oct. 23rd, 1489, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XV., 296-7.

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had already appealed to "the Council." According to him the right of convoking a Council had, on account of the Pope's opposition, devolved on the Emperor; consequently that of Basle having been illegally dissolved, was still sitting. It was no difficult matter for the Bishop of Alessandria to shew the untenability of King Ferrante's position, whereupon the Neapolitan Ambassador declined all further discussion, and the Pope closed the Consistory.*

War between Rome and Naples now seemed inevitable, for the only effect of the Pope's energetic proceedings was to make Ferrante still more obstinate and defiant. In October 1489 he had written to Charles VIII., who had tried to dissuade him from making war against Rome, that far from having any thought of taking up arms against the Holy See, his sentiments towards it were those of the most filial devotion and submission.† His conduct in the following years shewed how much these hypocritical declarations were worth. He tried ineffectually to turn Maximilian against Rome, by sending him a pamphlet in which the life of the Pope and of his Court were depicted in the darkest colours.‡ His language to Innocent VIII. himself was invariably scornful and menacing. In January 1490, he announced that he would send the palfrey to Rome, but not a farthing of the tribute money, and that he would not

* On the Consistory of Sept. 11, 1489, of which INFESSURA, 250, and BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 364, give short and inexact accounts (Burchard says quite honestly: non interfui, etc.), I consulted a very detailed and as yet unpublished ** Report of the Ferrarese Envoy Arlotti, dat. ex urbe die 11th Septemb., 1489. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* in the same place a * Letter from Arlotti of Sept. 15, 1489, and a * Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 1489, Sept. 12th. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 12-13.

‡ INFESSURA, 256; LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest, N. 1415, 1417, 1419.

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pardon a single one of his nobles.* In May a Neapolitan Envoy said at Florence, that his master would no longer put up with the overbearing and discourteous conduct of the Pope; if the latter persisted in his unjustifiable demands, the King would appear in Rome in person, with spur and lance, and answer him in a way which would make his Holiness understand his error.† All the great Powers seemed to have abandoned the Head of the Church, and this emboldened Ferrante to treat him in this shameful manner. The aged Emperor Frederick admonished the Neapolitans in March to make peace,‡ but like his son Maximilian, he was too much occupied with his own affairs to take an active interest in those of the Pope. In Italy no one stirred a finger to protect the Holy See against the insults which Ferrante so persistently heaped upon it, and Innocent VIII. complained bitterly of this to the Florentine, Pandolfini. "In deference to the representations of the Italian powers," he said "he had shewn great indulgence to Ferrante. The only result had been that the King became more and more insolent, while the Powers stood by and allowed him to insult the Pope as much as he pleased. If the Italians cared so little for his honour he should be driven to look abroad for protection. Never, Pandolfini adds, had he seen the Pope so moved. He did his best to calm him, and represented to him that his

* CHERRIER, I., 341.

† Report of the Ferrarese Envoy in CAPPELLI, 80. On the conduct of the Neapolitan Envoy, who threatened to determine his claim to precedence by force of arms, *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 410 *seq.*, and * Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1490, May 30th. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Emperor Frederick III. to King Ferrante, dat. Linz, 1490, March 29th. The original in the House, Court, and State Archives at Vienna, *Romana*, I., is not mentioned in CHMEL'S Regesten, nor in the Regesten of LICHNOWSKY, VIII., nor, as far as I can see, printed anywhere.

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patience would be rewarded, and that he might count on the support of Florence, Milan, and Venice. But Innocent would not hear him out. He was perpetually put off with words, he exclaimed. Florence was the only power on whom he could reckon, Sforza's vacillation made Milan useless, and Venice would never do anything. He was resolved to make an end of this. He would excommunicate the King, denounce him as a heretic, and lay his kingdom under Interdict. He would call upon all the States of the League to bear witness that he had ample justification for what he was doing; and if Ferrante made war upon him, as he had threatened, and no one would help him, he would take refuge abroad, where he would be received with open arms and assisted to get back what belonged to him; and this would bring shame and harm on some people. Unless he could uphold the dignity of the Holy See, it was impossible for him to remain in Italy. If he were to be abandoned by the Italian States, it would be out of the question for him to resist Ferrante, on account both of the insufficiency of the resources of the Church and the disloyalty of the Roman Barons, who would be delighted to see him in trouble. He held himself to be fully justified in leaving Italy, if the dignity of the Holy See could be safeguarded in no other way. Other Popes had done this and had returned with honour."*

Thus a repetition of the exile of Avignon seemed imminent, for France was the country to which Innocent VIII. would have turned. The position of the Pope was indeed almost intolerable. Each day brought fresh alarms of hostile action on the part of Ferrante; in July came the news that Naples had induced Benevento to throw off its

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 377-8, ed. 2. The original text of Pandolfini's Report of July 28, 1490, is in FABRONIUS, II., 353-8.

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allegiance.* A few months later, accounts arrived that Ferrante was intriguing with the Colonna, in order to win them to his interest.† Just at this time Innocent VIII., who had been far from well in August,‡ had an attack of fever, and was so seriously ill that he received the last Sacraments, which he did with great devotion. He rallied a little for a time, but grew worse again, and was given over by his physician.§ On the 26th September it was reported in Rome that the Pope was dead. The news seemed so certain that the Envoy from Ferrara sent a special messenger to Ferrara to announce it.‖ On the following

* *Die ultima Julii, 1490, L'è venuto lettere de Benivento che la terra è ribellata contra pontificem pro rege Ferdinando, tamen ancor non si crede. *Commiss. S. D. N. Pape ad episc. Tarvisin. Codex N. 90 (chart. saec. XV.), f. 32b. (Town Library, Verona.) *Cf.* also INFESSURA, 258, and LEOSTELLO, 351.

† DESJARDINS, I., 438, note 2.

‡ THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 273.

§ *Report of Giov. Lucido Cataneo, dat. Rome, Sept. 21, 1490 :— The Pope has febra continua e vehemente. Sept. 24: The Pope is better vero che la Sta S. ha habuto molto de sbatere e se communicho cum multa devotione tanto quanto dir se possa. Sept. 25 : There is an improvement in the Pope's condition, but he still has fever. Sept. 26 : The Pope is suffering an catarro e si tene da i medici per spiaciuto. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the precarious state of the Pope's health, *cf. supra*, pp. 247, 259, and (1) Arlotti's *Reports of Nov. 29, 1488. The Pope was ill. Dec. 8 : The Pope is well again. (2) * Card. A. Sforza, Rome, May 30, 1490 : The Pope is poorly. (State Archives, Milan.) (3) On the 15th Aug., 1490, the Venetian Envoy gives such a bad account of the condition of Innocent VIII. that the Government on the 20th send him instructions as to what he is to do in case the Pope dies. Mon. Hung., IV., 263.

‖ I found Arlotti's *Despatch on the subject, dated Rome, Sept. 26, 1490, in the State Archives at Modena. It is marked on the outside : Subito, subito ; cito, cito. *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 7 (Despatch of Sept. 26). The dates in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 289, ed. 3, and CREIGHTON, III., 136 (who quotes Infessura, 260), are therefore erroneous.

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morning Rome was like a camp; every one armed in preparation for the disturbances which would probably follow. Franceschetto Cibò attempted to take advantage of the prevailing confusion to get hold of the papal treasure and of Prince Dschem, who was then residing in the Vatican, with the object of selling him by means of Virginio Orsini to Ferrante. Fortunately the Cardinals were on their guard, and the attempt failed. An inventory was drawn up of the papal treasures, and Cardinal Savelli was given charge of the monies.* The report of Innocent's death was soon found to be false. He had had something of the nature of a stroke which had brought him very near death, but on the 28th he had already begun to recover† and is said to have declared that he still hoped to outlive all the Cardinals. There did not seem, however, much likelihood of this, for his health continued very feeble. He hoped to find restoration in the bracing air of Porto d'Anzio and Ostia, but it was not to be. On his return to Rome on the 30th November, it seemed at first as if he had benefited a little from the change,‡ but a few days later the Mantuan Envoy writes that he has had a fresh attack of fever.§ In blaming Innocent VIII. for the vacillation and weakness of his conduct, allowances should be made for the state of his health, and also for the financial difficulties which hampered him through the whole of his Pontificate.‖

* *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in DESJARDINS, I., 484, n. 2 (the editor has erroneously placed it in the year 1491), and INFESSURA, 260–61. The accounts here given—of course with the observation *ut fertur*—of the great amount of his treasure are untrustworthy, and contradict all other reliable statements on the point; *cf. infra.*

† Arlotti's *Report, dat. Rome, Sept. 28, 1490. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Arlotti's *Letter, dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490. State Archives, Modena.

§ *El papa sta cum la quartana a modo usato hora mancho male hora piu, G. L. Cataneo, Rome, Dec. 3, 1490. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ *Cf. infra*, Chap. VI

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Under these circumstances active measures against Naples were out of the question. Ferrante was well aware of this, and calmly persisted in his outrageous conduct. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul this year, as in 1485, the palfrey was sent without the tribute, and was returned, in spite of the protest of the Neapolitan Envoy.* According to Sigismondo de' Conti the Pope at this time still hoped for support from Florence and Milan. It seems strange that he could have continued to cherish such futile expectations, but it appears that he was not finally undeceived until the conduct of these States, on the occasion of the disputes between Ascoli and Fermo, had made further illusions impossible. In 1487 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had done his best to restore order and make peace, but in vain, and the strife had been going on ever since from bad to worse. In the Summer of 1491 the people of Ascoli had attacked Offida; the Vice-Legate of the Marches was besieged and a Papal Envoy was murdered. In August, Innocent despatched Cardinal de La Balue and Niccolò Orsini of Pitigliano with a body of troops to punish this crime, and put an end to the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the district. They took Monte Brandone, and would soon have reduced the people of Ascoli to order, but for the intervention of Virginio Orsini at the head of a Neapolitan force. Innocent now applied to Venice, Milan, and Florence for help, but with absolutely no result. These powers were, on the contrary, determined to do everything in their power to hinder the pacification of the Papal State and weaken the power of the Pope.† Lorenzo's participation in these intrigues and also his action in securing the

* CAPPELLI, 81.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 32; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 415; BALAN, V., 250 *seq.* For Ferrante's unblushing denial of his implication in the Ascoli disturbances, see TRINCHERA, II., 1, 1 *seq.*

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victory for the Baglioni in Perugia shew his character in a very unfavourable light, considering his relationship to the Pope, and the many favours that he had received from him.*

These painful experiences, reinforced by the entreaties of the Romans and the Cardinals, at last induced Innocent to consent to make direct overtures to Ferrante for an accommodation;† and the King, alarmed at the increasingly intimate relations which were growing up between France and the Holy See, in reply offered better terms than could have been expected. Gioviano Pontano came to Rome in December, and, though there were many difficulties to overcome, an agreement was at last effected, which was announced in a Secret Consistory on the 29th January 1492.‡ The conditions were that the imprisoned Barons were to be tried and judged by the Pope; that the King was to pay 36,000 ducats down for his fief, and for the future to maintain 2,000 horsemen and 5 triremes for the service of the Church, and to continue as before the annual present of the palfrey.§

From this moment Ferrante's behaviour towards the

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 31–3, represents Innocent's decision as having been determined by the conduct of the Italian powers in the affairs of Ascoli, and he is fully corroborated by the Reports of the Ferrarese Envoys in BALAN, V., 251, n. 1. Accordingly REUMONT, II., 380, ed. 2, who has entirely overlooked Balan's work, requires correction on this point.

‡ CAPPELLI, 82; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 442; TALLARIGO, Pontano, 234 *seq.* (Napoli, 1874); THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 289 *seq.*; NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 4 *seq.*, and a *Letter from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, Feb. 15, 1492. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The date in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 10, is incorrect.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 33; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 233; and THUASNE, *loc. cit.*, 293.

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Pope underwent a complete transformation. Amidst effusive professions of gratitude and devotion he commenced negotiations for a family alliance between himself and Innocent VIII. He proposed that his grandson, Don Luigi of Aragon, should marry Battistina, a daughter of Teodorina and Gherardo Usodimare. Fear of France was the cause of the complete change of front; the wily King saw at once how dangerous the growth of this rising power must be to his kingdom; and, in addition to this, there was the other danger from the Turks. Ferrante despatched an Envoy to Innocent VIII. to discuss this subject.* On the 27th May, Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, son of Alfonso of Calabria and Ferrante's grandson, came to Rome and was received with royal honours.† A chronicler of the time says that he will not attempt to describe the splendours of this reception as no one would believe him,‡ and the contemporaneous reports of the Envoys corroborate his statement. A banquet, given by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, which lasted six hours, seems to have surpassed in sumptuousness anything hitherto imagined. Dramatic performances were included in the pleasures provided for the guests.§ The entertainment given in honour of the betrothal

* *Cf. infra*, Chap. 4.

† In addition to BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 477; and The *Chronicle of PARENTI (National Library, Florence), see also G. A. Boccaccio's *Report, dat. Rome, May 27, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

‡ INFESSURA, 273–4.

§ *El rev^mo Mons. Ascanio fa uno apparato quodammodo incredibile per honorare el dicto principe a casa soa ad uno pranso che sera tuto il giorno; fa cuprire tute quelle strade et cosi il cortillo com quello suo orto guasto dove se farà el pranso con uno apparato regale et dove se recitarano molte comedie et representacione; non se attende ad altro se non de fare una cosa singulare ali di nostri. Second *Letter of G. A. Boccaccio, on May 27. *Cf.* **Report of June 5, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

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of Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò furnished an occasion for a fresh display of magnificence in the Vatican itself.* But all this time, side by side with these festivities, serious negotiations were going on. The object of Ferdinand's visit was to obtain for himself the investiture of Naples, and thus secure the succession for the family. This, the French Envoys, who were then in Rome on important business for the King of France, did their utmost to prevent. They had been sent thither on account of Anna, the heiress of the Duchy of Brittany, who had been betrothed by procuration to Maximilian, King of the Romans. Charles VIII., anxious to get possession of this important province, had carried her off, and now required a Papal dispensation to set her free from her betrothal; and other dispensations were also needed, as Charles was himself betrothed to Margaret of Burgundy, and was also related to Anna. These dispensations were granted, but privately, and disavowed by Innocent and the Ambassadors.†

The French King was encouraged by this success to hope that he might also be able to hinder the investiture of Ferdinand. In the Spring of 1492, the Master of the Horse, Perron de Baschi, came to Rome ostensibly on other business, but in reality for this purpose, and to request that it might be conferred on France.‡

But, accommodating as the Pope had shewn himself in regard to the dispensations, this was quite another matter, and Baschi's mission failed utterly. On the 4th June, in a Secret Consistory, a Bull was read regulating the Neapolitan succession. It provided that Ferrante's son Alfonso was to succeed him, and in the event of Alfonso predeceasing his

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 487-8.

† ULMANN, Maximilian I., I., 124 *seq.*, 139 *seq*; *cf.* also GRAUERT, Hist. Jahrb., VII., 451.

‡ BUSER, Beziehungen, 304, 531 *seq.*

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father, the Prince of Capua.* The French Ambassador wished to enter a protest against this, but, by the Pope's orders, was refused admission to the Consistory.†

* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 488; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 34; *PARENTI, Chronicle (National Library, Florence); RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 11–13; BORGIA, Dom. temp. nelle due Sicilie, 198–9. Roma, 1789.

† TRINCHERA, I., 115–6.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.—THE TURKISH PRINCE.—PRINCE DSCHEM IN ROME. — THE FALL OF GRANADA. — DEATH OF THE POPE.

OF all the evil consequences produced by the disputes between Naples and the Holy See, which lasted throughout almost the whole of the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., the worst was their effect in checking the war against the Turks.

Disturbing news from the East was perpetually arriving. Just at the time of the Papal election the hordes of Sultan Bajazet had overrun Moldavia and conquered the two important strongholds of Kilia and Akjerman.* Deeply impressed by this event, and by further news of an increase in the Turkish navy, Innocent VIII., immediately after his election, issued an address to the Italian States and all the European powers, pointing out the magnitude of the danger which threatened the Church and western civilisation, and asking for immediate assistance to repel it. He summoned all the Christian States to send Ambassadors as soon as possible to Rome, provided with full powers to decide on the measures to be adopted, as the situation was so serious as to brook no delay.† This Encyclical is dated Nov. 21,

* FRAKNÓI, Mathias Corvinus, 220.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 61, from the *Lib. brev. 18, f. 63, to which is added : *Similia regi Ferdinando, duci Mediol., Florent., duci Sabaudiae, duci Ferrariae, march. Mantuae, march. Montisferrati, card. et duci ac ant. Januen., imperatori, regi Franciae, duci Britaniae, duci Maxi-

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1484, and on the same day a special letter was despatched to Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who was at war with the Emperor Frederick, admonishing him to put forth all his strength against the enemy of the Faith.* About the same time the Pope wrote to Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Castile, desiring him to protect Sicily, which belonged to him, and was threatened by the Turks.† He also exerted himself to have measures taken for the defence of Rhodes, and in February 1485 proposed to the King of Naples a detailed scheme for the protection of the Italian sea-board from the Turkish ships. A fleet of 60 triremes and 20 ships of burden would be necessary to defray the expense of this, Naples and Milan should contribute 75,000 ducats, Florence 30,000, Ferrara and Siena 6000, Montserrat and Lucca 2000, Piombino 1000. It boded no good for the success of this plan when Florence, with all her wealth, found a flimsy pretext for evading her share of the assessment. Plenty of money was forthcoming for the war with Genoa, but all the Pope's warnings as to the far greater importance of that against the Turks, on which the preservation of Italy and the Christian Faith depended, fell on deaf ears.‡ In the beginning of 1485, Innocent VIII. wrote again to Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile on the defence of the Sicilian coast, and meanwhile set a good example himself by taking energetic measures to strengthen the fortifications of his own ports on the Adriatic, and more

mil., regi Angliae, regi Hispaniae, regi Scotiae, regi Datiae, regi Portugalliae, regi Poloniae, duci Saxoniae, march. Brandeb., comiti Palat. Rheni, Joh. archiepisc. Treviren., Hermano archiepisc. Colon., Bertoldo archiep. Mogunt., ad confederatos, duci Austriae, duci Bavariae, Senensibus, Lucensibus. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 501–2; and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 62–3.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 67–8, *cf.* 69 and 71.

‡ *Ibid.*, ad an. 1485, n. 4.

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especially of Ancona. The Legate of the Marches, Cardinal Orsini, the Governor of Fano, and finally the citizens of Ancona, all received stringent orders to this effect.* When, in April, more reassuring news arrived, according to which no attack was to be apprehended from the Turks in that year, the Legate was desired by no means to relax his efforts on this account.†

The disputes which arose between Rome and Naples in the Summer of 1485 had the effect of completely shelving the question of the Turkish war. The Pope was obliged to content himself with providing for the defence of his own sea-board and doing what he could to assist the numerous refugees who were fleeing northwards to escape the Turks.‡ From this time forward Innocent VIII. was always in such difficulties that he ceased to be able to give effective attention to these larger questions. The ink of the Treaty of Peace concluded between him and Ferrante in August 1486,

* *Legato Marchie, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Januarii 22): Varii rumores quottidie afferuntur de apparatibus Turci qui in Italiam venire meditatur et diverse etiam rationes extant ut id credatur. Measures were to be taken for the defence of the coast, and more especially of Ancona. Lib. brev. 18, f. 105; *ibid.*, f. 114; Anconitatis, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Febr. 1); *ibid.*, f. 115b; *Gubernatori Fani, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Febr. 4). (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 126 *seq.*

† *Bapt. Card. de Ursinis, legato Marchie, dat. Romae, vi. Aprilis, 1485. Lib. brev. 18, f. 163. In June of the following year some Turkish vessels appeared in the Adriatic, and a *Brief of June 12, 1486, warns the Governor of the Marches to watch the coast. Lib. brev. 19, f. 416. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* *Brief to the Legato Marchie Anconitane, dat. *ut s.* (1485, Oct. 18): Placet nobis admodum quod provideri feceris locis maritimis provincie ob Turcorum incursionem. Lib. brev. 19, f. 21. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* the resolution of the Senate of Loreto for protecting the church containing the Holy House, against the Turks, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 419 *seq.* On piracy, *cf.* GUGLIELMOTTI, 481 *seq.*; on Innocent VIII.'s pensioners, GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 63, 203.

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was hardly dry before the King had violated all its provisions. In the following year Innocent had the distress of seeing the Lord of Osimo, Boccolino Guzzone, allying himself with the Sultan in order to incite him to attack the Marches.* Harassed as he was, however, the Pope still clung to the project of a Crusade. In December 1486, Raymond Peraudi (Perauld) was sent to the court of the Emperor Frederick, who at that time was not well disposed towards Innocent, and the Carmelite, Gratiano da Villanova, to that of Maximilian. Contrary to all expectation, both Princes were inclined to listen favourably to the Pope's proposals for a Crusade.† Upon this, Innocent on the 27th of May, 1486, published a Bull in which he described "the danger from the Turks," which menaced both Germany and Italy, and expressed his determination to leave no means untried whereby all Christendom might be roused and encouraged to resist them. He announced the willingness of the Emperor and other kings and princes to undertake a Crusade, and decreed that a tithe of one year's revenue should be levied for this purpose on all churches, incumbencies, and benefices, and all ecclesiastical persons of whatever rank, and whether secular or regular, throughout the provinces of the Empire. Raymond Peraudi and Gratiano da Villanova were nominated collectors-general of this tax, and endowed with the usual faculties and privileges.‡

* *Cf. supra*, p. 262.

† SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 10; and GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 450.

‡ GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 450 (drawn from Vatican sources). *Cf.* CHMEL, Reg., 8001. A Papal Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dated 1487, s. die, summoning him to assist in the Crusade, no doubt belongs to this time; unfortunately it is a good deal torn. The original is in the State Archives, Modena. Probably the embassy from Henry VII. of England—who was at that time on very good terms with Innocent—which arrived in Rome on May 8, 1487 (see Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 182 *seq.*),

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In Germany Peraudi made an excellent impression. Trithemius says that "he was a man of spotless life and morals, and of singularly blameless character, in every respect. He had an immense love of justice and a genuine contempt for worldly honours and riches. I know of no one like him in our day." Such praise seems almost extravagant; but all the German Princes and learned men with whom Peraudi came in contact, express themselves in similar terms.* He was burning with zeal for the Crusade, but here he was doomed to bitter disappointment. The political confusion throughout the Empire and the egoism of the States was too great; neither laity nor clergy were in a state of mind to be capable of apprehending any general interest. In this matter he accomplished very little.

On the 26th June, 1487, Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, and the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they begged to be exempted from the proposed tithe. They said it would be impossible for them to pay this in addition to the requisitions for maintaining the personal dignity of the Emperor. "We abstain," they say, "from mentioning the permanent charges which the Church has to bear, and which are by no means insignificant; but frequent wars, and the oppression and extortions which the Church and the clergy have had to endure for so long, have brought them so low that

had also to do with the Crusade. In 1487 and 1489 Henry VII. consented to the publication of Papal Bulls on the Crusade, but the Papal collectors had but small success, and got little help from the Court. See BUSCH, England, I., 243–388.

* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 1–2, where the original document is given. Florez speaks unfavourably of him, and calls him vain and garrulous (BROWN, State Papers, I., 191); but as he was an opponent, his opinion is not an impartial one. At any rate, even if he were not entirely devoid of vanity and a little too fond of talk, it is evident that Peraudi made a good impression in Germany.

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neither in the churches nor personally are they able to maintain the splendour of former days, and it is to be feared that they will soon be completely ruined. Your Holiness can imagine of what men become capable when they are driven to such straits. They persuade themselves that all things are allowable, just or unjust, good or bad, for extreme need knows no law."*

According to Trithemius, the clergy in all parts of the Empire held meetings to deliberate on what was to be done, and finally resolved to appeal from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed.† The resistance was so great that Innocent was forced to give up the imposition of the tithe in Germany.‡ He did not give up the Crusade, and since next to nothing was to be got from Germany he now turned to France. On the 16th November, 1487, the Envoys to the French Court, Lionello Cheregato of Vicenza, Bishop of Traù, and a Spaniard, Antonio Florez, started from Rome.§ On the 20th January, 1488, Cheregato delivered a stirring address, in the Royal Palace at Paris,

* MÜLLER, Reichstagstheat. Friedr. III., 130 *seq.*; Gesch. d. Nuntien, II., 700–711; WEISS, Berthold von Henneberg, 12; GEBHARDT, 58. On the grievances which the Emperor at that time had against the Pope, *cf.* JANSSEN, Reichscorresp., II., 477 *seq.*, and Forsch. zur Deutschen Gesch., XX., 157.

† TRITHEMIUS, II., 529; WEISS, *loc. cit.*

‡ GROTEFEND, Quellen, I., 46.

§ GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 451, makes Nov. 13 the date of their departure; but Bonfr. Arlotti, who is always well-informed, says in a *Despatch of Nov. 17, 1487, that the Envoys to France had started "yesterday." (State Archives, Modena.) Here, as also in a Report in CAPPELLI (69), which has not hitherto been noticed by any historian, it is stated that the Envoys, besides the inauguration of the Crusade, were commissioned to endeavour to negotiate the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction. *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 22, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 184. THUASNE (174) erroneously puts off the departure of the Nuncios till the first days of December.

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before Charles VIII., on the Turkish question. Referring to the glorious feats of arms accomplished by the King's predecessors and the Popes in the past times against the Turks, he contrasted in glowing terms those days with the present. "In the days of your forefathers, who went forth to fight against the Crescent and for the Christian Faith, who would have thought it possible that we should be coming here to-day to urge you to come to the rescue of Italy and the States of the Church from those same inhuman enemies of the Christian name?"

In order to shew how great the danger was, the Nuncio referred to Boccolino Guzzoni's attempted treason. Its failure had only made the Sultan still more eager to attack Italy. The Italian States were not strong enough to defend themselves single-handed, and therefore the Pope required assistance from the other Christian Powers. They would not be able to give this help unless they were at peace among themselves, and therefore Innocent urged the King to use his influence to put an end to the present deplorable divisions. As these wars were evidently a Divine chastisement brought upon nations through the faults of the Princes and people, now was the time for the King to reform the abuses which had crept into ecclesiastical affairs in France. The way in which Cheregato expressed himself on this subject confirms the statement, which we have from other sources, that he had instructions to endeavour to combat the anti-Roman spirit which found its chief expression in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction. Finally, he strongly urged that the well-known unfortunate Prince Dschem, who had been brought to France by the Grand Master of Rhodes in 1482, should be handed over to the Pope.*

* CHEREGATO'S speech was printed in Rome (probably by Steph. Plank) the same year, and was republished in the App. of SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 428 *seq.*

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Later, the task of the Nuncios was rendered much more difficult by the course of events in Flanders, where, ever since the 1st of February, 1488, Maximilian had been a prisoner in the hands of his subjects. At the request of the Emperor, the Pope, through the Archbishop of Cologne, laid an Interdict on the rebels.* When the news reached the French Court, it was observed there that as Flanders belonged to France so severe a punishment ought not to have been imposed without consulting Charles VIII., and also that it was undeserved, as the Flemings had just grounds of complaint against Maximilian.† The anti-Roman party made great capital out of the event. "The Royal Advocate, Johannes Magistri, an enemy of God and of the Holy See," writes Cheregato from Tours on the 16th May, 1488, "is delighted at the Interdict, because it gives him an opportunity of calumniating the Holy See."‡ Later, Raymond Peraudi was sent to France to support Cheregato. Being a Frenchman, and having had great influence with Louis XI., he seemed the best person to make peace between Charles VIII. and Maximilian. From France Peraudi hastened back to Germany to promote the convocation of the States-General, which was to assemble at Frankfort-on-Main.§

The Assembly at Frankfort was opened on the 6th July, 1489. A Brief addressed to it depicts the extremity of the danger in eloquent language. "The Popes had made every possible effort to induce the Christian Princes and nations to unite together to repel their hereditary foe. Was all to

* *Cf. supra*, p. 277, note *, and also THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 405 *seq.*; and Frederick III.'s letter to the College of Cardinals, in VALENTINELLI, Lettere Lat. di Principi Austriaci. Venezia, 1856.

† Cheregato's Report in LJUBIČ, 51.

‡ LJUBIČ, 59.

§ SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 12–14.

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be in vain? The matter admitted of no further delay, and Innocent urged the Princes to send Envoys as soon as possible to Rome, with adequate powers to agree together upon a plan of concerted operations. It was essential that all jealousies and disputes should be laid aside, and his Legates would do all in their power to bring this about. Not only would he devote all the resources of the Holy See to the expedition, but, if it were deemed advisable, he would himself accompany it. He had written in the same sense to all the Christian Princes, and hoped that they, as well as the Germans, would not refuse to attend to his paternal warnings and prayers."* These stirring words were ably seconded by Peraudi's diplomatic skill, and within ten days he had succeeded in inducing the King of the Romans and the French Envoys then in Frankfort, to come to terms.†

During the following months Peraudi was occupied in proclaiming the Indulgence for the Crusade in Germany, and assisting the Papal Nuncio to the Court of Hungary, Bishop Angelo d'Orte, in his negotiations to bring about a reconciliation between Mathias Corvinus and the Emperor. These were so far successful that, on the 19th of February, 1490, a truce was agreed to which was to last till the 8th of September.‡

* GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 452. The zeal of the Pope for the Crusade is also manifested in a *Brief to Lucca of April 12, 1489. State Archives, Lucca, Arm. 6, n. 429.

† DU MONT, III., 2, 237. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 362; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Lettres de Philippe de Commines, II., 68 *seq.*; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 14 *seq.*; ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 70. On Peraudi's Letter of Indulgence of the year 1489, see Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Feldkirch, 1860, p. 186 *seq.*; on another of the year 1490, Serapeum (1849) p. 330.

‡ SCHNEIDER, *loc. cit.*, 14–19; ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 82; FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 266.

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Before the opening of the Assembly at Frankfort, Innocent had achieved a signal success in a matter which was very closely connected with the Crusade; he had obtained possession of the person of the man upon whom, according to the general opinion, the prospects of the whole enterprise would depend. This was the famous Prince Dschem, who, on account of disputes in regard to the succession, had been obliged to fly from his own country and had taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes.* He had arrived in the island in 1482. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, at once saw the use that could be made of the Prince for keeping the Sultan in check. He agreed with Bajazet to keep the Prince in safe custody in consideration of an annual payment of 45,000 ducats, and as long as friendly relations were maintained between the Sultan and himself.† Ever since then, Dschem had lived on a demesne belonging to the Knights in Auvergne. During this time Charles VIII. of France, the Kings of Hungary and Naples, Venice, and Innocent VIII. had all been endeavouring severally to get the Grand Turk, as he was called, into their own hands.

As early as the year 1485 the Pope had made great efforts in this direction;‡ but he had been unsuccessful, his enemy Ferrante having found means to counteract all his endeavours.§ At last, the Papal Nuncios in France, Lionello Cheregato and Antonio Florez, succeeded in obtaining possession of the Prince, but at the cost of large

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 4, and especially THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 3 *seq.* On one of Dschem's predecessors, see PASTOR, Gesch. der Papste, II., 262, Anm. 4, 2te Aufgabe.

† THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 84 *seq.*; FORGEOT, J. Balue, 143.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 12; ZINKEISEN, II., 484; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 131 *seq.*

§ FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 221.

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concessions on the side of Rome. The Grand-Master received a Cardinal's Hat for himself and important rights and immunities for his Order. The French King was won over by the elevation of the Archbishop of Bordeaux (afterwards of Lyons) to the Cardinalate, and apparently also a promise that, by delaying the granting of the necessary dispensations, a hindrance should be put in the way of the marriage of Anne of Brittany with the rich Alain d'Albret.* The treaty concluded between Innocent and the Knights of S. John, with the consent of Charles VIII., provided that "the Prince, for his personal security, should retain a body-guard of Knights of Rhodes, while the Pope was to receive the pension of 45,000 ducats hitherto paid to the Order for the maintenance of Prince Dschem, but to pledge himself to pay 10,000 ducats if he should hand over his charge to any other monarch without the consent of the King of France."†

The King of Naples was almost out of his mind with rage when he heard of the Pope's success, and meditated all sorts of impossible plans for seizing Dschem during the course of his journey from France to Rome.‡ Meanwhile the voyage was safely accomplished, and on the 6th of March, 1489, the Prince landed at Civita Vecchia, where, on the 10th, he was handed over to Cardinal de La Balue by his custodian, Guido de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne.§ On the evening of the 13th March the son of the conqueror

* BUSER, Beziehungen, 261–62; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 173 *seq.*; LJUBIČ, 56; CHERRIER, I., 187. On the nominations of the Cardinals, see *infra*, Chap. V.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 485. Other accounts make the Pension only 40,000 ducats. See HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 513, note 1.

‡ Mon. Hung., IV., 6; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 335; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 226; FORGEOT, 145 *seq.*

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of the Rome of the East entered the Eternal City by the Porta Portese. All Rome was astir; so large a crowd had assembled that it was with the greatest difficulty that a path could be cleared through the throng for the cortège. The mob were insatiable in feasting their eyes on the unaccustomed sight, and were penetrated with the belief that it betokened an escape from a great danger. A prophecy had been current throughout Christendom that the Sultan would come to Rome and take up his abode in the Vatican. Great was the relief and joy when it was seen to be so happily fulfilled in so unexpected a manner.*

By the Pope's orders Dschem was received with royal honours. At the gates he was met by a deputation of members of the households of the Cardinals (amongst whom, however, there were none of the rank of a Prelate), the Foreign Envoys, the President of the Senate, and Franceschetto Cibò. "The son of Mahomet disdained to vouchsafe them a single glance. With his head enveloped in a turban and his gloomy countenance veiled, he sat almost motionless on the white palfrey of the Pope." The only sign which he gave of being aware of the greetings of which he was the object was a slight inclination of the head, and he hardly noticed the gifts, consisting of 700 ducats and brocaded stuffs, which were sent to him by the Pope. He rode in stolid silence between Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The long procession, with the truly Oriental tokens of respect from the Envoy of the Sultan of Egypt, passed slowly across the Isola di S. Bartolomeo and along the Piazza Giudea and the Campo di Fiore to the Papal Palace, where the Prince

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 325; BUSER, Beziehungen, 262, erroneously makes the date of Dschem's arrival March 30. SIGISMONDO, *loc. cit.*, is equally mistaken in making it March 15.

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was conducted to the apartments reserved for royal guests.*

The next day an open Consistory was held, at the close of which the Pope received the Grand Turk. Prince Dschem was conducted into the hall by Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The customary ceremonial was dispensed with, in order that nothing might be done which would dishonour the Prince in the eyes of his countrymen. Making a slight inclination and laying his right hand on his chin, Dschem went up to the Pope and kissed his right shoulder. He addressed Innocent VIII. through an interpreter, and informed him that he looked upon it as a great favour from God to have been permitted to behold him; when he could see the Pope in private he would be able to impart to him some things which would be advantageous to Christendom. The Pope in reply assured Dschem of his friendly disposition towards him, and begged him to have no anxiety, for that everything had been arranged in a manner suitable to his dignity. Dschem thanked him, and then proceeded to salute each of the Cardinals in order according to their rank.†

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 336 *seq.*, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 325, who were eye-witnesses. See further, INFESSURA, 241 *seq.*; and among modern writers, GREGOROVIUS, VII., 286 *seq.*, ed. 3, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 227 *seq.* to 422 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, March 14. State Archives, Modena.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 341, who in all essentials agrees with SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 326. The *Report of Arlotti, of the 14th March 1487, which differs from them, is not trustworthy. *Cf.* also SERDONATI, 66, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 233 *seq.* G. L. Cataneo, in a *Letter dat. Rome, March 17, 1489, says: *El fratello del Turcho hozi dè essere in audientia cum el papa. El dì che se ge apresentoe in publico [consistorio] non disse altro per interprete se non che li piaceria molto vedere S. Bne per haver cosi desiderato longamente e se li prestava orechie li daria alchuni boni advisi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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The numerous descriptions of Dschem's outward appearance that we find in contemporary writings, testify to the interest which he excited in Rome. The best known of these is that by the celebrated painter Mantegna, in a letter of June 15, 1489, to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. "The brother of the Turk," he writes, "lives here in the Palace, carefully guarded. The Pope provides him with pastimes of all sorts, such as hunting, music, banquets, and other amusements. Sometimes he comes to dine in the new palace, where I am painting, and behaves very well for a barbarian. His manners are proud and dignified; even for the Pope he never uncovers his head, nor is it the custom to uncover in his presence. He has five meals in the day, and sleeps awhile after each; before meals he drinks sugared water. He walks like an elephant, with a measured step like the beat of a Venetian chorus. His people speak highly of him, and say he is an accomplished horseman, but as yet I have had no opportunity of seeing whether this is true. He often keeps his eyes half-closed. His nature is cruel, and they say he has killed four people; to-day he has severely maltreated an interpreter. He is credited with great devotion to Bacchus. His people are afraid of him. He takes little notice of what passes, as if he did not understand. He sleeps completely dressed, and gives audiences sitting cross-legged, like a Parthian. On his head he wears thirty thousand (!) yards of linen; his trowsers are so wide that he can bury himself in them. The expression of his face is ferocious, especially when Bacchus has been with him."* Several of the traits, as here depicted, are

* BOTTARI, VIII., 22. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 193, and GUHL, I., 55-56. Reumont makes no comment on Mantegna's exaggerations. On Dschem's poems, see HAMMER-PURGSTALL, Gesch. der Osman. Dichtkunst, I., 145 *seq.*

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obviously caricatured, but most of the rest are corroborated by other accounts. His age at this time is variously computed by different writers. Guilleaume Caoursin makes it 28, while Sigismondo de' Conti speaks of him as 35 years old; the latter dwells upon the savage expression of his countenance, and his uncertain and cruel temper. In all other respects these two writers agree in their descriptions of him; they portray him as a tall, powerfully-built man, with a swarthy complexion, a hooked nose, and blueish, glittering eyes.* The Ferrarese and Mantuan Envoys, who were acquainted with the beautiful medals of the Conqueror of Constantinople, executed by Italian artists, mention the resemblance between the Prince and his father as very striking.†

To the Pope, Dschem was a valuable hostage for the good behaviour of the Sultan. At first Spoleto or Orvieto were talked of as places where he could be safely confined;‡ but finally, it was decided that he could be kept most securely

* G. Caoursin in THUASNE, BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 537; *cf.* M. BOSSUS' description, *ibid.* 527. See also Feuillet de Conches, Causeries d'un Curieux, IV., 461 *seq.* (Paris, 1868); LE BOUGY, in the Rev. Contemp., 1862; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 231 *seq.*, and Rev. des Quest. Hist. (1892, Juillet) p. 289.

† *Cf.* A *Letter from Arlotti of March 14, 1489 (State Archives, Modena); and G. L. Cataneo's *Report, dat. Rome, March 17, 1489: *Lui è del aspetto che ho significato et de anni circha trentacinque e assai si asimiglia a la faza del patre secundo le medaglie (impressions are given in HERTZBERG, 618, and FRAKNÓI, M. Corvinus, 97) si ritrovano. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Arlotti's *Report of March 14, 1489 (State Archives, Modena), and G. L. Cataneo's *Letter of March 17, 1489: *Esso Turcho ha facto pregare N. S^re^ lo toglia de mane a quelli da Rhodi e lo tenga a Roma. In summa S. S^ta^ persevera in volerlo mandare a Orveto e nel tempo chel sta qui se li da ogni piacere lasarlo vedere el palazo vechio e novo e simile cose. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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in the Vatican. Here the Prince lived in sumptuously furnished apartments, commanding an extensive view of vineyards and gardens. His maintenance was provided for with the greatest liberality, costing 15,000 ducats a year. This, says Sigismondo, was a severe drain on the overtaxed resources of the Pope, but he submitted to it for the sake of the advantages which the whole of Christendom derived from the custody of the Prince.*

In the autumn of 1489, Innocent VIII. was busily occupied with the preparations for the Crusade.† The Sultan fully recognised the standing menace which the possession of Dschem constituted for him; and his anxieties were increased by the negotiations opened by the Pope with the Sultan of Egypt,‡ and his plan for assembling representatives of all the Christian Powers in Rome to deliberate on the Eastern question.§ In this difficulty Bajazet had recourse to an expedient, which, unfortunately, in those days was not unfrequently resorted to by European Powers also. He hired a renegade nobleman of the Marches of Ancona, by name Cristofano di Castrano (alias Magrino), to poison the Belvedere fountain, from which the table of

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 238, 240.

† FORGEOT, J. Balue, 147.

‡ *Cf.* ALLEGRETTI, 825; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1489, n. 4; MÜLLER, Relaz., 237; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 254; and WEIL, Gesch. d. Kalifen, V., 345, n. 1. Stuttgart, 1862.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328. In the beginning of 1490, the celebrated Callimachus appeared in Rome, sent by the King of Poland. He sought to dissuade the Pope from his plan of uniting all Christendom in a crusade against the Turks, and to shew that it would be far more advantageous for him to conclude a separate agreement with the King of Poland, who was quite prepared to undertake the war against the unbelievers, and possessed special facilities for doing so. ZEISSBERG, Poln. Geschichtschreibung, 369; Mon. Polon., XI., 521; CARO, V., 2, 953 *seq.*, 646 *seq.*

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Dschem as well as that of Innocent VIII. was supplied; the poison would take five days to work its effects, and the assassin was promised Negroponte and a high post in the Turkish army. Apparently there were some accomplices in Rome who were aware of the plot. Magrino betrayed himself in Venice before he had even arrived in Rome, and was arrested, carried thither, and executed in May 1490.*

The Pope's letter of May 8th, 1489, proposing a Congress, met almost universally with a favourable response.† In consequence, Briefs were sent out in December appointing the 25th March, 1490, as the opening day in Rome.‡ Raymond Peraudi was indefatigable in his labours to promote it. In an eloquent letter to the King of Poland, he describes how "from the very beginning of his Pontificate, the mind of Pope Innocent had been incessantly occupied in devising means for the defence of the Christian Commonwealth, and how the possession of Prince Dschem, the Sultan's brother, renders the present moment a specially favourable one for action. Dschem has promised, if he

* INFESSURA, 254–6; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 39; and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 261 *seq.*, 269 *seq.* In *Commiss. S. D. N. Pape ad episc. Tarvisinum, we have the history of the strenuous efforts made by the Pope in December 1489, to get hold of this malefactor. (Cod. 90, of the Library of Verona, f. 5b–6.) The conspirator is here called Macrino Castracan: *Non vidi mai homo più apassionato del N. Sor per questo et delibera sapere che sono quelli de urbe che ano intelligentia cum Macrino; de lui non fa tanto computo quanto de li complici et fautori. The following passage out of the *Report of G. L. Cataneo of March 17, 1489, mentioned in note ‡ of p. 302, shews what fears were entertained of intrigues in Rome on the part of the Sultan in connection with Dschem: *Un Turcho che desmonto a Napoli capito in questa terra nel arivare del Turcho e per suspetto è sta carcerato. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 4.

‡ *Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dat. Rome, Dec. 6, 1489. (Original in the State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* the Brief of Dec. 7, 1489, in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 251.

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obtains the Caliphate through the Christians, to withdraw the Turks from Europe, and even to give up Constantinople. The Pope has therefore sent Legates to all the European Courts, to implore them to lay aside all private quarrels and to unite in a common Crusade. He had himself been to France and to Germany, and the result had been that Charles and Maximilian had made peace with each other. Peace was re-established also in Brittany, Flanders, and Brabant. He was now endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the Emperor and Hungary. He implored and adjured his Majesty by the mercy of Christ, that he too would shew himself to be a good Catholic and pious King by complying with the Pope's desires.*

At the request of Frederick III. and Maximilian, the Congress was put off till a little later. On the 25th March, Pietro Mansi of Vicenza, Bishop of Cesena, delivered a stirring address for the opening,† but the actual business did not begin till after Pentecost. Venice took no part in this assembly, in order to avoid disturbing her good relations with the Porte.‡

The history of the Congress is to be found in the pages of Sigismondo de' Conti; and elsewhere a series of documents serve to complete it.§ On the 3rd of June, all the Cardinals and the Envoys met in the Papal Palace. Innocent VIII. delivered a long address, retracing the history of his efforts up to the present time, to set on foot

* GOTTLOB, Peraudi, 453.

† Printed in the App. to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 413–23, and repeatedly published.

‡ THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 265.

§ Especially the *Report of the Envoy from Cleves and Juliers, Johann Nagell, to Duke William I., in the State Archives at Düsseldorf (section Jülich-Berg, Polit. Begebenheiten, I. A.), which is accompanied by formal documents, and of which Schneider has made use in his Türkenzugscongress, 1 *seq.*

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an expedition against the Turks. He had taken infinite trouble and made large pecuniary sacrifices to obtain possession of the person of Dschem, which appeared to him to be a matter of great importance. The Sultan Bajazet was very much afraid of his brother, a party among the Janissaries and people being bent upon stirring up a revolt in his favour. It was their bounden duty not to permit this heaven-sent opportunity to pass without taking advantage of it. They had therefore to consider where and with what soldiers the attack should be opened; whether by land or by water, or by both at once; how large the army should be, how the fleet should be equipped, whether the land and sea forces should operate separately, or combined in detachments. They must also deliberate as to the number of generals, whether there should be one Commander-in-Chief, or several of equal rank; what money will be required, and how it is to be collected; whether there should be a reserve fund in case of mishaps; how long the war was likely to last; what amount of provisions and war material will be requisite; and how the expense of the whole is to be apportioned. The Cardinals ought also to consider all these questions so as to be prepared to give their advice when needed. Perhaps it would be well also to take counsel as to whether it might not be possible for the Pope to follow the example of Sixtus IV., and by his Apostolical authority impose a truce between all Christian Princes for the time being.*

As time went on, there was no lack of the usual disputes in regard to precedence; and the Envoys, divided into two parties, Germans and Italians, made but slow progress with the negotiations. At last, however, mainly thanks to the German, and especially to the Imperial Envoys, a reply to most of the questions proposed by the Pope was agreed

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 5–6.

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to. The address was handed over in writing to the Pope and the Cardinals. It began by thanking God, first, that he had put such desires into the heart of the Pope, and next, Innocent himself for his exertions in the matter of Dschem, who was most valuable as a standing menace to the Sultan, and a means of breaking up his Empire. He should be carefully guarded in Rome for the present, and later on, counsel should be taken as to how he could be most advantageously employed in the campaign. As regarded the constitution of the army, the Envoys were of opinion that it should consist of three divisions: a Papal and Italian army, a German army, including Hungary, Poland, and the Northern States, and a third force made up of the French, Spaniards and English. In addition to the separate chiefs of these various corps, a single Commander-in-Chief should be appointed. The Germans considered that if the Emperor, or, failing him, the King of the Romans, personally took part in the Crusade, he should be, *ipso facto*, Commander-in-Chief. The other Envoys wished that the Generalissimo should be elected at the beginning of the war by the Princes and the Pope. They further expressed their opinion that it would be extremely desirable that the Holy Father should accompany the expedition. To provide for the expenses of the war they suggested that each Prince should levy a toll on his subjects, clergy and laity contributing alike. The duration of the war might be calculated at three years.

It was important that the troops should be collected simultaneously and as quickly as possible; the German contingent in Vienna, and the rest in Ancona, Brindisi, or Messina. The German troops were to march through Hungary and Wallachia; the fleet would attack the Peloponnesus and Eubœa; the French and Spaniards with the Italian horsemen were to concentrate in Valona and

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thence bear down upon the enemy. A simultaneous attack should be directed against the Moors; but it seemed an essential preliminary to the whole undertaking that the Pope should endeavour to put an end to the disputes between the Christian powers, or, at any rate, secure an armistice for the time.

In his reply, Innocent thanked the Envoys for their approval of his plan of fighting the Turks by means of Prince Dschem. The question as to whether the Turkish Prince should accompany the expedition in a captive or active capacity, must be left to those who were best acquainted with the enemy and their country; but the decision of this point should not be long delayed. In regard to the assembling of the forces, the simultaneous commencement of the war, the route selected for the attack, and the pacification of Europe, the Pope agreed in all essentials with the views of the Envoys. The Commander-in-Chief must be either the Emperor or the King of the Romans, as they were the natural protectors of the Church. With regard to the expenses of the war, the levies from the laity should be collected by the Princes, while he would charge himself with the taxation of the clergy; but this subject might be further discussed. He thought that a force of 50,000 horsemen and 80,000 infantry would suffice; but the strength of the army and fleet would be a matter for future agreement between the Christian Princes. In regard to his personal participation in the Crusade, Innocent declared that he was prepared in everything to follow the example of his predecessors. The war must be counted as likely to last five rather than three years, and should be begun in the following year, when the Sultan of Egypt was expected to make an attack on the Turks. Referring to the hostile attitude of the King of Naples towards himself, Innocent further observed that it was one of the primary

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duties of the Christian Princes to maintain order in the States of the Church. He insisted earnestly on the great importance of immediate action, as the main thing on which the chance of success depended.* In conclusion, he expressed his surprise that the Envoys declared themselves unable to come to any definite decision without further reference to their respective governments, seeing that he had expressly requested that they should be provided with full powers for this very purpose. He hoped, at any rate, that they would lose no time in obtaining them, lest the favourable moment for making use of Prince Dschem should be lost by further delay.† On the 30th July the

* "The recommendations of the Roman Court in regard to the conduct of the war," observes SCHNEIDER (Türkenzugscongress, 11), "betoken great prudence and knowledge of the subject; for the most part they agree with those of the Emperor's Envoys. No doubt they were to a great extent inspired by the military experience of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II." The Pope had also obtained much useful information on the internal condition of the Turkish Empire from Callimachus. See *supra*, p. 303, note §.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 1–4, and the documents from the Archives of the Capitol there printed in the App., 424–36. These latter are generally quoted; I discovered the following MSS., which, in part, contain better readings: (1) Collection in Codex, without signature, in the Altieri Library, Rome; (2) Cod. Ottob., 1888, f. 161–73, Vatican Library; (3) Cod. D., IV., 22, f. 202–17, of the Casanat. Lib., Rome; (4) Politicor. varia, VII., f. 330 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican; (5) State Archives, Düsseldorf. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 7–11, who, however, has overlooked the copy in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI in the State Archives, Venice, Cod. Miscell., 692. The Responsio Innocentii VIII., is in Codex 6, Plut. XIV. of the Capitoline Archives, as well as in the MS. in the Casanat. Lib., dat. die lunae xxvi. Julii; the MS. in the Düsseldorf Archives and that in the Venetian Archives bears the same date. That in the Cod. Ottob. is dated lunae 16 Julii. As in 1490, the 26th and not the 16th July fell on a Monday—the former seems to be the correct date; N. FRANCO, however, appears to contradict this view, as, in giving an extract in his notes from the answer of the Pope, he

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Congress was closed by the Pope, to be reopened when the Envoys had received the requisite full powers; but this never took place.*

According to the somewhat optimist view of Sigismondo de' Conti, the Crusade would really, in spite of all difficulties, have been carried through, had it not been for the death of the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, at the early age of 47, from an apoplectic stroke.† The blow to the Christian cause was all the greater because this event at once plunged that country into a bitter contest for the succession to the throne. Maximilian seized the opportunity to endeavour to recover his hereditary possessions in Hungary. On the 19th of August he marched into Vienna, where he was warmly greeted by the inhabitants. On the 4th of October he started from thence to make good his claim to the Hungarian throne by force of arms; but want of money and a mutiny amongst his retainers checked his otherwise victorious progress. As but little help could be got from the Empire, a Peace was concluded between him and King Wladislaw, on the 7th November, 1491, at Presburg. The Pope had done his best to bring this about; but now the final blow to the prospects of the Crusade fell in the revival of the quarrel between Charles VIII.

writes: *Die xii. Julii, 1490. Questa matina el N. S. in consistorio ha proposto questo et benche el sia piu diffuso, tamen sollicite collegi memoria. Cod. 90, f. 28b *seq.* in the Town Library, Verona. It should be noticed here that in 1490 the 12th July was a Monday. On the 31st July, 1490, Innocent VIII. wrote a *Letter to Frederick III., on the Congress for the Crusade. (State Archives, Vienna.) See Regest. in LICHNOWSKY, VIII., n. 1416.

* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 11.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 4; FRAKNÓI, M. Corvinus, 270; see also LASCARIS, in the Serapeum (1849), 68.

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and Maximilian, which broke out afresh with redoubled violence.*

While political affairs in the North were thus developing in a very unfavourable manner for the Crusade, the Pope, who was also suffering from serious illness,† was cruelly harassed by Ferrante. Venice, the greatest naval power in Europe, steadily pursued her huckster's policy of giving her support to whatever state of things seemed most advantageous for her commerce. Throughout the Congress, she kept the Sultan thoroughly informed of all its transactions.‡ Under such conditions as these, what chance could there be of a combined attack on the Crescent? We need to realise this hopeless state of things in order to understand how Innocent VIII. came to lend a favourable ear to the proposals made to him in November 1490, through a Turkish Envoy.

The Sultan Bajazet lived in perpetual terror lest Prince Dschem might be employed as a tool wherewith to attack him. His attempt to poison the Prince having failed, when the news of the Congress to discuss the question of a new Crusade reached him, he determined to try another expedient. He despatched an embassy to Rome, which arrived there on the 30th of November, 1490, bringing presents, and an unsealed letter to the Pope, written in Greek on papyrus. In this letter he requested Innocent VIII. to undertake the custody of his brother Dschem, in Rome, on the same conditions as had formerly been arranged with the Grand-Master of the Knights of Rhodes.§

* ULMANN, Maximilian I., I. 97 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 295 *seq.*; KRONES, II., 484 *seq.*

† *Cf. supra*, p. 281.

‡ *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Türkenzugscongress, 11, note 4 and 12. The documents in MÜLLER, Relaz., 237, 288, shew what friendly relations subsisted between Florence and the Sultan in 1487 and 1488.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 23 *seq.*, whose report is confirmed

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The Pope accepted the Sultan's gifts and permitted the Envoys to visit Prince Dschem and assure themselves of his well-being. In regard to the negotiations he considered the matter too important and affecting too many interests to decide it by himself, and therefore called a Council of all the Ambassadors then present in Rome to discuss it.

The Turkish Ambassador had at first promised that as long as Dschem was kept in safe custody his master would abstain from attacking any part of Christendom. Later, however, he restricted this promise to the coasts of the Adriatic, and expressly excluded Hungary, with the result that no agreement could be come to. The Envoy left

throughout by the letters of the Envoy. In addition to the reports from the Florentine State Archives, given by THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 276 *seq.*, I have made use of the following documents (*a*) **Report of Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490 (State Archives, Modena); (*b*) **Report of the Milanese Envoy (Jac. episc. Dherton. et Steph. Taberna), dat. Rome, Dec. 2, 1490 (State Archives, Milan). Here I found in the Series "Turchia" a contemporaneous Latin translation of the Sultan's letter; in substance it agrees with the account given of it by Sigismondo and Baluze; the translation differs a good deal from theirs, and they also differ from each other in the wording in many places. For comparison I here subjoin the beginning: Sultan Parazit Chan Dei gratia magnus imperator ac utriusque, &c., omnium christianorum patri et domino dom. Rom. eccles. antistiti dignissimo. Post condecentem et iustam allocutionem. Significamus Tue Divinitati intellexesse nos a r. card. magno magistro Rhodique domino germanum nostrum isthic degere ad presens, qui a nominati cardinalis proceribus istuc adductus nunc quoque sub illorum custodia est. Que res urbis quidem pergrata visa est admodumque letati sumus ipsum apud vos hospitari, etc. The translation in the Milanese State Archives differs from Sigismondo de' Conti and Baluze, Miscell., I., 517, in bearing the date May 16, 1490, instead of May 17. Many MS. collections contain translations of this letter, as, for instance, Cod. 511 of the Chapter Library at Lucca, also (date May 20) Cod. 716 of the Munich Library, and MS. 1238 of the National Library in Paris; see THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 277. The Greek text (*cf.* BRIEGERS Zeitschr., VII., 152), in Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1408, f. 29^{a-b}, is dated May 28, 1490.

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the pension for Dschem, which had hitherto been paid to Rhodes, in Rome, and took back an answer from the Pope to the effect that no definite reply could be given to the Sultan's proposal until the views of all the Christian powers had been ascertained.* Sigismondo de' Conti reports that many men, whose opinion was not to be despised, thought it imprudent in the Pope to condescend so much to the Turkish barbarian, and out of desire of gain to conclude a sort of bargain with him; on the other hand he adds: Innocent had to consider that by this means Christendom might be saved from war, and he might also obtain from the Sultan some sacred relics which were in his possession.†

It may well be conceded to Innocent VIII. that the desire to obtain these relics for Rome and to shield Christendom from the attacks of the Turks was not an unworthy one, and also that under existing circumstances and considering the unwillingness of the majority of the Christian Princes to undertake a Crusade, a compact of this kind was probably the most advantageous arrangement then attainable;‡ but at the same time it is undeniable that the reception of this sort of subsidy from the Sultan, exercised a decided influence on the Pope's attitude towards the Turks.

While Bajazet was thus kept in check, and forced to pay a kind of tribute to the Holy See, by the fear that his most dangerous enemy might at any moment be let loose upon

* I am able to supply the date which is wanting in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 25–6, from a contemporaneous copy in the Milanese State Archives: it is 1490 tertio non. Januar. A. 7°.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, *loc. cit.*; INFESSURA, 261. In regard to the Sultan's gifts see the Florentine report in THUASNE, 278 (*cf. ibid.*, 280, in his criticism of Infessura), and the **Report of Arlotti, quoted *supra*, p. 309, note †.

‡ ARTAUD VON MONTOR, Geschichte der Päpste, continued by Zaillar, IV., 172 (Augsburg, 1854); GRÖNE, II., 293.

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him, Ferdinand the Catholic was dealing a crushing and final blow to the power of Islam in the West. Granada fell on the 2nd January, 1492, and the banner with the great silver crucifix, given by Sixtus IV., which had been borne before the army throughout the whole campaign, was planted on the Alhambra.* This event closed an episode in Spanish history which had lasted eight hundred years; the whole of Spain was now united into a single nation, strong enough to make its influence felt henceforth in the development of Europe and more especially in that of Italy. "In this last and decisive contest with Islam, Ferdinand had learnt by experience the utter faithlessness of his cousin, the King of Naples. Ferrante had secretly supported the Moors against him, and now it only depended on the course of events whether, instead of prosecuting the war along the north coast of Africa, the Spanish monarch should not fix his eyes on the island of Sicily as the Archimedian point by means of which Italy could be drawn, bit by bit, within the sphere of the influence of Aragon."†

The fall of Granada sent a thrill of joy through the whole of Europe; it was looked upon as a sort of compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Nowhere, however, was the rejoicing more heartfelt than in Rome, where for many years the conflict with the Moors had been watched with sympathetic interest.‡ In the night of February 1st the

* PRESCOTT, I., 402–3, 486; HEFELE, Ximenes, 23 *seq.*; SCHIRRMACHER, Gesch. Spaniens, VI., 712; G. VOLPI, La resa di Granata (1492), descritta dall' oratore di Castiglia e di Aragona presso la s. sede. (Lucca, 1889.) FLORIAN, Gonzalo de Córdoba ó la conquista de Granada; historia de las acciones heroicas, etc., escrita en francés y vertida al español por D. J. Lopez de Penalver. Paris, 1892.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 54–5.

‡ When, on the 17th June, 1485, the news of a victory of Ferdinand over the Moors reached Rome, a festa was organised at once to celebrate the good tidings. See *Letters of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, June 18 and

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news arrived in Rome; Ferdinand had himself written to inform the Pope.* The rejoicings, both religious and secular, lasted for several days. Innocent VIII. went in solemn procession from the Vatican to S. James's, the national Church of the Spaniards, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated, at the end of which he gave the Papal Benediction. Cardinal Raffaele Riario entertained the Spanish Envoys with a dramatic representation of the Conquest of Granada and the triumphal entry of the King and Queen; while Cardinal Borgia delighted the Roman people with the novel spectacle of a bull fight, which had never before been seen in Rome.†

From the time that Ferrante concluded Peace with the Pope on January 22, 1492, he appears to have begun again to take an interest in the Turkish question, at least so his letters informing Innocent VIII. of the movements of the Turks would seem to indicate.‡ In May 1492, Pontano was sent to Rome to discuss what joint-measures could be taken to repel the common enemy.§ The Sultan, always

July 16, 1485 (Gonzaga Archives), and also a *Letter of Card. A. Sforza, dat. Rome, July 22, 1485. (Milanese State Archives.) In the year 1488, Ferdinand sent 100 captive Moors to Rome as a thank-offering to the Pope for his support in the war. See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 307–8.

* *In questa nocte passata circa le sette hore giunse la nova vera et certa de la intrata del Re de Spagna in Granata cum grandissimo triumpho et ordine segondo ha scritto S. M^ta^ al papa. *Despatch of Boccaccio, dat. Rome, Feb. 1st, 1492. Modenese Archives.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 444 *seq.* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 328, 374–5; TRINCHERA, II., 45, and the collection of authorities in THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 294 *seq.*, and also a *Letter from Boccaccio, Rome, Feb. 8, 1492 (Modenese Archives), and one from G. L. Cataneo, dated Rome, Feb. 15 and 17, 1492. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 57–8, 60, 79 *seq.*, 94, 101, 106 *seq.*, 124. On Alfonso's mission to Otranto, see *ibid.*, 128 *seq.*

§ NUNZIANTE, Lettere di Pontano, 8.

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on the watch in his dread of mischief from Dschem, soon discovered the change in Ferrante's attitude, and sent fresh Envoys to Naples * as well as to Rome. The latter brought with them a precious relic,—the head of the Spear of Longinus, which had pierced the side of Our Lord. By order of the Pope the sacred relic was received at Ancona by Niccolo Cibò, Archbishop of Arles; and Luca Borsiano, Bishop of Foligno placed it in a crystal reliquary set in gold, and brought it to Narni. From thence it was taken by the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio Costa to Rome. Although Innocent was far from well at the time, he was determined to take part in its solemn reception. When, on May 31, 1492, the Cardinals arrived before the gates of Rome, the Pope went to meet them outside the Porta del Popolo, took the reliquary in his hands with the greatest reverence, and delivered a short address on the Passion of Christ. He then carried it in solemn procession to S. Peter's, the streets through which he passed being richly decorated in its honour. From thence he had it conveyed to his private apartments, where it was kept.† In the farewell audience given by Innocent to the Turkish Envoys on June 14, 1492, he desired them to inform the Sultan that, in case of an attack by the latter on any Christian country, he would retaliate by means of Prince Dschem. He also

* TRINCHERA, II., 1, 98–9, 102–3, 105–6.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 473 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 28–9; INFESSURA, 274; NOTAR GIACOMO, 175; Not. di Nantiporto, 1108; Bernabei, in CIAVARINI, Croniche Anconit., 204 (Ancona, 1870); BERNALDEZ, I., 307; also Boccaccio's *Report dat. Rome, May 27, 1492 (State Archives, Modena); and *Brognolus, dat. Rome, May 31, 1492 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the later history of this relic, and that of similar relics preserved in Nuremburg and Paris, *cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1419–22, ed. 2, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 298, where a number of new reports on the Turkish Embassy of 1492 have been made use of.

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sent a private messenger of his own to Constantinople with the same message.*

The reception of the Holy Spear, says a contemporary writer, may be said to have been the last act of Innocent VIII. During the whole of his reign this Pope had been so harassed by war and the fear of war that he had never been able to accomplish his earnest desire of visiting Loreto or any of the more distant portions of his dominions. He hardly ever left Rome, and then only to go to Ostia or Villa Magliana.† In addition to the war difficulty, the feeble health of the Pope was also an obstacle to his travelling far.

In the autumn of 1490, as in that of the previous year, Innocent VIII. suffered from repeated attacks of fever, but recovered on each occasion; thanks to the skill of the famous physician Giacomo di San Genesio;‡ but from March 1492 the Pope's health began again to fail.§ Just at this time the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (April 8) seemed to threaten anew to disturb the peace of Italy; Innocent at once took measures to meet the danger,‖ as also in regard to the revolt

* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 302.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 29.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 36. *Cf.* LEOSTELLO, 398, and the Brief of Feb. 20, 1491, in LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Reg., No. 1510. On his illness in the autumn of 1490, see GRAZIANI, 737, and LEOSTELLO, 371.

§ *Report of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, March 19, 1492. During the last three days the Pope has been suffering from male di fianchi; April 12—the Pope is better: tutavia non se reha ne è per liberarsi cosi presto. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* *Letter from Card. A. SFORZA, April 16, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

‖ *Cf.* the *Letter from Cataneo, quoted in the previous note (in which he says that the Pope had written to Florence on the death of Lorenzo, et ha rasonato de far legato del patrimonio el carle de' Medici), with REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 422 *seq.*, ed. 2. The same Envoy states, on the 15th April, that the Pope had written to all the Italian Powers in support of the Medici interest. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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of Cesena, which took place shortly after.* In spite of these anxieties the Pope's condition improved so much that he was able to take part in the solemn reception of the Holy Spear, and the marriage of Luigi of Aragon with Battistina Cibò. In the latter half of the month of June, Innocent was fairly well; after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul he thought of going somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rome, for change of air and to hasten his recovery;† but, on the 22nd or 23rd June, the abdominal pains returned, an old sore on his leg broke out again, and the feverish attacks came back. The physicians differed in their opinions, but the worst was feared.‡ At the same time the Pope felt still so strong that at first he made light of the apprehensions of his physicians. On the 30th June he was better. The fluctuations lasted on into the month of July, but the general opinion was that the Pope was slowly dying.§

The first effect of the hopeless state of the Pope's health was notably to increase the insecurity of life and property in the city. For a time it seemed as if all law and order would break down; hardly a day passed without a murder some-

* *Cf.* the *Brief to Ercole of Ferrara, dat. Rome, June 21, 1492. Orig. in Modenese State Archives.

† *Letter from F. Brognolus, dat. Rome, June 17, 1492: El Papa sta pure asai bene. June 23: El papa Dio gratia sta pur asai meglio; fatto el dì di S. Pietro S. Bne vol andare ad alcune terre qui contigue a Roma per pigliare un pocho di piacere con speranza de fortificarsi meglio. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* with SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37, a *Letter from F. Brognolus to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua: Io scrivo al vostro illmo sig. consorte de la Ex. V. come el papa sta molto male per una gran pasione che li da sei dì in qua in quella gamba dove la havuto male gran tempo; the worst is to be feared. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ *Letter from F. Brognolus to the Marquess of Mantua, dat. Rome, June 30, 1492: the Pope is better. July 12: El papa sta ora ben or male; a iudicio de ognuno el si va consumando a pocho a pocho. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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where. The Cardinals kept a stricter watch over Dschem. An inventory was made of the treasures of the Church, and the Vice-Camerlengo, Bartolomeo Moreno, thought it prudent to retire first to the Palazzo Mattei, and finally to the Belvedere. The disorders at last became so serious that several of the Barons, at the persuasion of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, agreed to waive their party feuds and combine with the Conservators of the city to maintain order. After this the town was quieter.*

The Pope's end was that of a pious Christian. On the 15th July he confessed, and received Holy Communion on the following day.† On the 17th it was thought that the last hour had come,‡ but his strong vitality resisted death for another week. The resources of the physicians were exhausted, and there was no hope of recovery.§ "All hope is abandoned" writes the Florentine Envoy on July 19; "the Pope's strength is so entirely exhausted that the spirit

* *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, I., 569 *seq.*; and INFESSURA, 274–6, where, however, the dates are inaccurate. The taking of the inventory is stated by Infessura to have occurred die lunae 16, dicti mensis; but F. Brognolus reports it in a *Letter of July 12, 1492. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Florentine Despatch of July 15, in THUASNE, I., 567.

‡ *Despatch of Brognolus, dat. Rome, July 17, 1492: nunc laborat in extremis. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ INFESSURA, 275–6, relates that Innocent VIII.'s Jewish domestic physician had three boys of ten years old killed, and brought their blood to the Pope as the only means by which his life could be preserved. On the Pope's rejecting this he fled. If this account were true (as GREGOROVIUS seems to suppose, VII., 297, ed. 3) it would establish the fact that the Jews were in the habit of using human blood in medicine; but, in the unprinted detailed despatches of the Mantuan agents, I can find no mention of anything of the sort; nor yet in Valori's reports. As these narrators minutely retail every drop of medicine that the Pope took (*cf.* THUASNE, I., 571), it is impossible that they should have omitted to mention a remedy so startling as this.

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is all that is left of him; but he retains his full consciousness."* Except for his too great solicitude for his own relations, which occupied his mind to the last,† the death of Innocent VIII. was a most edifying one. Sigismondo de' Conti and the Florentine Envoys agree in relating how, although by that time speaking had become very difficult to him, the Pope summoned the Cardinals to his bed-side, asked their forgiveness for having proved so little equal to the burden which he had undertaken, and exhorted them to be united among themselves and to choose a better successor. He then desired an inventory to be taken in their presence by the Chamberlains of all the money and valuables in the Palace, and gave orders that the Holy Spear should be taken to S. Peter's. After this he dismissed the Cardinals and received the Holy Viaticum with tears of devotion.‡

After a death-agony which lasted five days,§ Innocent VIII. passed away on 25th July, 1492, about the 24th hour (9 o'clock in the evening).‖ His body was laid in S. Peter's.

* THUASNE, I., 569.

† *Ibid.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 36-7. According to this narrator all this took place pridie quam expiraret. As Sigismondo's dates are not always accurate, I prefer Valori's, who gives July 17 as the day of the Pope's address to the Cardinals. In everything else his account (though more concise) is in perfect agreement with Sigismondo's. See also the entry in FRANCESCHETTO'S autographic diary, preserved in the State Archives at Massa, in Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, XII., 152, n. 1.

§ *Letter from F. Brognolus, Rome, July 25, 1492. El papa è stato quatro o cinque dì quodamodo in transito. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* also RICORDI DI SACCHI, in N. di Tuccia, 426.

‖ *Despatch from Boccaccio, dat. Rome, July 25, 1492. The Pope died circa le 24 hore. (State Archives, Modena.) Brognolus' letter, mentioned in the previous note, gives a later date: La notte seguente venendo li 26 el papa passò di questa vita fra li cinque e sei ore di notte. NOTAR GIACOMO, 175: de iovedi venendo lo venerdi ad nocte ad hore

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He has been in a sense more remembered than many greater Popes, because his tomb, executed in bronze by Antonio Pollajuolo, is one of the few monuments which have been transferred from the old to the new S. Peter's. It stands against one of the pillars in the left aisle of the nave. "The Pope, a colossal figure with massive drapery, sits on a throne, his right hand raised in blessing, and his left holding the Holy Spear; on each side of him, in shallow niches in the wall, stand the four cardinal virtues; on the hemicycle above, the theological virtues,—graceful figures, full of life and motion, are portrayed in low relief. Below, on an urn, is the recumbent form of the Pope on a bed of State. Apparently this was originally placed on the wide projecting cornice of the hemicycle, and the perspective of the whole design shews that it was meant to be seen from a much more level point of view. At the height at which it is now placed, much of its exquisite workmanship, especially in the decorative part, is quite lost to the spectator. For its originality, clearness of outline, and mastery of the technique of its material, this work deserves to be ranked amongst the masterpieces of Quattrocento Florentine Art." *

The inscription on the monument, which was added at a later date, contains a slight anachronism in regard to the discovery of America. It was not till August 3, 1492, that the Pope's great fellow-countryman Columbus set sail from the port of Palos to found a new world.

cinquo. INFESSURA, 276: sexta vel septima hora; RICORDI DI SACCHI, *loc. cit.*: tra le sette e l'otto hore; Valori, in THUASNE, I., 491, says the same as Boccaccio.

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 358–9; REUMONT, III., 1, 198, 423, and Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 367 *seq.* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 431 *seq.* The Oratio rev. dom. Leonelli episc. Concord. habita Rome in ecclesia S. Petri in funere fe. re. dom. Innocentii, pape VIII. coram

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CHAPTER V.

Innocent VIII. as Patron of Art and Scholarship.

The disturbed state of Italy, the exhaustion of the Papal treasury, and the want of energy arising from the state of the Pope's health are quite sufficient to account for the poverty of the records of the reign of Innocent VIII. in the matter of Art and Scholarship as compared with that of Sixtus IV. At the same time, as regards Art, so many of the works of his time have been either destroyed or become unrecognisable that the creations in that department appear smaller than they really were. On investigation, we find that both in architecture and in painting a large number of important works were produced.

In the Vatican, Innocent went on with the works begun by Paul II., whose love for precious stones he shared.* He erected a noble fountain in the Piazza of S. Peter's in marble, with two large circular basins, one above the other; one of these now serves the drinking fountain on the right of the obelisk.† A good deal of work by way of repair was done

s. cetu rev. dom. cardinalium et tota curia die XXVIII. mensis Julii, 1492, was printed at the time. I found a copy of it in the Borghese Library, now alas! scattered to the winds. See also Beissel in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVI., 490 *seq.*

* Details in Pératé, 516. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 368 *seq.*, and Müntz, Hist. de l'Art, I., 102.

† Serdonati, 79; Gregorovius, VII., 639, ed. 3; Burchardi Diarium, III., 173. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 368, and Adinolfi, Portica, 123 *seq.*

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in the time of Innocent VIII. Restorations were effected in the castle and bridge of S. Angelo, the Ponte Molle, the Capitol, the fountain of Trevi, the gates and walls of the city, and a large number of churches. Among these latter may be mentioned especially S. Agostino, S^ta^ Croce, S. Giuliano de' Fiamminghi, S. Giovanni in Laterano, and S. Stefano in Cœliomonte.* S^ta^ Maria della Pace was completed, S^ta^ Maria in Via Lata rebuilt. With the strange indifference of those days to the preservation of Roman remains, the ruins of an old arch were demolished in the prosecution of this latter work.†

In S. Peter's, Innocent went on with the building of the Loggia, for the bestowal of the solemn Blessing, which had been begun by Pius II.; commenced a new Sacristy, and constructed a Shrine for the Holy Spear, which, together with the chapel built by Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, was destroyed in 1606.‡ The diligence with which Innocent VIII. prosecuted the continuation of the new streets begun by his predecessors, was of great advantage to the city. The carrying out of these works was entrusted to the Treasurer-General, Falcone de' Sinibaldi, who is so highly praised by Sigismondo de' Conti.§

Outside Rome, Baccio Pontelli was commissioned by the Pope to execute or set on foot architectural work in the

* MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 129 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*, 153, 156, 162; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 69; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 466 *seq.*; BORGATI, 88, and Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 177.

† ARMELLINI, 634; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 464 *seq.* On the destruction of Ancient Monuments, see MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 35 *seq.*

‡ STEVENSON, Topografia e Monumenti, 11; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 365 *seq.*, 456 *seq.* The remains of the Ciborium are still to be seen in the Vatican grottoes; JANNER, III., 579, mentions an impost levied for the works in S. Peter's.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 41; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 176. Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 62 *seq.*, 363 *seq.*

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town of Argnano, Corchiano, Jesi, Osimo, Terracina and Tolfa, and in the Papal Palaces at Viterbo and Avignon.* Innocent VIII. also assisted in the building of the Cathedral at Perugia.† The number of documents still extant, relating to works in the harbour and Citadel of Civita Vecchia, seem to indicate that they must have been somewhat extensive. These were, for the most part, managed by Lorenzo da Pietrasanta, who was frequently employed by the Pope.‡

In addition to the works already mentioned, Innocent VIII. also built the Belvedere in the Vatican, and the Villa Magliana in the Valley of the Tiber about six miles from Rome. He had begun the hunting lodge at Magliana while he was still a Cardinal. When he became Pope he proceeded to enlarge and decorate it as is shewn by the inscriptions over the windows. Unfortunately, it is now in a very dilapidated state. Magliana and Ostia were the

* MÜNTZ, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 466 *seq.*; *ibid.*, III., 296 *seq.*, is an important new document on B. Pontelli, discovered by Müntz. SCHMARSOW, Melozzo, 344. Under the heading Pro fabrica Palatii Viterb., I found in the *Lib. brev. 17, f. 37, a document in which R[aphael] acting on an order from the Pope, desires S. Georgii Card. to make sundry payments on account of the building of the palatium quod modo ad habitationem presidii provincie patrimonii in civit. Viterbii extruitur. Dat. Viterbii in arce die XVIII. Maii, 1484. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Innocent VIII.'s *Brief to the government of Perugia, dat. Rome, Feb. 28, 1485 (Regesta. in Cod. C. IV., 1, in the Library at Genoa), and the *Bull of Sept. 16, 1486, in Capitular Archives at Perugia.

‡ MÜNTZ, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 61 *seq.* Müntz here refers to FRANGIPANI, Storia de Civita Vecchia, 124 *seq.*, a work that I have not been able to see; therefore I cannot say with certainty whether the Brief of Innocent VIII., to the thesaurarius provincie patrimonii, dat. Romae, XI. Sept., 1484, ante coronat., which contains the order for completing the harbour of Civita Vecchia, has been printed or not. *Lib. brev. 17, f. 37. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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only country places to which he could resort during his troublous reign; the state of Italy was such, that it was impossible for him to visit the cities in his dominions or to fulfil his vow of making a pilgrimage to Loreto.*

The interior of the summer residence built on the slope of the Vatican hill towards Monte Mario, which now constitutes the central point of the sculpture-gallery, underwent a complete transformation by command of Innocent VIII., in accordance, it is said, with a design drawn by Antonio Pollajuolo. The management of the work was entrusted to Jacopo de Pietrasanta. The building was a square with pinnacles connecting it with the round tower of Nicholas V. Infessura says that the Pope spent 60,000 ducats upon it.† This sum no doubt included the paintings with which the villa was decorated. The name of Belvedere was given to it on account of the splendid view which it commands of Rome and its neighbourhood, from Soracte to the Alban hills.

Unfortunately, the paintings executed for this villa by Pinturicchio and Mantegna have almost entirely perished.

According to Vasari, the whole of the Loggia of the Belvedere was adorned at the Pope's desire by Pinturicchio with views of various cities "after the Flemish fashion" which, being a novelty in Rome, was then very much in vogue; Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice and Naples were thus portrayed. The same writer also states that Pinturicchio painted a fresco of the Blessed Virgin in the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 29; *cf.* INFESSURA, 280. In a future volume we shall return to the subject of the Villa Magliana, on which it will be necessary to compare REUMONT, III., 1, 414 *seq.*, and L. GRUNER, Villa Magliana. Leipzig, 1847.

† INFESSURA, 279; Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 458 *seq.*; Jahrb. des Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, V., 11.

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Belvedere.* The poetical beauty of Pinturicchio's landscapes in his paintings in the Buffalini Chapel in S^ta^ Maria in Aracoeli, enables us to conjecture the loss which the world has sustained by the destruction of the frescoes in the Belvedere. We may also gather from the fact that Innocent VIII. evidently recognised Pinturicchio's special gift for landscape painting, that this Pope was not so devoid of artistic feeling as he is often represented to have been.

More deplorable still is the loss of the frescoes of the other painter employed by Innocent in the decoration of this building. As early as the year 1484, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had commenced negotiations on behalf of the Pope with Gonzaga to obtain the services of Andrea Mantegna who already enjoyed a well earned celebrity in Mantua;† but it was not till 1488 that Mantegna at last came to Rome, with the sanction of the Marquess of Mantua, who bestowed on him the honour of knighthood on his departure. The work of painting the chapel in the Belvedere was at once entrusted to him. He spent two full years in Rome, endeavouring, as he himself says, with all possible diligence, to do honour to the illustrious house of Gonzaga, whose child he considered himself.‡ This makes it all the more to be regretted that these frescoes should have been destroyed when the new wing was built by Pius VI. Vasari bestows the highest praise on the delicate finish of these paintings which were almost like

* VERMIGLIOLI, Mem. di Pintur. (Perugia, 1837); CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 275 *seq.*, and SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 27 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*

† ARCO, Degli Arti in Mantova, II., 69 (Mantova, 1857). On Mantegna, *cf.* BASCHET, in Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XX., 318 *seq.*, 478 *seq.*; BRAGHIROLLI, in the Giorn. di Erudiz. Art., I., 194 *seq.*; and LUZIO-RENIER in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVI., 128 *seq.*

‡ BOTTARI, VIII., 25; GUHL, I., 52 *seq.*

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miniatures. He says, that among other subjects the baptism of Christ was portrayed in the Chapel of S. John. In consequence of the Pope's financial difficulties, the artist had a good deal to complain of in the matter of remuneration. His discreetly mild observations on this subject are corroborated by Vasari. He relates that on one occasion Innocent, having asked the painter what one of the figures was meant to represent, Mantegna replied, "It is Economy" (discrezione), on which the Pope observed, "If you want a good pendant to it you had better paint Patience." On his departure, however, in 1490, Innocent VIII. seems to have done something to make up for this.*

Besides Pinturicchio and Mantegna, Filippino Lippi and Perugino were also employed in Rome. The latter was generously patronised by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere,† while Lippi was commissioned by Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa to decorate the Chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas, which was built by the prelate in the Dominican Church of S^ta^ Maria sopra Minerva. These pictures are clever but somewhat superficial. There can be no doubt that the Cardinal himself arranged the scheme of the paintings. Numerous inscriptions explain the meaning of the frescoes, some of which are concealed behind the monument of Paul IV. The principal picture on the wall to the right of the entrance represents the victory of S. Thomas over heresies. In the lunette, Christ is painted on the Cross saying to the Saint, "Thou hast written well of me, Thomas, what shall I give thee in reward?" to which S. Thomas answers, "Nothing but Thyself, Lord." On the wall behind the Altar, Lippi has painted the Annunciation with the portrait of the founder. Here we see the hand of the master.

* CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, 87; GUHL, I., 54; REUMONT, III., I., 431; WOLTMANN, II., 255.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 21 *seq.*, 31 *seq.*

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Nothing could be more beautiful than the joyous soaring angels.*

Pinturicchio was employed by several of the Cardinals. He executed paintings in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo for Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio da Costa, and in S^ta^ Croce for Carvajal.†

It is interesting in connection with the development of Art in the time of Innocent VIII. to note, that in 1484 he bought tapestries from some Flemish merchants, representing S. George accompanied by personifications of the liberal arts.‡ He encouraged art manufacturers by the bestowal of honorary distinctions, most frequently by the gift of a consecrated sword. One of these, still preserved in the Museum of Cassel, was presented in 1491 to the Margrave William I. of Hesse, who visited Rome in that year on his way home from the Holy Land.§

In the matter of scholarship and literature as in Art, Rome under Innocent VIII. compares most unfavourably with the Rome of Sixtus IV. Nevertheless it would not be correct to suppose that Innocent was entirely devoid of

* HETTNER, 144; WOLTMANN, II., 178.

† LÜTZOW, Kunstschätze, 423 *seq.*; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 273.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 432.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 439; and LESSING, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XVI., 117 *seq.* (1895). See here also much general information on consecrated swords supplementing what is to be found in ZALUSKI, Analecta de sacra in die natale Domini usitata caeremonia ensem, etc. benedicendi (Varsoviae, 1726); MORONI, Diz., and MÜNTZ, Les Épées d'honneur, in the Rev. de l'Art Chrétien (1889) 408 *seq.* (1890) 281 *seq.* On engravings and medals of the time of Innocent VIII., see MÜNTZ, l'Atelier Monét. de Rome. Doc. sur les graveurs et médailleurs de la cour pontif. depuis Innocent VIII. jusqu'à Paul III., in the Rev. Numismat., II. (1884), separate pub. (Paris, 1884), 5 *seq.* On the Mint, see REUMONT, III., 1, 281 *seq.*, and especially GARAMPI'S rare work, App., 202 *seq.*

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literary tastes. He made it evident that this was not the case when, in the year 1484, Angelo Poliziano came to Rome with the Florentine embassy of Obedience. On that occasion, the Pope in presence of an illustrious company, ordered him to make a Latin translation of the historical works of the Greeks, referring to the exploits of the Romans, so that they might be more accessible to the majority of readers. In obedience to this flattering command, Poliziano selected Herodias for his translation, and endeavoured to make it read as it would have done had the author written it in Latin. Innocent VIII. rewarded the dedication of this work with a special Brief and a gift of 200 ducats, in order to set the translator free to devote himself more completely to work of this kind. Poliziano thanked the Pope in a beautiful Sapphic ode, in which both thought and language reflect the spirit of classical poetry.*

Innocent VIII. accepted dedications also from Tito Vespasiano Strozzi,† Peter Marsus,‡ and the celebrated physician, Gabrielle Zerbi;§ he bestowed marks of distinction also on foreign Humanists such as Johann Fuchsmagen.‖

* MEINERS, II., 35, 124 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 358 *seq.* There are two copies of this translation in the Vatican Library in Cod. Vat. 1836 (Bibl. Altemps), and 1859 (Bern. Caraffe prior. Neapolit. liber).

† The collection of poems dedicated by Strozzi to Innocent VIII., is to be found in the Dresden Library; see ALBRECHT, T. B. Strozzi (Dresden, 1891); and Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 166, 442.

‡ P. MARSUS, Panegyricus Innocentio VIII. P. M. dicatus in memoriam S. Joannis Evang. *s. l.* et *a.* (*ca.* 1485, printed in Rome by Plank).

§ The Pope raised the salary of this distinguished scholar from 150 to 250 florins, see MARINI, I., 310. On Sept. 25, 1484, he reappointed Franciscus de Padua to the post of Professor of Canon Law in Studio Romano. See *Brief on this day in the Lib. brev. 18, f. 16. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) This Brief is printed in RENAZZI, I., 290.

‖ ZINGERLE, Beiträge, 114.

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Innocent VIII. had for his secretaries, Gasparo Biondo, Andrea da Trebisonda, Giacomo da Volterra, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, Sigismondo de' Conti and Giovanni Lorenzi.* This latter, a distinguished Hellenist, was born at Venice in 1440, and came to Rome in 1472 as secretary to his fellow countryman Marco Barbo; Innocent VIII. made him one of his secretaries in 1484, and a librarian in the Vatican in the following year.† Financial difficulties prevented any additions worth mentioning from being made to the Vatican Library during this reign. It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest liberality continued to be shewn in regard to the use of manuscripts, which were frequently lent to students, even out of Rome. A considerable number were sent by Poliziano to Florence, at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici.‡ The numerous marks of favour bestowed by Innocent VIII. on Giovanni Lorenzi are an additional proof of the friendly disposition of this Pope towards the Renaissance.§

An event which occurred in Rome in the Spring of 1485, shews how powerful the Renaissance had become there in

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 40.

† NOLHAC, G. Lorenzi, in Mél. d'Archéol., VIII., 1 *seq.* (1888), where further details of his history are given, and also in regard to his eminence as a Humanist. Under Alexander VI. he fell into disgrace and was deprived of his post.

‡ MARINI, II., 255; MÜNTZ-FAVRE, La Bibl. du Vatican, 307–310. To complete the history of the Vaticana I think it well to draw attention to two * Despatches of the Ferrarese Envoy, Arlotti, which have escaped the notice of Müntz-Favre. On Jan. 3, 1488, he reports * Lo inventario de li libri de la bibliotecha apostolica è fornito e tengolo in casa consignatome da M. Demetrio [de Lucca, Custode of the Vaticana under Sixtus IV.; see MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.* 299, and PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 433 *seq.*, Engl. trans.]. On Dec. 16, 1488, Arlotti writes: * Demetrio nostro custode de la bibliotecha apostolica has been very ill, but is now better. State Archives, Modena.

§ NOLHAC, *loc. cit.*, 5.

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the time of Innocent VIII. and how the movement had penetrated to the lower classes.*

Towards the end of April in that year some masons working in the Fondo Statuario belonging to the Olivetan Fathers of S^ta^ Maria Nuova, came upon some ancient monuments. This property is situated in the midst of the well-known bed of ruins, about six miles from Rome on the Appian way, which is called Roma Vecchia. They found here two pedestals of statues with inscriptions belonging to the Praefectus praetorie Herennius Potens; the remains of a vault in which the freedmen of the *gentes* Tullia and Terentia were buried; and finally a sarcophagus without any inscription, containing a body in a marvellous state of preservation. This was evidently owing to the efficacy of the composition which had been employed in embalming it, and which consisted of a mixture of balsam, cedar oil, and

* The most trustworthy account of the discovery of the body of the Roman maiden in 1485, is to be found in the diary of the Notajo di Nantiporto, 1094. See also BARTH. FONTIUS to Fr. Sacchetti, published by JANITSCHEK, first, in the Gesellschaft der Renaissance, 120, and then, in a better version, in the Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft, VII., 239-40; also two other letters printed by HÜLSEN in the Mittheil. d. Œst. Instituts, IV., 435-38 (here too is the best criticism on the narratives). In addition to these *cf.* INFESSURA, 178 *seq.* (*cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom. XI., 532 *seq.*). SIGISMONDO DE CONTI, II., 44-45; ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO, Dies geniales, III., c. 2, and RAPHAEL VOLATERRANUS, Comment. urb., 954 (Lugduni, 1552). I found another, as yet unprinted, account in the *Protocollo Notarile of Paolo Benevieni (B. 494), entitled: Nuove Ricordo chome negli an. dom. 1485, del mese d' Aprile ci fu lettere da Roma chome in via Appia presso a S. Sebastiano luogo detto capo de bove in uno sepolcro marmoreo fu trovata una fanciulla morta integra nolle [= non le] manchava nulla ne naso ne capitelli [=capezzeli] (*cf.* Dizion. d. Crusca, ed. 4) ne labra ne denti ne lingua ne capelli imo piu che la carne cedeva e stemossi de circa 1700 anni fusse stata sotterra con una cuffia di filo d'oro all' ungheresca e per certi inditii che fusse Tulliola figliuola di Marco Tullio Cicerone. State Archives, Florence.

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turpentine.* The body was immediately taken to the Palace of the Conservators, where it was exhibited to the public. The whole city seems, from the sensational character of most of the accounts, to have gone mad with joy and excitement. The antiquarians and Humanists were in ecstasy; the eager curiosity of the populace was insatiable. Rome was flooded with all sorts of contradictory reports and conjectures, many of them wild exaggerations or pure inventions. The extraordinary variations in the accounts, in which the few grains of personal observation or authentic history are largely outweighed by the matter supplied by the imagination of the narrator, betray the universal excitement. All are agreed as to the wonderful state of preservation of the body and as to its sex. They describe with enthusiasm the suppleness of the limbs, the blackness of the hair, the perfection and whiteness of the nails and teeth. Ornaments are also said to have been found on the head and fingers of the body.

The eager crowd which from morning till night beset the Palace of the Conservators to gaze on the dead Roman maiden could only be compared to the scene when a new Indulgence had just been proclaimed. This passionate enthusiasm about the body of a heathen seems to have aroused serious alarm in the mind of Innocent VIII., lest it should prove the harbinger of a paganisation of the lower classes which would have worse consequences than that of the men of letters. He gave orders to have the body, which had begun to turn black from ex-

* HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*, 89, quotes a botanist who thinks it most probable that the composition was mainly olive oil to which resin and aromatic substances were added. This conjecture is contradicted by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 44, who expressly states that the mixture was believed by experts who had examined it to consist of the ingredients mentioned in the text.

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posure to the air, removed in the night and buried outside the Porta Pinciana.*

* The account given in the text is founded on HÜLSEN'S in the Mittheil. d. Œst. Instituts, IV., 433–49, which corrects and completes H. Thode's essay in the same periodical, p. 75–91. Thode's conjecture that the well-known head of a girl at Lille is a true portrait of this maiden is here shewn to be unfounded. H. GRIMM, in the Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, IV., 104–8, comes to the same conclusion; and HEYDEMANN, in Lützow's Zeitschr., XXI., 8 *seq.*, equally rejects this hypothesis. The Roman accounts describe long black hair, small ears, and a low forehead; whereas in the head at Lille the girl has auburn hair, the ears are remarkably large, and the forehead too high for beauty according to classical ideas. On this subject *cf.* also BURCKHARDT, I., 230, ed. 3; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 555–6; REUMONT, III., 1, 363; Courrier de L'Art (1883), 312; L'Art, XXXV. (1883), 1; Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, VI., 18. In regard to the date of the discovery, Hülsen has observed that it would be interesting to ascertain whether the English Envoys, whose arrival is mentioned by the Not. di Nantiporto concurrently with the finding of the body, did actually come to Rome on April 19. Since Hülsen wrote, "Burchardi Diarium" has appeared and solves this question, as (I., 145) the arrival of the Envoys, April 20, 1485, is mentioned in it.

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CHAPTER VI.

DEFENCE OF THE LIBERTIES AND DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH.—THE BULL ON WITCHCRAFT, OF 1484.—MORAL CONDITION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. — INCREASE OF WORLDLINESS AMONGST THE CARDINALS.

IT was not in politics alone that Innocent VIII. found his authority contemned and attacked; in purely ecclesiastical matters the case was no better. Next to Naples the Republics of Venice and Florence were the two States which gave him the most trouble by their persistent encroachments on the rights and independence of the Church. In the negotiations with Venice in connection with the removal of the ecclesiastical penalties imposed upon this city by Sixtus IV., Innocent had done his best to protect the Venetian clergy against arbitrary taxation and the interference of the State in appointments to benefices, but with little success.* As time went on, it became evident that the Signoria had no notion of giving up its pretensions to absolute control in ecclesiastical as well as in temporal matters. In the year 1485 the See of Padua fell vacant. Innocent VIII. gave it to Cardinal Michiel. The Venetian government nominated the Bishop of Cividale, Pietro Barozzi. Neither party would give way. The Pope sent a special Envoy to remonstrate with the Signoria, but he could make no impression; the Republic refused to yield, and finally had recourse to violence. The revenues

* NAVAGIERO, 1192.

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of all the benefices held by Cardinal Michiel within the Venetian dominions were confiscated, and on this the Pope and the Cardinal gave up the contest.*

The death of the illustrious Cardinal Marco Barbo, Patriarch of Aquileia, in 1491, was the occasion of a new and sharp contest between Venice and Rome. Innocent VIII. had on 2nd March bestowed this dignity on the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, the learned Ermolao Barbaro, who had accepted it without first obtaining the necessary permission from the Venetian government. For this the Signoria resolved to punish Barbaro severely. They had intended to obtain the Patriarchate for Niccolò Donato, Bishop of Cittanova, and that Barbaro should be forced to resign. The new Patriarch himself being out of reach, his father was threatened with severe pecuniary penalties, unless he could persuade his son to give way. On this Barbaro was anxious to resign; but, as the Pope would not permit this, the Signoria summoned him to appear within twenty days before the Council of Ten, under pain of banishment and the confiscation of all his Venetian benefices. Ermolao chose the latter alternative; he devoted the rest of his life to the pursuit of learning, and died in exile in 1493. During the life-time of Innocent VIII., the Patriarchate remained vacant, the Venetian government meanwhile absorbing its revenues; under Alexander VI. it obtained the nomination of Donato.†

Florence and Bologna did not fall far behind Venice in attacks on the rights and liberties of the Church. In Florence, Innocent was obliged to protest against the

* NAVAGIERO, 1192–3; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 36.

† MALIPIERO, 687–8; NAVAGIERO, 1200; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 35, 47; SANUTO, Diari, I., 746–7; TIRABOSCHI, VI., 2, 151 *seq.*; UGHELLI, V., 130–31; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, II., 1, 123 *seq.*; CEÇCHETTI, I., 309.

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arbitrary taxation of the clergy;* in Bologna against the punishment of a priest by the secular tribunal, in contravention of the Canon-law.† He was equally forced more than once to make a stand against the Milanese Government in defence of the liberties of the Church.‡

Outside of Italy there was no lack of troubles of the same nature. Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, especially behaved towards the Church with a high-handed insolence that had to be resisted. In the year 1485 he promulgated a decree that no prelate who did not reside in Hungary, was to possess or draw the revenues of any benefice within the kingdom. He at once proceeded to put the law in force by intercepting one of the officials of the Cardinal Bishop of Erlau, taking from him 25,000 ducats which he was bringing to his master in Rome, and carrying the money back to Buda. In the same year he came into open collision with Rome by appointing Ippolito d'Este, a mere child, to the Archbishopric of Gran. In vain Innocent represented to the King that to entrust the government of a diocese to a child "was as unreasonable as it was wrong." Corvinus replied by maintaining that "on other occasions His Holiness had accepted less capable, and from an ecclesiastical point of view, more objectionable persons than Ippolito; and further declared, that whoever else the Pope might appoint, no one but his nominee should touch the revenues of the diocese;" and in order to give due emphasis to this declaration, he announced that 2000 ducats out of these revenues would be sent to Ferrara as "a foretaste." Finally, the King carried his point and in the

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 35.

† *Cf.* the * Briefs to Bologna, dat. Rome, Sept. 4 and Oct. 30, 1486, Feb. 9 and May 26, 1487. State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.

‡ See * Brief to Milan, dat. Rome, April 18, 1492. (Milanese State Archives.) Autog., III., and DESJARDINS, I., 536.

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Summer of 1489 Ippolito came to Hungary and was installed in his Archbishopric.*

Though in this matter Innocent was forced to give way, he stood firm in insisting on the liberation of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, who had been put in prison by Mathias. Several Briefs having proved of no avail, in the Autumn of 1488, the Nuncio, Angelo Pecchinolli was sent to remonstrate by word of mouth. Mathias now said he was ready, pending the result of the proceedings against him, to hand over the Archbishop to the safe-keeping of the Papal Legate; but the promise was hardly made before it was withdrawn. Upon this the Legate calmly but firmly pointed out to the angry King the difficult position in which he was placed by this action on his part, he having already informed the Pope of the promise made by Corvinus. "If I now contradict what I have just stated," he said, "either His Holiness will think that I am a liar, or that your Majesty's word is not to be trusted." With great difficulty Pecchinolli at last prevailed upon the King to undertake to release the Archbishop from prison and send him, at the Legate's choice, either to Erlau or Visigrad, there to be kept under guard, and the promise was fulfilled.†

In France as in Hungary Innocent VIII. had to withstand most unjustifiable attacks on the rights of the Church. In 1485 we find him complaining that in Provence the secular authorities set at naught and ill-treated the clergy. Throughout the kingdom Church matters were often tyrannically dealt with, Parliament withheld its *placet* from the Pope's Bulls, obedience to his commands was frequently refused, and the Universities persisted in appealing from the Pope ill-informed to the

* FRAKNÓI, Math. Corvinus, 287 *seq.*, 289.

† *Ibid.*, 248, 258 *seq.*; THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 497, 508 *seq.* See also FRAKNÓI in the periodical Századok (1883), 489 *seq.*

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Pope better-informed.* Innocent VIII. had to enter repeated protests against the Pragmatic Sanction; at the close of the year 1491 he endeavoured by means of a Concordat to place his relations with France on a better footing.† Similar encroachments on the part of the rulers of England and Portugal had to be resisted. Innocent succeeded in his energetic repudiation of the pretension of John II. of Portugal to make the publication of Papal Bulls and Briefs depend on a *placet* from the Government, and the Pope forced him to relinquish it.‡ In January 1492 he promulgated a general constitution in support of the immunities and liberties of the Church.§ Notwithstanding all this, Sigismondo de' Conti accuses Innocent VIII. of negligence in defending the rights of the Church. He adduces as instances of this negligence the Pope's acquiescence in the taxation of the clergy in Florence and other Italian States, and his toleration, after the treaty with Lorenzo de' Medici, of things in Perugia which were derogatory to the dignity of the Church.‖

Perhaps he was really more to be blamed for the concessions which, on purely political grounds, he made to Ferdinand of Spain. In December 1484 he bestowed on him the patronage of all the churches and convents in Granada and all other territories conquered or to be

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 282.

† *Cf.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 184, 211 *seq.*, 287, 291 *seq.*, and *supra* Chap. IV.; and also BALUZE, IV., 28 *seq.*

‡ HARDUIN, Conc., IX., 1511 *seq.*; WILKINS, III., 617; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 286; BELLESHEIM, Irland, I., 572. In regard to Portugal, see SCHÄFER, II., 645 *seq.*, and the *Brief to the King of Portugal of Feb. 3, 1486, Lib. brev. 19, f. 162. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1491, n. 17.

‖ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 142.

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conquered from the Moors.* To these he added later, extensive rights of provision in Sicily.†

Only one canonisation, that of the Margrave Leopold of Austria, of the Babenberg family, took place during the reign of Innocent VIII. The Emperor Frederick III. had already asked both Paul II. and Sixtus IV. for the canonisation,‡ and repeated his request to Innocent VIII. immediately after his election; in consequence the date of the ceremony was fixed for Christmas 1484.§ It actually took place on January 6, 1485.‖

Requests were made to Innocent VIII. from Sweden for the canonisation of Catherine, daughter of S. Bridget,¶ from the Grand-master of the Teutonic Order; for that of

* Colección de los Concordatos, 231; MORONI, 68, p. 112; PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 200.

† SENTIS, 102; *ibid.*, 108, on the Royal exequatur which was rigidly enforced in Sicily. In a *Document of Ferdinand's, dat. in terra Platiae, 1484, Dec. 13, it is decreed, quod facta discussione cum magna curia et fisci patrono non procedatur ad executorias alicujus bullae Apcae praenotatae per fratrem Marium de Patti de Abbatia S. Pantaleonis. (State Archives, Palermo: Regia Monarchia, I., 911.) In the same place is a *Bull of Innocent VIII.: Romanum decet pontificem, dat. Romae, 1485, Non. Maii, in qua papa confirmat privilegia facta in fundatione monasterii S. Salvatoris (close to Messina; ordinis S. Basilii) per Rogerium et alios successores, ex qua bulla,—says the compiler of this collection with marked emphasis — confirmatur monarchia considerata fundatione dicti monasterii.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 168 (Engl. trans.); KEIBLINGER, Melk., I., 637, and SCHLECHT, Zamometč, 46. *Cf.* Instructio nomine Ces. Maj. pro ven. dom. Petro Kuener, 1481, Kal. Oct. in the "Romana" of the House, Court, and State Archives in Vienna (so far as I know is yet unprinted).

§ *Brief to the Emperor Frederick III., dat. Sept. 25, 1484, Lib. brev. 18, f. 14b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ Bull., V. 299–303; BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 31 *seq.*; Not. di Nantiporto, 1093; H. PEZ, Hist. S. Leopoldi, 125 *seq.* Viennae, 1747.

¶ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 61.

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Dorothea of Marienwerder,* and from King Ferrante for Jacopo della Marca;† none, however, of these processes were concluded during his Pontificate.

Amongst the ecclesiastical acts of Innocent VIII. mention must be made of the much-contested privilege which he granted to the Abbot, John IX. of Citeaux, and to the Abbots of the four first Cistercian daughter-houses, of powers to confer sub-deacon and deacon's orders, the former on all members of the Order, and the latter on the monks in their own monasteries.‡ The Bulls of Innocent VIII., granting various privileges to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians are undoubtedly genuine.§ In consequence of the decrease of leprosy, which, towards the close of the 15th century, had become very rare, in 1490 Innocent dissolved the Order of Lazarists and united them with the Knights of St. John. But this Bull took effect in Italy only, and was not accepted by the French.‖

* See THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 233. LÄMMER in Kath. Wochenblatt der Diöcese Culm, 1860, p. 44; WÖLKY, Urkundenbuch des Bisth. Culm, I., 574–5; and HIPLER, Joh. von. Marienwerder und Dorothea von M., 122 (Braunsberg, 1865); and Zeitschr. für Gesch. Ermlands, X., Heft, 2.

† TRINCHERA, II., 110–11.

‡ Bull of April 9, 1489, Exposuit tuae devotionis, printed in HENRIQUEZ, Regula et Privilegia Ord. Cist., 109 (Antverp., 1630); JANAUSCHEK, Orig. Cist., I., p. x. (Vindob., 1877); and especially PANHÖLZL, in the Stud. a. d. Benediktin., V., 441 *seq.*, are in favour of the genuineness of this Bull; they do not seem to have noticed the fact that precisely in that year, 1489, several Bulls were forged; *cf. infra*, p. 351.

§ See in SERDONATI, 20, the Bull Ord. Praedic., IV., 7, 12, 29, 32, 43; and KOLDE, Augustinercongregation, 206. Innocent also frequently exerted his authority in favour of the members of the various Third Orders and for their protection. *Cf.* his *Letters to the Town Council and the Bishop of Basle, both dated Romae, Non. Maii A° 2°. Franciscan Archives of Hall in the Tyrol.

‖ Leo X., at the request of Charles V., endeavoured to revive the

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Innocent VIII. shewed great zeal in the defence of the purity of the Faith against the numerous heresies which cropped up during his time in many different directions.* The Waldensian and the Hussite heresies were the two which occupied him most. In Dauphiné the Waldenses not only preached their false doctrines openly, but put to death those who refused to join them. In the Spring of 1487, Innocent sent Alberto de Cattaneo to Dauphiné who with the help of the King of France succeeded in almost entirely eradicating them in this province.† In Bohemia also, where Innocent recognised King Ladislaus' title, he

Order in Calabria and Sicily; and Pius IV. sought to secure freedom of election to its members, but unsuccessfully. The French knights of this Order, whose Grand-master ceased, from the time of Innocent VIII., to be recognised in Rome, lingered on till the reign of Henry IV. This king took possession of all the property that still remained to them,—estates, priories and benefices,—and handed it over to a congregation which he founded and called the Order of S. Lazarus of Jerusalem and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which perished in the Revolution. See Hist.-Polit.-Blätter XXVIII., 625; HAESER, I., 862, ed. 3; III., 87; CIBRARIO, Les ordres religieux de St. Lazaire. Lyon, 1860.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1486, n. 57; 1488, n. 7. (The *Brief here cited is dated Rome, May 10, 1488. *Lib. brev. 20, f. 34); BERNINO, 212. Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 552 *seq.*; GUETTÉE, VI., 61 *seq.*; Bull Ord. Praedic., IV., 5; LEA, II., 143, 266 *seq.*; III., 621; FULGOSIUS, De dictis lib. IX., c. 11. *Cf.* the *Briefs to the Archbishop of Mayence, dat. Rome, June 18, 1486, and to the Abbot of Weingarten, dated the same day. Lib. brev. 18, f. 203–4b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Besides the detailed Report of SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 302 *seq.*, *cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1487, n. 25; BERTHIER, Hist. de l'Église Gallic., lib. L., an. 1487; and especially CHEVALIER'S exhaustive work, Mém. Hist. sur les Hérésies en Dauphiné, 38 *seq.* (Valence, 1890). See also GUETTÉE, VIII., 64 *seq.*; and BENDER, Gesch. der Waldenser (Ulm, 1850), 81, and 125 on the persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont: as also HAHN, 744 *seq.*; and LEA, II., 159 *seq.*

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was successful in effecting the reconciliation of a number of Hussites with the Church.*

The arrival in Rome of the famous Pico della Mirandola in the year 1486, brought to light the jealous care with which the integrity of the Faith was guarded in the Papal city. Many of the opinions put forth by this gifted but fanciful and impulsive philosopher were made up of a confused medley of Platonic and Cabalistic notions.† Brimming over with youthful ambition and conceit, Pico announced his intention of holding a public disputation in which he would produce no less than 900 propositions in "dialectics, morals, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, theology, magic and Cabalism" for discussion. Some of these would be his own; the rest would be taken from the works of Chaldean, Arabian, Hebrew, Greek, Egyptian and Latin sages. In regard to those that were his own, and which he purposed to defend by arguments worked out in his own mind, he expressly declared that he would "maintain nothing to be true that was not approved by the Catholic Church and her chief Pastor, Innocent VIII." He invited learned men from all parts of the world, offered to pay their travelling expenses, and confidently expected to score a brilliant triumph. The reverse, unfortunately, was what happened. Some experienced theologians declared several of the proposed theses to be tainted with heresy, and in conse-

* See PALACKY, V., 1, 303, *cf.* 381, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 19; 1486, n. 58; 1487, n. 24.

† TIRABOSCHI, Bibl. Mod., IV., 96 *seq.*; MEINERS, Lebensbeschreibungen, II., 1 *seq.*; RITTER, IX., 291 *seq.*; STÖCKL, III., 167 *seq.*; BERTI, in the Rivist. Contemporanea, XVI. (Torino, 1859); REUMONT, Lorenzo, VI., 80 *seq.*, 460, ed. 2. PFÜLF in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, VIII., 1549 *seq.*, ed. 2; VILLANUEVA, XVIII., 43 *seq.*; TRIPEPI, in the periodical Il Papato, an. XVI., Serie 5, vol. XXI., p. 1 *seq.*, and 30 *seq.*; CALORI CESIS, Giov. Pico della Mirandola (Bologna 1872), and Gabotto's notice in Rassegna d. Lett. Ital. (1895) III., 202 *seq.*

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quence the Pope refused to permit the disputation, and appointed a commission of bishops, theologians and canonists to examine them. This commission pronounced some of Pico's propositions to be heretical, rash, and likely to give scandal to the faithful; many contained heathen philosophical errors which had been already condemned, others favoured Jewish superstitions. The judgment was perfectly just, and was adopted by Innocent,* and though a great number of the propositions were acknowledged to be Catholic and true, the reading of the whole series was forbidden on account of the admixture of falsehood. Nevertheless, since the character of the theses was purely academic, and since the author had expressed his willingness to submit them to the judgment of the Holy See, and had sworn never to defend any similar assertions, no blame of any sort was to attach to Pico's reputation. The Papal Brief pronouncing this decision was dated August 4, 1486, but was not published till December.† Meanwhile Pico—so his enemies assert—in great haste "in twenty nights," composed an apology explaining his propositions in a Catholic sense, which he dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, and had printed in Neapolitan territory, antedating it (May 31), so as to avoid any appearance of defending what the Pope had condemned, after having previously declared his absolute submission to the judgment of the Church. Pico on his side maintained that he had not known of the Papal

* Some of the theses are undoubtedly irreconcilable with Catholic dogmas. One, for instance, asserts that Our Lord descended into hell only virtually and not in reality; that a mortal sin being limited by its relation to time cannot receive an eternal punishment; that the witness borne by magic and Cabalism to the divinity of Christ was as valid as arguments drawn from legitimate science; MEINERS, II., 24 *seq.* *Cf.* TIRABOSCHI, Stor. d. Lett. Ital., VI., 1 32b.

† This is expressly stated by the Ferrarese Envoy in CAPPELLI, 70. The Brief is to be found in Bull., V., 327-9.

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Brief, until told of it the 8th January, 1489, when he was on his way to France. This probably was literally not untrue; but it can hardly be supposed that when he wrote his apology he had no inkling of the contents of the Brief, which had been written on August 8.

Matters now became more complicated. Pico was charged with having broken his oath, and endeavoured to give greater publicity to his views. In consequence he was summoned to Rome, and efforts were made to have him arrested.* Thanks to the energetic mediation of Lorenzo de' Medici, Pico was permitted to retire to a villa in the neighbourhood of Florence. Meanwhile a complete change had been wrought in the young scholar's soul by the unexpected humiliation. Hitherto his life had been much the same as that of other young men of his rank and position. From henceforth he renounced all desire for fame and ambition, and gave himself up entirely to prayer, penance and works of mercy, except in so far as he still continued to prosecute his theological and philosophical studies with redoubled zeal. These resulted in the production of several exegetical and philosophical works; one of which, on the seven enemies of religion—unbelievers, Jews, Mahomedans, pagans, heretics, false Christians, and occultists (astrologers, magicians, etc.),—was never finished. By Savonarola's advice he resolved upon entering the Dominican Order, but his life of eager and unremitting toil was cut short by death, before he had time to carry out his purpose. He died November 17, 1494. In the previous year the new Pope, Alexander VI. had, in an autograph Brief granted him absolution, in case he might have indirectly violated his oath, and also the assurance, that neither by his apology nor in any other way

* *Cf.* the Bishop of Lucca's letter of Dec. 5, 1487, in CAPPELLI, 75, n. 3, and the Papal Letter of Dec. 16, 1487, published by FITA, in the Boletin de la R. Acad. de la Historia, XVI., 315–16 (1890).

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had he ever been guilty of formal heresy. There is no mention in the Brief, as has been asserted by some writers, of the theses condemned by Innocent VIII.*

The Jews in Spain were a source of considerable trouble to Innocent VIII. They had become a real danger to the population by their usury and their proselytising. In 1484, the Pope took measures to counteract the evil; and in the following year he granted permission to several Jews and heretics to make their abjuration privately, but "in presence of the King and Queen."† About the same time disturbances broke out in Aragon on account of the introduction into that province of the Inquisition. The Jews who had submitted to baptism, called Maranos, opposed the measure by every means that they could. Money proving of no avail they determined to resort to assassination. On

* This disposes of the attempts of some Rosminians (see G. PAGANI, Giov. Pico della Mirandola, condannato da Innocenzo VIII., and prosciolto da Alessandro VI., in the periodical Il Rosmini, Vol. V., n. 4, p. 232–49, Milano, 1889), to represent the pronouncement of Alexander VI. as contradicting that of Innocent VIII. *Cf.* Civiltà Cattolica (1883), II., 616 *seq.*; (1889) II., 262 *seq.* Osservatore Cattolico (Milano, 1889), N. 91 and 93. Scuola Cattolica an. XVII., Vol. XXXIII., p. 560 *seq*; TRIPEPI, in the articles quoted *supra*, especially 37 *seq.* (where the Brief of Alexander is printed). See also REUSCH, Index, I., 59, wherein is to be found (p. 58) the Constitution of the Papal Legate, Niccolò Franco, of the year 1491, which contains the earliest known prohibition of any printed book (amongst others Pico's Theses appear in it). Reusch acknowledges that Pico was treated with the greatest consideration at Rome.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1484, n. 80, 81; 1485, n. 21. On Innocent VIII. and the Spanish Inquisition see LLORENTE, I., 281 *seq.*, 289–91, 307 *seq.*; GAMS, Kirchengeschichte Spaniens, III., 2, 22 *seq.*; FITA, in Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Hist., XVI., 367 *seq.* (shews Llorente's inaccuracy); RODRIGO, II., 99 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 104; the Bull printed on p. 101 *seq.*, confirms the account given of the Spanish Inquisition in PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 398 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

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September 15, 1485, the inquisitor, Pedro Arbues, who has been quite groundlessly accused of extreme harshness, was attacked in the Cathedral of Saragossa, and mortally wounded.* This and other occurrences shewed that it was necessary to have recourse to severe measures. Crucifixes were mutilated, consecrated hosts profaned; in Toledo a plot was concocted by the Jews for obtaining possession of the city on Good Friday, and massacring all the Christians. Ferdinand finally determined to resort to a drastic remedy; on March 31, 1492, an edict was published requiring all Jews either to become Christians, or to leave the country by the 31st July.† Most of the Spanish Jews crossed over to Portugal; a good many went to Italy,‡ and to Rome, where they were treated with great toleration by the majority of the fifteenth century Popes.§ Many Spanish Jews who had been banished in former years had

* The Canonisation of P. Arbues in 1867 (*cf.* G. COZZA, P. de Arbues, Roma, 1867) gave rise to most violent attacks against the Holy See; REUSCH, Kleine Schriften 286 *seq.*, has shewn that the bitterest of these were written or instigated by Döllinger. In regard to Döllinger, *cf.* HEFELE, in the Deutschenvolksblatt, 1867, Nos. 121, 134, 173, 185; Civ. Catt., 6 Serie, XI., 273 *seq.*, 385 *seq.*; Hist.-Polit.-Bl., LX., 845 *seq.*; GAMS, Spanien, III., 2, 25 *seq.*, and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 599 *seq.* *Cf.* also ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 73 *seq.* At Döllinger's instigation (see MICHAEL, Döllinger, 236 *seq.* [1892]), Kaulbach composed his partisan sketch "Arbues." The unhistorical character of this work is acknowledged by REUSCH, *loc. cit.*, and LEA: The Martyrdom of S. P. Arbués, New York, 1889.

† HEFELE, Ximenes, 290 *seq.*; AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, Hist. de los Judios de España, III., 604 *seq.*, and FITA, Edicto de los Reyes Católicos desterrando de sus estades á todos los Judìos, in Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Hist., XI., 512–28 (1887). On the danger to Spain from the Jews see C. F. HEMAN, Die Historische Weltstellung der Juden, 24 *seq.* Leipzig, 1882, ed. 2.

‡ Rev. d'Études Juives, XV., 117.

§ *Ibid.*, VII., 228.

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settled in Rome, and even contrived to insinuate themselves into various ecclesiastical offices; an abuse which Innocent took measures to prevent.*

Torrents of abuse have been poured forth against Innocent VIII. on account of his Bull of December 5, 1484, on the subject of witchcraft. It has been obstinately maintained that the Pope by this Bull authoritatively imposed on the German nation the current superstitions in regard to the black art, demonology, and witchcraft.† There could not be a greater distortion of facts than is involved in this assertion. All evidence goes to shew that long before the Bull of Innocent VIII. the belief in witchcraft had prevailed in Germany. The "Formicarius" of the Dominican inquisitor Johannes Nider, which appeared at the time of

* INFESSURA-TOMMASINI, 227. The Oratio passionis dominice habita coram Innocentio Octavo contra cervicosam iudeorum perfidiam of Ant. Lollius, *s.l.a.* et typogr. PANZER, IX., 183, has a certain connection with this.

† K. MÜLLER, Bericht üb. d. Gegenw. Stand d. Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vorreformatorischen Zeit, 56. The first person who accused Innocent of being the originator of the infatuation which gave rise to the whole body of proceedings against witchcraft, was the Protestant pastor J. M. Schwager (Gesch. d. Hexenprocesse, I., 39 [Berlin, 1784]). SOLDAN found himself unable to agree with this statement, as a large number of the trials for witchcraft had preceded the publication of the Bull. Nevertheless he vehemently accuses the Papacy of having by this "infallible pronouncement" raised the belief in witchcraft which hitherto had been condemned by the Church, into a dogma (I., 288 *seq.*). Döllinger reiterated this accusation (JANUS, 269, and Festrede der Münch. Akad., 1887). Although SAUTER (Z. Hexenbulle, 65 [Ulm, 1884]) and HELLER in the Kathol. Schweizerbl., VIII., (1892), 216 *seq.*, had so crushingly refuted it that no serious investigator ought ever to have mentioned it again. *Cf.* also MICHAEL, Döllinger, 257, 547 *seq.*, (Innsbruck, 1894, ed. 3), and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 609 *seq.* Against Buchwald's unhistorical assertions, *cf.* Hist.-Polit.-Bl., XCVIII., 312 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*; and KAYSER, in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 326.

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the Council of Basle, shews what fantastic notions on the subject were current at the beginning of the 15th Century. Nearly all the delusions which appear in the later witch-trials are to be found here; though there do not seem to have been so many executions as in later times, it is plain that the process of trial for witchcraft was in use long before the Bull of 1484. But the secular authorities had been accustomed to interfere in these trials, whereas in the process by the Inquisition, the co-operation of the secular power was only invited when the trial was ended.*

What then did Innocent VIII. do?

The Bull of December 5th, 1495, begins by saying that he had lately heard "not without deep concern," that in various parts of upper Germany as also in the provinces, cities, territories, districts, and bishoprics of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen, many persons of both sexes falling away from the Catholic Faith, had contracted carnal unions with devils, and by spells and magic rhymes, with their incantations, curses, and other diabolical arts, had done grievous harm to both men and beasts. "They even deny with perverse lips, the Faith in which they were baptised." Two Dominican professors of theology, Heinrich Institoris in Upper Germany, and Jacob Sprenger, in many parts of the Rhine Country, had been appointed Papal Inquisitors into all forms of heresy; but as the localities named in the Bull had not been expressly mentioned in these inquisitors' faculties, several persons, clerics as well as laymen, inhabiting these places, had presumptuously taken upon themselves to deny that they had power there to arrest and punish these offenders.

* *Cf.* FINKE, in the Hist. Jahrb., XIV., 341 *seq.*, and JANSSEN-PASTOR, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Volkes, VIII., 495 *seq.*, 507 *seq.* It is to be hoped that my respected colleague H. Finke will continue and complete his work.

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Hence in the plenitude of his Apostolical powers Innocent now commands that these persons are not to be hindered in the exercise of their office towards any individual, whatsoever may be his rank and condition. After this, in accordance with the old Catholic custom, the Pope goes on to exhort the inquisitors to quench superstition by seeing that the Word of God is duly preached to the people in the parish churches, and employing whatever means may seem to them best calculated to secure that they shall be well instructed. He specially commands the Bishop of Strasburg to protect and assist them, to inflict the severest penalties of the Church on all who resist them or put hindrances in their way, and if necessary to call in the assistance of the secular power.*

The Bull contains no dogmatic decision of any sort on witchcraft. It assumes the possibility of demoniacal influences on human beings which the Church has always maintained, but claims no dogmatic authority for its pronouncement on the particular cases with which it was dealing at the moment. The form of the document, which refers only to certain occurrences which had been brought to the knowledge of the Pope, shews that it was not intended to bind any one to believe in the things mentioned in it. The question whether the Pope himself believed in them has nothing to do with the subject. His judgment on this point has no greater importance than attaches to a Papal decree in any other undogmatic question, *e.g.*, on a dispute about a benefice. The Bull introduced no new element into the current beliefs about witchcraft. It is absurd to accuse it of being the cause of the cruel treatment of witches, when we see in the "Sachsenspiegel" that burning alive was already the legal punishment for a witch. All that Innocent VIII. did was to confirm the

* Bull., V., 296 *seq.*

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jurisdiction of the inquisitors over these cases. The Bull simply empowered them to try all matters concerning witchcraft, without exception, before their own tribunals, by Canon-law; a process which was totally different from that of the later trials. Possibly the Bull, in so far as it admonished the inquisitors to be on the alert in regard to witchcraft may have given an impetus to the prosecution of such cases; but it affords no justification for the accusation that it introduced a new crime, or was in any way responsible for the iniquitous horrors of the witch-harrying of later times.*

Unfortunately, nothing of any importance was done under Innocent VIII. for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses.† At the same time Infessura's statement that the Pope had authorised concubinage in Rome is absolutely

* *Cf.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII., 507 *seq.*, where also details are to be found in regard to the witch-hammer.

† Besides renewing the Constitution of Pius II., against the abuse of clerical privileges (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1488, n. 21–22), Innocent VIII. gave various decisions against the abuse of Commendams (see Collecta quorundam privileg. ordin. Cisterciensis opera Johannis Abbatis Cistercii, Divione, 1491) and issued a number of enactments intended to introduce reforms in Italy (*cf.* Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 15, 39), Spain and Portugal (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1485, n. 26; 1487, n. 19–22; 1488, n. 7), England (WILKINS, III., 632 *seq.*; MANSI, Suppl., V., 343 *seq.*), and other countries (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1490, n. 22; CHRISTOPHE, II., 366; Stud. aus d. Benediktinerorden, VIII., 532; THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 520–21; BUSCH, England, I., 239; Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 65). The date of the *Brief of Reform to the Portuguese Episcopate is 1488, May 8, Lib. brev. 20, f. 25b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Two Briefs of Innocent VIII., dated Nov. 2, 1487, and April 3, 1492, in Cod. IV., VI., 1, of the University Library at Genoa, refer to the reform of the clergy in Perugia. On reforms in the Bishopric of Ratisbon, see JANNER, III., 596, the Bull mentioned there is dated Romae, 1490, 18 Cal. Maji A° 6°. The copy is in the Diplomata of the Cathedral Chapter of Ratisbon, 1, 128 in the Episcopal Archives, Ratisbon. See also SINNACHER, Beiträge zur Gesch. von Brixen, VII., 6 *seq.* Brixen, 1830.

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unfounded.* We have documentary evidence that in France, Spain, Portugal and Hungary, he punished this vice with severity.† No proof that he favoured it in Rome has yet been adduced. The mere assertion of an admittedly uncritical chronicler with a strong party bias and given to retailing without examination whatever gossip was current in Rome, could not be accepted in any case without further testimony. In this particular instance it is not difficult to find the probable origin of the calumny. In 1489 it was discovered that a band of unprincipled officials were carrying on a profitable traffic in forged Bulls. Neither entreaties nor bribes were of any avail to induce Innocent to abstain from punishing the crime with the utmost severity. Domenico of Viterbo and Francesco Maldente who were found guilty were hanged, and their bodies burnt in the Campo di Fiore.‡

Now it is notorious that some of the forged Bulls were to this effect,§ and the supposed permission accorded by

* It is characteristic of Infessura's latest editor H. TOMMASINI, that (p. 259) he lets this preposterous observation pass without any comment, whereas all sorts of trifling remarks are honoured with critical notes. He makes no mention of what Raynaldus, ad an. 1490, n. 22, says against Infessura.

† *Cf.* page 350, note †. See in the *Injunction to the Archbishop of Rouen to take measures against clerical concubinage: Nos igitur tales et tantos abusus equo animo tolerare nequeuntes. Lib. brev. 20, f. 167. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 37 *seq.*; INFESSURA, 250. *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 357, and ZINGERLE, Beiträge, XXVII. On the burning of another forger of Bulls in May 1489, see LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest, No. 1251, and Mittheil. d. Oesterreich. Instituts, II., 615 *seq.* This forged Bull is still preserved in the Vienna State Archives.

§ One instance of such a forged Bull may be mentioned which called forth a protest from the Pope. The *Letter to the Archbishop of Rouen of June 10, 1488, mentioned in note † above (*cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad

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Innocent VIII. to the Norwegians to celebrate Mass without wine was also a forgery.*

The existence of such a confederacy for forging Bulls, throws a lurid light on the state of morals in the Papal Court, where Franceschetto Cibò set the worst possible example. The increasing prevalence of the system of purchasing offices greatly facilitated the introduction of untrustworthy officials. The practice may be explained, but cannot be excused by the financial distress with which Innocent VIII. had to contend during the whole of his reign † and the almost universal custom of the time.‡

In the Bull increasing the number of the College of Secretaries from the original six to thirty, want of money, which had obliged the Pope to pawn even the Papal mitre, is openly assigned as the reason for this measure.§ Between them, the new and the old secretaries (amongst the later were Gasparo Biondo, Andreas Trapezuntius, Jacobus Volaterranus, Johannes Petrus Arrivabenus, and Sigismondo de' Conti) brought in a sum of 62,400 gold florins and

an. 1488, n. 7), states that the incumbent of St. Albin in Normandy asserted that he had obtained permission from the Pope to marry; the Archbishop is desired to institute legal proceedings against the delinquent both for the crime and the libel.

* Against this assertion made by Raphael Volaterranus (Geogr., l. VII.) see ASCHBACH, Kirchenlexikon, III., 461; and TRIPEPI, Religione e storia o tre pontefici e tre calumnie. Roma, 1872.

† *Cf.* CAPPELLI, 52; CECCONI, Boccolino Guzzoni, 140, 194 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 206 *seq.*, 213, 262; see *ibid.*, 232 *seq.*, for the expenses caused by the contest with Naples. Numberless Briefs deplore the terrible dearth of money. *Cf.* Hist. Jahrb., VI., 455; *Brief of Aug. 2, 1486 to Bologna (State Archives, Bologna); see also *Lib. brev. 19, f. 392, 406, 414. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) A document on the relations between the Fugger family and the Papal Court in the year 1487, in Mittheil. d. Ver. f. Gesch. v. Nürnberg, 1890.

‡ See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 48, ed. 3.

§ Bull., V., 330 *seq.*

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received in return certain privileges and a share in various taxes. Innocent VIII. also created the College of Piombatori with an entrance fee of 500 gold florins. Even the office of Librarian to the Vatican was now for sale.* No one can fail to see the evils to which such a state of things must give rise. Sigismondo de' Conti closes his narrative of the increase in the number of secretaries with the words; "Henceforth this office which had been hitherto bestowed as a reward for industry, faithfulness, and eloquence, became simply a marketable commodity.† Those who had thus purchased the new offices endeavoured to indemnify themselves out of other people's pockets. These greedy officials whose only aim was to get as much for themselves as possible out of the churches with which they had to do, were naturally detested in all countries, and the most determined opponents of reform.‡ The corruptibility of all the officials increased to an alarming extent, carrying with it general insecurity and disorder in Rome, since any criminal who

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 248–49; INFESSURA, 230; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 39 *seq.*; TANGL, in Mittheil. d. Instituts, XIII., 75; Arch. d. Soc. Rom, XII., 15 *seq.*, and a *Letter from Bonfrancesco Arlotti, dat. Rome, Feb. 21, 1488: La S^ta^ di N. S^re^ a questi dì per liberarse da certi debiti et interesse, premissa matura consultatione, ha venduto l'intrata del suo secretariato ch' è in expeditione de brevi et bolle che passano per camera cum certi altri menicoli adiuncti per 62^m^ et 400 ducati partiti fra XXX. secretari novamenti creati. (State Archives, Modena.) In regard to the Auditors of the Rota the number of whom had been fixed by Sixtus IV. in 1472 at twelve, Innocent VIII. in 1485 decided that the office could not be held with a bishopric that was not *in partibus infidelium*. Thus the whole of the honorarium for this service was reserved for the members of the Roman Court; see HINSCHIUS, Kirchenrecht, I., 398–99. On the post of segretario intimo created by Innocent, see PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 4.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 40; DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 221.

‡ DÖLLINGER, Kirchengesch., 357.

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had money could secure immunity from punishment.* The conduct of some members of the Pope's immediate circle even, gave great scandal. Franceschetto Cibò was mean and avaricious, and led a disorderly life "which was doubly unbecoming in the son of a Pope. He paraded the streets at night with Girolamo Tuttavilla, forced his way into the houses of the citizens for evil purposes, and was often driven out with shame." In one night Franceschetto lost 14,000 ducats to Cardinal Riario and complained to the Pope that he had been cheated. Cardinal de La Balue also lost 8000 to the same Cardinal in a single evening.†

In order to obtain the means for the gratification of such passions as these, or worse, the worldly-minded Cardinals were always on the watch to maintain or increase their power.

This explains the stipulation in the election capitulation that the number of the Sacred College was not to exceed twenty-four. Innocent VIII. however did not consider himself bound to observe this condition, and already in 1485 we hear of his intention of creating new Cardinals. The College refused its consent,‡ and the opposition of the older Cardinals was so violent and persistent,§ that some years passed before the Pope was able to carry out his purpose.‖ In the interval as many as nine of the old Cardinals had

* *Cf.* INFESSURA, 237 *seq.*, 242 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 283 ed., 2., points out that all the other cities in Italy were in the same case.

† REUMONT, Rom, III., 1, 197 *seq.*; and LORENZO, II., 402, ed. 2.

‡ **Despatch from J. P. Arrivabene, dat. Rome, March 16, 1485. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Despatch of Arrivabene, dat. Rome, Feb. 17, 1486, *loc. cit.*

‖ On the negotiations regarding the creation of new Cardinals in the years 1487 and 1488, see BUSER, Lorenzo, 73 *seq.*, and a *Letter from Arlotti, dat. Rome, Nov. 29, 1488. State Archives, Modena.

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died; in 1484, Philibert Hugonet (September 12),* Stefano Nardini (October 22), Juan Moles (November 21); in 1485, Pietro Foscari (September) and Juan de Aragon; in 1486, Thomas Bourchier (June) and the good Gabriel Rangoni (September 27); in 1488, Arcimboldi and Charles de Bourbon (September 13).†

Though, in one respect, these deaths facilitated the creation of new Cardinals, on the other, great difficulties were caused by the urgent demands of the various Powers for the promotion of their candidates.‡ In the beginning of March 1489 the negotiations were at last brought to a conclusion, and on the 9th of the month five new cardinals were nominated. Two of these, the Grand-Master of the Knights of St. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Andre d'Espinay, were absent. The three who were on the spot, Lorenzo Cibò (son of the Pope's brother Maurizio), Ardicino della Porta of Novara, and Antoniotto

* In a *Letter from G. A. Vespucci, of Sept. 13, 1486, which says *Heri da nocte morì el Revmo Carle di Matiscon (State Archives, Florence, F. 39, f. 368), the date differs from that in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 90. There exists a rare contemporaneous impression, Oratio in funere domini r. Card. Matisconensis (*s. l. et a.* 4°) by A. Lollius.

† With BURCHARDI Diarium, I., passim, *cf.* PANVINIUS, 329 *seq.*, and CIACONIUS, III., 146, who, however, is not always accurate; see also BERNAYS, P. Martyr, 6, and BATTAGGIA, Fr. G. Rangoni, 21–26. Venezia, 1881.

‡ **Report of J. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, Dec. 17, 1488. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the insistence of the King of England that the Red Hat should be bestowed on his Lord Chancellor, John Morton, see BROWN, I., 537, and GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 6. In the beginning of 1490, Callimachus made great efforts to obtain the cardinalate for the sixth and youngest son of Casimir of Poland, who had been elected to the Bishopric of Cracow by the Chapter of that Cathedral in 1488, but he was unsuccessful; ZEISSBERG, Polnische Geschichtschreibung, 369. A later request to the same effect from Frederick III., also failed. *Cf.* LICHNOWSKY, VIII., Regest. No. 1598.

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Pallavicini of Genoa, received their Red Hats at once. Three others, Maffeo Gherardo of Venice, Federigo Sanseverino (son of Count Robert), and Giovanni de' Medici were reserved *in petto.**

Some of the new Cardinals, as Ardicino della Porta, were fit and worthy men,† which made it all the sadder that the natural son of Innocent's brother, and the boy Giovanni de' Medici should have been added to their ranks. Raffaele de Volterra severely blames this open violation of the prescriptions of the Church, and the Annalist Raynaldus rightly endorses his judgment.‡

Giovanni de' Medici, Lorenzo's second son, was then only in his fourteenth year; he was born December 11, 1475. His father had destined him for the Church at an age at which any choice on his part was out of the question, and confided his education to distinguished scholars such as Poliziano and Demetrius Chalkondylas.

At seven years old he received the tonsure, and the chase after rich benefices at once began. Lorenzo in his notes details these proceedings with appalling candour. In 1483, before he had completed his eighth year, Giovanni was presented by Louis XI. to the Abbacy of Font Douce in the Bishopric of Saintes. Sixtus IV. confirmed this

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 332 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 326 *seq.*; SANUDO, Vite, 1244 *seq.*; PANVINIUS, 328–9; CARDELLA, 229 *seq.*; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 236 *seq.*; *Ardicino della Porta writes, ex urbe 9 Martii 1489, to Lorenzo de' Medici: Nuntiamus eidem nos ambos (Ardicino and Giovanni de' Medici) hodie ad cardinalatus dignitatem assumptos fuisse. State Archives, Florence, F. 46, f. 557.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 327 *seq.*

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1489, n. 19. The evil effect of Giovanni's elevation was at once apparent in the efforts which from that moment the Ferrarese Ambassador began to make to obtain the purple for the youthful Ippolito d'Este. **Report from Arlotti, dat. Rome, March 14, 1489. State Archives, Modena.

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nomination, declared him capable of holding benefices and made him a Protonotary Apostolic. Henceforth "whatever good things in the shape of a benefice, commendam, rectorship, fell into the hands of the Medici, was given to Lorenzo's son." In 1484 he was already in possession of the rich Abbey of Passignano, and two years later was given the venerable Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino *in commendam.** But even this was not enough for Lorenzo, who with indefatigable persistency besieged the Pope and Cardinals to admit the boy into the Senate of the Church. He did not scruple to represent Giovanni's age as two years more than it really was.† Innocent VIII. resisted for a long time, but finally gave way; and he was nominated with the stipulation that he was to wait three years before he assumed the insignia of the cardinalate or took his seat in the College. Lorenzo found this condition extremely irksome, and, in the beginning of 1490, instructed his Ambassador to do everything in his power to get the time shortened. The Pope, however, who wished Giovanni to devote the time of probation to the study of Theology and Canon-law, was inexorable, and Lorenzo had to wait till the full period had expired. When, at last, the day for his son's elevation arrived he was too ill to be able to assist at any of the ceremonial services.‡ The moment they were concluded the young Cardinal started for Rome,§ where great preparations were being made for his reception.‖ On March 22, 1492, the new Cardinal Deacon of S^ta^ Maria

* REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 361 *seq.*, ed. 2; TOSTI, Monte Cassino, III., 199; CAPPELLI, 65.

† ROSCOE, Leo X., App., 2 *seq.*; BUSER, Lorenzo, 73 *seq.*

‡ ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 37 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, II., 400 *seq.*, ed. 2.

§ DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 278.

‖ *Cf.* *Despatch from Boccaccio, dat. Rome, March 21, 1492. State Archives, Modena.

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in Dominica entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo; on the following day the Pope admitted him, with the customary ceremonies, to the Consistory.* The General of the Camaldolese, Pietro Delfino, says that the bearing and demeanour of the young Cardinal made a favourable impression upon all present, and that he seemed more mature than could have been expected at his age.† Lorenzo at once wrote to his son an admirable letter of advice and warning, displaying not only great political sagacity and knowledge of human nature, but the Christian faith and sentiment to which he had returned at the close of his life. It is touching to read the earnest exhortations to the young man to lead "an honourable, exemplary and virtuous life" which seemed especially needed by one going to reside in a great city which had become "a very focus of all that was evil." There would be no lack of "bad counsellors, seducers and envious men," who would endeavour to "drag you down into the abyss into which they themselves have fallen. Counting upon your youth they will expect to find this an easy task. Thus it behoves you to set yourself to prove that this hope is unfounded, and all the more because the College of Cardinals is at this moment so poor in men of worth. I remember the days when it was full of learned and virtuous men, and theirs is the example for you to follow. For the less your conduct resembles that of those who now compose it, the more beloved and respected will you be. You must equally avoid the Scylla of sanctimoniousness and the Charybdis of

* See in addition to BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 454 *seq.*, the letter of Delfino, cited in the following note and that of Giov. de' Medici in ROSCOE, App., 17 *seq.*; J. L. Cataneo's **Report, dat. Rome, March 27, 1492, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Letter of P. Delfino, in ROSCOE, App., 16, and in BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 557-9.

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profanity. You should study to be moderate in all things, and avoid everything in your demeanour and in your words that might annoy or wound others, and especially not make a parade of austerities or a strict life. Your own judgment, when matured by experience, will instruct you better how to carry out my advice than any detailed counsels that I could give you at present.

"You will have no difficulty in understanding how much depends on the personality and example of a Cardinal. If the Cardinals were such as they ought to be, the whole world would be the better for it; for they would always elect a good Pope and thus secure the peace of Christendom. Endeavour, therefore, to be such that it would be well for all if the rest were like you. Be careful in all your intercourse with the Cardinals and other persons of high rank, to be guarded and reserved, so as to keep your judgments cool and unswayed by the passions of others, for many act irrationally, because their aims are illicit. Keep your conscience clear by avoiding in your conversation anything that could be injurious to others. I think this is of the first importance for you, for if any one from passion thinks he has a grudge against you, it is much easier for him to change his mind if there is no real ground of offence. It will be best for you, in this your first sojourn in Rome, to make much more use of your ears than of your tongue.

"To-day I have given you up entirely to God and to His Holy Church. Be therefore a worthy priest, and act so as to convince all who see you that the well-being and honour of the Church and the Holy See are more to you than anything else in the world. If you keep this steadfastly before you, opportunities will not be wanting for being of use both to this city and to our family; for to be united with the Church is advantageous to the city, and you must be the

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bond of union between the two, and the welfare of our house depends on that of Florence. Though the future must always remain impenetrable, yet I am confident that if you are constant in generously pursuing the good of the Church, we shall not fail to find means to secure ourselves on both sides.

"You are the youngest member of the College, not only of the present College, but the youngest that has ever as yet been made a Cardinal. You should, therefore, in all that you have to do with your colleagues be observant and respectful, and keep yourself in the background in the Papal Chapels and Consistories, or in deputations. You will soon learn which among them are deserving of esteem. You must avoid both being and seeming to be intimate with those whose conduct is irregular. In conversation keep to generalities as far as you can. In regard to festivities, I think it will be prudent for you to keep rather under the mark than to run any risk of exceeding what is permissible.

"Spend your money rather on keeping a well-appointed stable and servants of a superior class than on pomp and show. Endeavour to lead a regular life, and gradually get your household into strict order,—a thing which cannot be done immediately where both master and servant are new. Silks and jewels are for the most part unsuitable for you, but you should possess some valuable antiques and handsome books, and your circle should be rather select and learned than numerous. Also, it is better for you to entertain your friends at home than to dine out often; but in this matter you should follow a middle course. Let your food be simple and take plenty of exercise; many in your present position bring great sufferings on themselves by imprudence. This position is one which is both secure and exalted, and thus it often happens that those who have suc-

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ceeded in attaining it become careless and think they can now do as they like, without fear of consequences, whereby both it and their health are imperilled. In regard to this point I recommend you to use all possible caution, and to err rather on this side than on that of over-confidence.

"Let it be your rule of life to rise early. Setting aside the advantage of the practice to your health, it gives you time to get through the business of the day and to fulfil your various obligations, the recitation of the office, study, audiences, and whatever else has to be done. There is another practice which is also very necessary for a person in your position, namely, always, and especially now that you are just beginning, to call to mind in the evening what will be the work of the day following, so that you may never be unprepared for your business. If you speak in the Consistory, it seems to me, considering your youth and inexperience, that it will be in all cases best and most becoming for you to adhere to the wise judgment of the Holy Father. You will be often pressed to speak to the Pope about this thing or that, and to make requests. Make it your rule in these early days to make as few of these as possible, so as not to be burdensome to him; for he is disposed by nature to give most to those who are least clamorous. It will be useful to be on the watch to say nothing that would annoy him, but rather to tell him things that will give him pleasure; while modesty in preferring requests corresponds best with his own disposition, and puts him in a better humour. Take care of your health."*

Lorenzo de' Medici's low estimate of the College of Cardinals in the time of Innocent VIII. was unfortunately only too well founded. There still remained, no doubt, some good men in the Senate of the Church, but they were

* FABRONIUS, II., 308 *seq.*; REUMONT, II., 406 *seq.*, ed. 2.

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quite borne down by the worldly majority; Marco Barbo, one of the leaders of the nobler party, had died in the Spring of 1491; his death, says one of his contemporaries, was a great loss to the Holy See and to the whole of Christendom.*

Of the worldly Cardinals, Ascanio Sforza, Riario, Orsini, Sclafenatus, Jean de La Balue, Giuliano della Rovere, Savelli, and Rodrigo Borgia were the most prominent. All of these were deeply infected with the corruption which prevailed in Italy amongst the upper classes in the age of the Renaissance. Surrounded in their splendid palaces, with all the most refined luxury of a highly-developed civilisation, these Cardinals lived the lives of secular princes, and seemed to regard their ecclesiastical garb simply as one of the adornments of their rank. They hunted, gambled, gave sumptuous banquets and entertainments, joined in all the rollicking merriment of the carnival-tide,† and allowed themselves the utmost licence in morals; this was specially the case with Rodrigo Borgia. His uncle, Calixtus III., had made him a Cardinal and Vice-Camerlengo while he was still very young, and he had accumulated benefices to an extent which gave him a princely income. In the time of Sixtus IV. he was already, according to d'Estouteville, the wealthiest member of the College of Cardinals‡. One of his contemporaries describes him as a fine-looking man and a brilliant cavalier, cheery and genial in manner, and winning and fluent in conversation; irresistibly attractive to women. His immoral courses brought upon him a severe rebuke from

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 35.

† BURCKHARDT, II., 163, ed. 3. On the corruption amongst the upper classes, see *supra*, p. 114 *seq.*

‡ JACOBUS VOLATERRANUS, 130. After d'Estouteville's death he was certainly richer than any other Cardinal. See DE ROSSI, Ricordanze, 279.

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Pius II.* But nothing had any effect. Even after he had received priest's orders, which took place in August 1468, and when he was given the Bishopric of Albano, which he afterwards exchanged in 1476 for that of Porto, he still would not give up his dissolute life; to the end of his days he remained the slave of the demon of sensuality.

From the year 1460 Vanozza de Cataneis, born of Roman parents in 1442, was his acknowledged mistress. She was married three times; in 1474 to Domenico of Arignano; in 1480 to a Milanese, Giorgio de Croce; and in 1486 to a Mantuan, Carlo Canale, and died in Rome on the 26th of November, 1518, aged 76. The names of the four children whom she bore to the Cardinal are inscribed on her tomb in the following order :—Cæsar, Juan, Jofré, and Lucrezia.†

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 452 *seq.* (Engl. trans.), where also will be found some observations on Rodrigo's modern apologists. I have not mentioned the name of Nemeč amongst these, because he himself acknowledges (p. 38) that in his account of Rodrigo's manner of life he has relied entirely on Ollivier, who is now wholly discredited. Douais' article in the periodical La Controverse: Les débats récents sur la vie privée d' Alexandre VI., which agrees in all points with L'ÉPINOIS, Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXIX. (1881), 357 *seq.*, contains some very good remarks on Alexander's apologists.

† This inscription, originally in Sta Maria del Popolo, has disappeared from thence, like many others, but has been preserved in a collection of MSS. It is absurd to doubt its genuineness, as Ollivier does (REUMONT, in Bonner Literaturblatt, V., 690). It runs thus :—

Vanotiae Cathanae Cesare Valentiae Joane Cädiae.
Jofrido Scylatii et Lucretia Ferrariae ducib. filiis nobili
Probitate insigni religione eximia pari et aetate et
Prudentia optime de xenodochio Lateranen. meritae
Hieronymus Picus fideicomiss. procur. ex test. pos.
Vix. an. LXXVI. m. IV., d. XIII., obiit anno MDXVIII., XXVI. No.

FORCELLA, Iscriz., I., 335. Vanozza is the diminutive of Giovanna, as Paluzzo is of Paolo; according to Jovius, in her later days she strove to make reparation for her sins by her piety. See, in regard to her,

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Besides these, Cardinal Rodrigo had other children,—a son, Pedro Luis, certainly born before 1460,* and a daughter, Girolama, but apparently by a different mother.† Rodrigo turned to his Spanish home for the careers of these children, who were legitimised one after another. In 1485 he obtained the Dukedom of Gandia for Pedro Luiz; in the deed of King Ferdinand he is described as the son of noble parents, and he is stated to have distinguished himself by his military acquirements and to have rendered valuable services in the war against the King of Granada. Pedro was betrothed to the daughter of Ferdinand's uncle and major-domo, Donna Maria Enriquez; in 1488 he came to Rome, and in August fell sick there and died, certainly before the year 1491. He left all that he possessed to his brother Juan, the best of Rodrigo's sons, born in 1474, who eventually married his brother's intended bride.‡

The Cardinal's third son Cæsar, born in 1475,§ was

GREGOROVIUS, VII., 305 *seq.*, ed. 3, and Lucrezia, 10 *seq.*; HENRI DE L'ÉPINOIS, Alexandre VI., in Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXIX. (1881), 379 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, IX., 1, 80 *seq.*; XVII., 324 *seq.*, 510; and Arch. d. Soc. Rom, VII., 402 *seq.*

* This may be gathered from the deed of legitimation granted by Sixtus IV., Nov. 5, 1486, in which Pedro Luis is called "adolescens," and described as the issue de tunc Diacono Cardinali et soluta, and also from another document of the year 1483, according to which Pedro Luis must have been at least twenty years of age; THUASNE, Burchardi Diarium, III.; Suppl. à l'App., p. III. *seq.*; OLIVER, 108, thinks that P. Luis must have been born about 1458, *cf.* 429.

† CITTADELLA, Albero, n. 32 and p. 49 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 18; REUMONT, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 330.

‡ HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 50 *seq.*; OLIVER, 437 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*

§ REUMONT, in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 327, places the birth of Cæsar in 1473; THUASNE, Burchardi Diarium, I., 420, thinks that he was born in 1475; while GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 12, and YRIARTE, I., 36, maintain that it was in 1476; L'ÉPINOIS, Alexandre VI., 371 *seq.*, shews that none of these dates are probable, and that 1475 seems more

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from childhood, without any regard to his aptitude or wishes, destined to the Church. Sixtus IV. on 1st October, 1480, dispensed him from the canonical impediment for the reception of Holy Orders, caused by his being born out of wedlock, because he was the son of a Cardinal and his mother was a married woman.* At the age of seven years Cæsar was made a Protonotary, and was appointed to benefices in Xativa and other cities in Spain, and under Innocent VIII. to the Bishopric of Pampeluna.† Jofré also, born in 1480 or 1481, was intended for the Church‡; he is mentioned as a Canon, Prebendary, and Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Valencia. Lucrezia, born in 1478,§ seemed, like her brothers, destined to make her home in her father's native land, for in 1491 she was betrothed to a Spaniard.

The mother of these children, Vanozza de Cataneis, possessed substantial property in Rome, and a house on the Piazza Branca, close to the palace which Rodrigo Borgia had built for himself. This mansion, now the Palazzo Sforza-

likely to be the correct one; HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 53, is in favour of 1474–5; OLIVER finally decides on 1475. See 409, and *cf.* 420, 427, 434, and this agrees with a document dat. Aug. 31, 1492, which has been discovered in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Appendix, N. 15.

* De Episcopo Cardinali genitus et conjugata; L'ÉPINOIS, 373; OLIVER, 420.

† OLIVER, 427 *seq.*, and *infra*, Appendix, N. 15.

‡ *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 378, and the document of Aug. 31, 1492, which I found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Appendix, Nos. 17 and 19.

§ GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 12 (13 in ed. 3), considers it certain that Lucrezia was born in 1480. This view, which is shared by REUMONT in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 331, and LEONETTI, seems proved by L'ÉPINOIS, 376, to be incorrect. CITTADELLA also, Albero genealogico, e di memorie sulla famiglia Borgia, 34, and the Civ. Catt., 3 Serie, IX., 724, hold to the year 1478.

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Cesarini, was considered the finest, not only in Rome, but in the whole of Italy.*

In the reign of Innocent VIII. Jacopo da Volterra writes of Cardinal Borgia: "He has good abilities and great versatility, is fluent in speech, and though his literary attainments are not of the first order, he can write well. He is naturally shrewd, and exceedingly energetic in all business that he takes in hand. He is reputed to be very rich, and his influence is great on account of his connections with so many kings and princes. He has built for himself a splendid and commodious palace midway between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Campo di Fiore. His revenues from his numerous benefices and abbeys in Italy and Spain and his three bishoprics of Valencia, Porto, and Cartagena are enormous; while his post of Vice-Camerlengo is said also to bring him in 8000 gold ducats yearly. He possesses immense quantities of silver plate, pearls, hangings, and vestments embroidered in gold and silk, and learned books of all sorts, and all of such splendid quality as would befit a king or a pope. I pass over the sumptuous adornments of his litters and trappings for his horses, and all his gold and silver and silks, together with his magnificent wardrobe and his hoards of treasure.†

We obtain a highly interesting glimpse into the amazing luxury of Cardinal Borgia's palace from a hitherto unknown letter of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, dated 22nd of

* Gasp. Veronen. in MURATORI, III., 2, 1036; ROSMINI, Storia di Milano, IV., 32; CANCELLIERI, in Effem. Lett., 1821; RATTI, I., 84 *seq.*; and LEONETTI, I., 151 *seq.* Gregorovius is mistaken in saying that the Borgia Palace was not built till 1482. The authorities cited above shew that it was completed essentially in the reign of Paul II. *Cf.* the document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 13.

† JACOB. VOLATERRANUS, 130; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 17, who both here and in his 3rd ed. confounds Chartaginensis with Carthago.

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October, 1484.* On that day Borgia, who, as a rule, was not a lover of the pleasures of the table, gave a magnificent banquet in his palace, at which, besides Ascanio, three other Cardinals were included amongst the guests, one of these being Giuliano della Rovere. The whole palace was splendidly decorated. In the great entrance-hall the walls were covered with hangings representing various historical events. A smaller room opened into this, also hung with exquisite Gobelin tapestry. The carpets on the floor were selected to harmonise with the rest of the furniture, of which the most prominent piece was a sumptuous state-couch upholstered in red satin, with a canopy over it. This room also contained the Cardinal's credenza, a chest surmounted by a slab, on which was ranged for exhibition an immense quantity of table plate and drinking vessels in gold and silver, while the lower part was a marvel of exquisitely finished work. This apartment was flanked by two others, one of which was hung with satin and carpeted, the divan in it being of Alexandrian velvet; while in the other, still more splendid, the couch was covered with gold brocade and magnificently decorated. The cloth on the central table was of velvet, and the chairs which surrounded it were exquisitely carved.†

Ascanio Sforza, created a Cardinal from political motives in 1484, by Sixtus IV. and loaded with benefices, came next to Rodrigo in wealth and love of show. He was an ardent sportsman, and "Rome stood amazed both at the splendour of his Court and the number of horses, dogs, and

* See the text in Appendix, N. 2, from the original which I found in the Milanese State Archives.

† This picture of the culture of the age has the advantage over GREGOROVIUS' description in Lucrezia, 15 *seq.*, of the house of Vanozza. It is the account of an eye-witness, and not the more or less fanciful composition of a writer living four hundred years later.

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hawks, which he kept. The enormous income which he drew from his many benefices and large temporal possessions, hardly sufficed to meet his boundless expenditure. The Roman annalist says he dares not attempt to describe the feast which Ascanio gave in the latter days of Innocent VIII. in honour of Ferrantino the Prince of Capua, Ferrante's grandson, lest he should be mocked as a teller of fairy tales." His friends justly praised his talent for diplomacy and politics. He had also a taste for literature and art, wrote Latin and Italian poems, and was a generous patron of learned men. It should also be mentioned that Ascanio, in dispensing his gifts, was not unmindful of the poor.* From a moral point of view Cardinal Federigo Sanseverino† and the wealthy Battista Orsini,‡ were not much better than Rodrigo Borgia.

Another of the worldly-minded Cardinals was the astute and ambitious La Balue who, since 1485, had returned to reside in Rome. His two master passions were politics and the accumulation of riches. In spite of all the vicissitudes of his tempestuous life, when he died in 1491 he was worth 100,000 ducats.§

Equally worldly was Giuliano della Rovere, undoubtedly the strongest personality in the College of Cardinals. Politics and war were the main interests in his life. He "bore the stamp of the 15th Century to which he belonged,

* REUMONT, III., 1., 199 *seq.*, 263; Arch. St. Lomb., II., 379 *seq.*; RATTI, I., 78 *seq.*, gives way too much to his tendency to take a favourable view.

† *Cf.* Costabile's *Despatch dat. Rome, 1508, March 4. State Archives, Modena.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 264. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustiniani, I., 309.

§ *Cf.* the very complete monograph of FORGEOT, 125 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, in which the Cardinal's character is impartially and correctly estimated.

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and carried into the next age its strength of will, its impetuosity in action, and its largeness in aim and idea. He was proud, ambitious, self-confident and hot-tempered, but never small or mean.* He paid no more regard to his vow of celibacy than the majority of his colleagues; but through all his worldliness there was in him a certain seriousness, a capacity for something better, which was destined to shew itself in later years.† He was a noble patron of Art, and maintained his interest in it through all the stormiest episodes of his life.‡

Between the wealth acquired by the accumulation of benefices and foreign bishoprics, and their connections with so many powerful kings and princes, the influence of the Cardinals had become so great that there was manifest danger of the subjection of the Papacy to the Sacred College. The power of Giuliano della Rovere, during the reign of Innocent VIII. and the high-handed manner in which he exercised it, went quite beyond the bounds of what was permissible. During the war of the Neapolitan Barons, he, on his own authority, had a Courier sent by the Duke of Milan, arrested, and his papers taken from him. The Milanese, Florentine, and Ferrarese Ambassadors of that day complained that two Popes were more than they could do with; one was quite enough.§

These too-human princely Cardinals are likened by a

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 19 *seq*, ed. 3.

† Giuliano della Rovere had three daughters (see LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 159), also SANUTO, VII., 32 and a *Despatch from the Mantuan Ambassador, dat. Rome, Jan. 25, 1506. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The other accusations brought against him by his bitterest political opponents are not proved. See SYBELS Hist. Zeitschrift, XXXVII., 305, and our Vol. VI., Book 2 (Engl. trans.).

‡ MÜNTZ, Raphael, 269 *seq*.

§ Concerning this influence, see *supra*, p. 242. For the Ambassadors' remonstrance, see CAPPELLI, 48.

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modern historian to the old Roman Senators. "Most of them, like the Pope, were surrounded by a Curia of their own and a circle of nephews. They went about in martial attire and wore swords elaborately decorated. As a rule, each Cardinal had several hundred servants and retainers living in the Palace, and their number might be on occasion augmented by hired *bravi*. This gave them a following among the populace who depended on the Cardinals' Courts for their livelihood. Most of these Princes of the Church had their own factions, and they vied with each other in the splendour of their troops of horsemen, and of the triumphal cars filled with masques, musicians, and actors, which paraded the streets during the Carnival, and on all festal occasions. The Cardinals of that day quite eclipsed the Roman nobles."*

The encouragement which they gave to Literature and Art, the patronage of which was looked upon as an indispensable adornment of greatness in the age of the Renaissance, is the one redeeming spot in the lives of these Princes of the Church, which in all other ways were so scandalously out of keeping with their spiritual character. It was not strangers only who were scandalised by the behaviour of these unworthy priests;† many born Italians, especially the mission preachers,‡ complain bitterly of them. The most energetic and outspoken of all was the Domini-

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 280, ed. 3; ARTAUD, 166. The passage about the Carnival revels is on p. 265, in the new edition of INFESSURA.

† Men were not wanting to whom these shameful courses became an occasion for altogether rejecting the institution of the Papacy. A Canon of Bamberg, Dr. Theodorich Morung, who had gone to Rome on some affairs of the Diocese in the spring of 1485, on his return home expressed himself in this sense, see KRAUSSOLD, Th. Morung, II., 76 (Bayreuth, 1878), and Suppl., VII.; also J. SCHNEIDER, in the Archiv für Gesch. v. Oberfranken, XVII. (1888), 5 *seq.*

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 175.

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can, Girolamo Savonarola. In his sermons, but more especially in his poems, he paints a gruesome picture of the corruptions in the Church, and prophesies terrible manifestations of the wrath of God in the near future.*

Anticipations of impending judgments prevailed widely during this period. Many prophets appeared, and predictions of the complete overthrow of all existing institutions, and the condign punishment of the corrupt clergy, were passed from mouth to mouth.† One appeared in Rome in 1491.

A contemporary writer describes the preacher as poorly clad and only carrying in his hand a small wooden cross, but very eloquent and well educated. He collected the people in the public squares and announced in prophetical tones that in the current year there would be much tribulation, and Rome would be filled with the sound of weeping. In the year following the distress would spread over the whole country; but in 1493 the Angel Pope would appear (Angelicus Pastor), who would possess no temporal power, and would seek nothing but the good of souls.‡

The prophecies of Savonarola, however, produced far more impression than any of these, and the extraordinary influence of his sermons and writings is, for the most part, due to them. Many of them had their origin in visions, which he thought had been granted to him. In the Advent of 1492 he had a dream which he firmly held to be a Divine revelation. "He saw in the middle of the sky a hand

* SAVONAROLA'S poem De ruina ecclesiae (1475), to be found in an edition by Guasti, of only 250 copies, entitled Poesie di Fra G. Savonarola, 10–15 (Firenze, 1862), is full of appalling descriptions. *Cf. supra*, p. 182.

† *Cf.* MALIPIERO, 372. The verses here given are older. The text in a Vatican MS. is not the same. See BERGER, in the Bibl. de l'École d'Athènes et de Rome, VI., 1–2 (1879).

‡ INFESSURA-TOMMASINI, 264–5.

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bearing a sword, on which these words were inscribed—Gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter." He heard many clear and distinct voices promising mercy to the good, threatening chastisement to the wicked, and proclaiming that the wrath of God was at hand. Then, suddenly the sword was turned towards the earth ; the sky darkened ; swords, arrows and flames rained down ; terrible thunderclaps were heard ; and all the world was a prey to war, famine and pestilence." *

* VILLARI, Savonarola, 165-6 (Engl. trans.).

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BOOK II.

ALEXANDER VI. 1492–1503.

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CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CORONATION OF ALEXANDER VI.—BEGINNINGS OF NEPOTISM.—DISPUTE WITH FERRANTE OF NAPLES, AND RECONCILIATON.—NOMINATION OF CARDINALS IN SEPTEMBER, 1493.

DURING the long sickness of Innocent VIII., there had been much disorder in Rome, and the approaching vacancy of the Papal throne was anticipated with some apprehension;* but the stringent precautionary measures adopted by the Cardinals and the Roman Magistrates proved sufficient, and all went off quietly enough.† One of the Envoys reports, August 7, 1492, "It is true that a few were killed and others wounded, especially during the time that the Pope was *in extremis*, but afterwards things went better."‡ Nevertheless the situation was sufficiently critical to make the Cardinals anxious to get the funeral over as soon as possible. During the interval Raffaele Riario, as Camerlengo, was an able and energetic ruler. Jean Villier de La

* *La parte Orsina e Colonnese tutta in arme si levo secondo l'usanza a guardia di Roma e per defender ciascuna se seguiva alcuna occisione. PARENTI, Cod. Magliabech., XXV., 2, 519, f. 133b. (National Library, Florence.) See SANUDO, 1249; L. Chieregato in Sigismondo de' Conti, II., 94, and Atti Mod., I., 429. Against Infessura, see CIPOLLA, 671, n. 1.

† See Florentine Despatches in THUASNE, I., 570 *seq.*, 573 *seq.*, 575.

‡ *Vero è che le (l'è) stato amazato qualche persona e feriti alcuni altri maxime in quello tempo chel papa era in quello extremo: poi le cose tuta via sono asetate meglio. Despatch of Brognolo, dat. Rome, 1492, August 7. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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Grolaie, Abbot of St. Denis, for whom a few years later, Michael Angelo carved his Pietà, was then Governor of Rome.*

The question at once arose whether the two Cardinals, Sanseverino and Gherardo, nominated but not proclaimed by Innocent VIII., would be admitted to the Conclave. The first arrived in Rome on the 24th July and was immediately received into the Sacred College.† Gherardo, who arrived on August 4th, bringing with him a strong letter of recommendation from the Venetian Council of Ten, was acknowledged as Cardinal on the following day. Many prophesied that his white Camaldolese habit would be a passport for him to the supreme dignity.‡

Immediately upon the conclusion of the obsequies § on August 6th, the Conclave began; twenty-three Cardinals

* See *supra*, Introduction, p. 79.

† INFESSURA, 278, and *Letter of Cardinal A. Sforza, dat. Rome, July 26, 1492. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Acta Consist. Alex. VI., Pii III., Jul. II., Leon. X., f. 1. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) This unsigned volume will in future be simply cited as Acta Cons. Besides this, in the Consistorial Archives for the reign of Alexander, are (1) a vol. signed C^2 Acta Consist. 1489–1503, corresponding in all essentials to the one just quoted; (2) another similar vol. marked No. 88: Ex libro relat. Consist. ab initio pontif. Alex. VI.; (3) another giving much fuller details, but only embracing a short period, marked C 303: Liber relat. Consistorii tempore pontificatus f. re. Alex. PP. VI. a die XII. Nov., 1498, usque in diem V. Julii, 1499. INFESSURA, 278, erroneously gives Aug. 1, as the day of Gherardo's arrival. The recommendation from Venice is in BROSCH, Julius II., 312; the prophecy is mentioned by *PARENTI, *loc. cit.* National Library, Florence.

§ The expense of these was considerable. In the Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, we find on the 30th March 1493; *Diversis mercatoribus (Medici, Sauli, Marcelli, Ricasoli, Gaddi, Rabatti) 16,033 ducat. de camera 58 Bolog. pro totidem expositis in pannis et cera et aliis rebus in exequiis pape Innocentii VIII. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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were present in the Sistine Chapel.* The usual address was spoken by the Spanish Bishop, Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. He drew an impressive picture of the melancholy condition of the Church, and exhorted the Assembly to make a good choice and to choose quickly. The foreign Ambassadors and a number of noble Romans undertook the guardianship of the Conclave.†

In view of the failing health of Innocent VIII., the Cabinets of the Italian Powers had for some time been occupied with the probability of a Papal election. In the Milanese State Archives there is an undated memorandum from an Envoy of Sforza, which probably belongs to the beginning of the year 1491, and gives much interesting information. According to it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza seems to have believed that he could reckon with security on seven of the cardinals and probably on four more. His rival, Giuliano della Rovere, had nine on his side; neither, therefore, possessed the necessary majority of two-thirds. The writer of this account thought that Cardinal Ardicino della Porta or the Portuguese Cardinal Costa, most probably the latter, had the best chance.‡

On July 25, 1492, when the death of Innocent VIII.

* HERNGERÖTHER, VIII., 302; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 50, and GREGOROVIUS give respectively 20 and 25 as the number of Cardinals, both wrongly. The number given in the text, in which PAGI, V., 325, NOVAES, VI., 81, HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 15 *seq.*, and SÄGMÜLLER, 116, agree, is placed beyond doubt by the *Acta Consist. of the Consistorial Archives.

† Atti. Mod., I., 429, and ZURITA, V., 14b. Speech of Carvajal in MARTÈNE, Thes., II., 1775 *seq.*; *Cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 27, 9–32. *Regest, 867, f. 73, Secret Archives of the Vatican, shews that J. Burchard also took part in the Conclave.

‡ See Appendix, N. 8, Milanese State Archives. See DESJARDINS, I., 549, on the negotiations concerning the Papal Election in May 1492.

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was hourly expected, the intrigues in regard to the election were at their height. After Costa and Ardicino della Porta, Caraffa and Zeno were most spoken of. Some were for Piccolomini and some again for Borgia. The Florentine Envoy writes, "In regard to these intrigues I will not attempt to enter into details which would only serve to bewilder you and myself, for they are innumerable and change every hour."* The same Envoy, on the 28th July, mentions strenuous efforts on the part of the Roman Barons to influence the election,† and the foreign Powers were equally active. It was currently reported that Charles VIII. of France had paid 200,000 ducats into a bank, and the Republic of Genoa 100,000, in order to secure the election of Giuliano della Rovere.‡ On the strength of this they fully expected that their countryman would be chosen.§

As soon as it became known that the Pope was seriously ill an eager interchange of communications at once commenced between the Italian Powers, but they were unable to come to any agreement. Naples and Milan were at daggers drawn.‖ The King of Naples, made doubly cautious by defeat, was anxious to conceal his views on the important subject as far as possible. On the 24th of July, the Milanese Ambassador at Naples reports that the King had declared that he would not meddle in any way with the Papal election; he had seen what came of that at the making of the last Pope, and would let things take their

* THUASNE, I., 572 *seq.*, 575.

† *Ibid.*, I., 577.

‡ Report of Cavalieri to Eleonora of Aragon, August 6, 1492, in Atti Mod., I., 429.

§ *Anonymous letter dated Genoa, 1492, July 24. Milanese State Archives.

‖ PETRUCELLI, I., 343, and SÄGMÜLLER, 227.

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course at Rome, as far as he was concerned.* All the same, the Ambassador was convinced that Ferrante was busily occupied with the approaching Conclave. In his opinion the King would favour the election of Piccolomini, and Camillo Pandone would be sent to Rome to win over Giuliano della Rovere to his side. Ferrante's letters to his Ambassador, Joviano Pontano, which however have not yet been fully known, throw somewhat more light upon this subject.

From the first of these, dated July 20, it appears that the King favoured the election of Giuliano della Rovere; he commissioned Virginio Orsini, who was in his pay, to promote it, and desired Fabricio and Prospero Colonna secretly to approach Rome.† The second letter in cypher to Pontano bears date July 22. The King here pronounces against the election of Costa and prefers Pietro Gundisalvo de Mendoza; Pontano is told to inform Cardinal Giuliano of this.‡ Giuliano seems to have had the King's entire confidence, and the election of Zeno was only contemplated as an alternative in case that of Giuliano could not be secured. Naples and France, though preparing for a final and decisive hostile encounter, supported meanwhile the same candidate for the Papal Chair.§

Giuliano della Rovere did not want for rivals. An extremely interesting, as yet unprinted report of Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to Eleonora, Duchess

* **Report of A. Stangha, dat. Naples, July 24, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 143.

‡ This letter, which is wanting in Trinchera, is found in NUNZIANTE, Lettere da Pontano, 26–27.

§ SÄGMÜLLER, 116; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56, says expressly: Ferdinandus post Innocentii obitum omnibus machinis est annixus, ut Alexandrum spe pontificatus deiiceret; totus namque incubuit in Julianum Card. S. Petri ad vincula, etc.

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of Ferrara, gives Ardicino della Porta, of the party of Ascanio Sforza, and universally popular on account of his kindly disposition, as the first of these. He puts Caraffa in the second place, Ascanio Sforza in the third, Rodrigo Borgia in the fourth. Of this latter he says, that on account of his connections he is extremely powerful, and able richly to reward his adherents. In the first place, the Vice-chancellorship, which is like a second Papacy, is in his gift; then there are the towns of Civita Castellana and Nepi, an Abbey at Aquila, with a revenue of 1000 ducats, a similar one in Albano, two larger ones in the kingdom of Naples; the Bishopric of Porto, worth 1200 ducats, the Abbey of Subiaco including twenty-two villages, and bringing in 2000 ducats. In Spain he possesses upwards of sixteen bishoprics, and a number of abbeys and other benefices. Besides these, the Bishop mentions as aspirants to the Supreme office the Cardinals Savelli, Costa, Piccolomini, and Michiel, and many also, he adds, speak of Fregoso, Domenico della Rovere and Zeno. All these Cardinals had dismantled their palaces, for on such occasions it often happens that false reports are started to provide an excuse for plundering the house, as is customary when any one is elected Pope. Besides all these, continues the Ferrarese Envoy, the name of Cardinal Giuliano is whispered in secret, and yet after all, only one can be chosen, unless indeed there should be a schism.* A despatch dated August 4, from the Milanese Ambassador, confirms the statement that Ardicino della Porta had good prospects. It says that Giuliano sees that neither he nor Costa are likely to succeed, and that he must therefore support some adherent of Ascanio, and among these Ardicino della Porta is the only satisfactory one. He will

* See the text of this important *Document (which I found in the State Archives at Modena) in the Appendix, N. 9.

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not have Borgia at any price, and Piccolomini is an enemy of his; Ferrante's opposition makes Caraffa impossible; there is a chance, however, that Cardinal della Rovere may prefer Zeno to Ardicino della Porta. The same Ambassador also mentions an interview on the 4th of August between della Rovere and Ascanio in the Sacristy of S. Peter's, in which the former was supposed to have offered the Milanese Cardinal his personal support and that of his friends.*

The situation on the eve of the Conclave seemed to be that Giuliano della Rovere, who was hated for the influence he had exerted over the late Pope and for his French sympathies, had no chance whatever, while the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Ascanio Sforza, favoured by Milan, had good reason to hope for success. The chances were against Borgia because he was a Spaniard, and many of the Italian Cardinals were determined not to elect a foreigner;† but the wealth of the Spanish Cardinal was destined to turn the scales in the Conclave, as the shrewdness of the Ambassador had foreseen.

The Conclave began on August 6th. An election Capitulation was drawn up,‡ and then the contest began. For a long time it remained undecided. On the 10th of August the Florentine Ambassador, who was one of the guards of the Conclave, writes that there had been three scrutinies without result; Caraffa and Costa seemed to have the best chance.§ Both were worthy men, and one, Caraffa, was a

* **Letter of S. Taberna, dated Rome, August 4, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

† CORIO, III., 463. This passage shews that Gregorovius, VII., 300, ed. 3, is wrong.

‡ Florentine Despatch of August 6, in THUASNE, I., 577; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 31, and Cod. XXXII., 242, in the Barberini Library in Rome.

§ I give in Appendix, N. 10, this *Despatch (which strange to say

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man of distinguished abilities. The election of either would have been a great blessing to the Church.* Unfortunately a sudden change came over the whole situation. As soon as Ascanio Sforza perceived that there was no likelihood that he would himself be chosen, he began to lend a willing ear to Borgia's brilliant offers. Rodrigo not only promised him the office of Vice-Chancellor with his own Palace, but in addition to this the Castle of Nepi, the Bishopric of Erlau with a revenue of 10,000 ducats, and other benefices.† Cardinal Orsini was to receive the two

is wanting in Thuasne), from the original in the Florentine State Archives.

* SÄGMÜLLER, 115; as to Caraffa, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, Vol. IV.

† According to INFESSURA, 281, Borgia's Palace was to be given to Orsini, and Nepi to Sclafenati; HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 20 *seq.*, has shewn both these statements to be false; Tommasini, who upholds Infessura in all his misstatements, entirely ignores this; Valori, in his important Despatch of the 12th August 1492, in THUASNE, II., 610, states that A. Sforza received what I have mentioned; *cf.* also Manfredi's Despatch of August 16, in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 26. Valori's statements are corroborated from other sources, as is shewn by HAGEN, 20 *seq.* As, however, the simoniacal character of Alexander's election has of late been frequently questioned (see CERRI, 94, NEMEČ, 81 *seq.*; LEONETTI, and following him, TACHY, in the Revue des Sciences Ecclés., XLV. [Amiens, 1882], 141 *seq.*), or entirely denied (see R. DE SORAGNA in the Rass. Naz., X., [1882] 133), it seems advisable to draw attention to some original documents hitherto unknown. The first of these is Brognolo's *Despatch of Aug. 31, 1492, printed in Appendix, N. 18, in which it is true that A. Sforza is not named. But in FRAKNÓI in the Erlauer Diöcesanblatt, 1883, No. 20, the appointment of Ascanio Sforza to the Bishopric of that place appears [Fraknói is mistaken in regard to the date; according to the *Acta Consist. it took place on Aug. 31, and this agrees with the deed of nomination in *Regest. 772, f. 201b: Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept.] and the other gifts can equally be substantiated. Thus the appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship appears from *Decret Eximia tue Circ. industria, dat. Rom, 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. *Regest. 869, f. 1. See also Cod. XXXV., 94, in the Barberini Library which reads (p. 269b) Lecta et publicata fuit suprascripta Bulla Romae in conc. apost.

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fortified towns of Monticelli and Soriano, the legation of the Marches and the Bishopric of Carthagena;* Cardinal Colonna, the Abbacy of Subiaco with all the surrounding villages;† Savelli, Civita Castellana and the Bishopric of Majorca;‡ Pallavicini, the Bishopric of Pampeluna;§

die lunae 27, mensis Aug., 1492. As to the handing over of the Palace, see Appendix, N. 13. The grant of Nepi is certain, see LEONETTI, I., 61; RATTI, I., 86, whose apology for Ascanio is quite futile. Besides this, Ascanio received (*Regest. 773, f. 15b) two Canonries (dat. Laterani 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. A° 1°); f. 45: the Priorate of a Convent in the Diocese of Calahorra, which belonged to Alexander VI. (D. ut S.); f. 167: an Abbey (D. ut S.) and various other favours, f. 187, 260 and 295, all dated, VII. Cal., Sept. 1492. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See Brognolo's *Despatch of Aug. 31, 1492 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in the Appendix, N. 18; THUASNE, II., 610, and *Regest. 772, f. 88b; Bapt. S. Maria Novae diac. Card. de Ursini creatur in provincia Marchiae Anconit. ac civit., terris, castris et locis Massae Trebariae, etc., nec non Asculi ap. sedis legatus ac pro S. P. et R. E. in temp. et spirit. vicarius generalis. Dat. Romae, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. A° 1°. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) As to Monticelli see HAGEN, 23. Hagen is mistaken in regard to Carthagena, for it appears from *Regest. 772 f. 31, that Orsini obtained the Bishopric as administrator in 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. This is confirmed by the *Acta Consist., 1492, ult. Aug., in the Consistorial Archives.

† See Appendix, N. 18 (*Despatch of Aug. 31), and THUASNE, II., 611.

‡ The Florentine Ambassador merely remarks: Al card. Savello s'è dato Civita Castellana et qualche altra cosa, while Infessura (281) adds, ecclesia S. Mariae Majoris; Tommasini does not perceive that this cannot be true; Hagen explains it by saying he was made Arch-priest of this church, but this also is incorrect; Majoris should be read, Majoricensis. This appears from the *Acta Consist. and from Regest. 772, f. 157, where we find that Joh. Bapt. Card. s. Nic. in carcere received the ecclesia Majoricensis which hitherto had been retained by the Pope, dat. 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept.; *ibid.*, f. 4; grant of a monastery to Card. Savelli on the same day. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See also Appendix, N. 18, *Despatch of Aug. 31.

§ *Regest. 772, f. 27 (1492, *s. d.*) and *Acta Consist. 1492 ult. Aug. Consistorial Archives.

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Giovanni Michiel the suburban Bishopric of Porto;* the Cardinals Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario and Domenico della Rovere, rich abbacies and valuable benefices.† By these simoniacal means, counting his own vote and those of the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Conti who belonged to the Sforza party, Borgia had thus secured 24 votes, and only one more was wanting to complete the majority of two-thirds. This one however was not easy to obtain. The Cardinals Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini and Zeno were not to be won by any promises however brilliant; and the young Giovanni de' Medici held with them.‡ Cardinal Basso followed Giuliano della Rovere, who would not hear of Borgia's election. Lorenzo Cibò also held aloof from these unhallowed transactions.§ Thus

* *Acta Consist., 1492, ult. Aug. and *Regest. 772, f. 55b: Joh. Michaelis received ecclesia Portuen., which hitherto had been retained by the Pope, dat. Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. A° 1°. Thus LEONETTI, I., 61 and HAGEN, 27, require correction. In *Regest. 869 we also find (f. 39): Joh. Episcopo Portuen., commendatur cantoria, dat. Rom, 1492, IV., Non. Sept. A° 1°; *ibid.*, 41; Joh. etc., reservatur can. et praeb. eccl. Feltren., dat. Rom, 1492 (=1493) Prid. Id. Feb. A° 1°.

† Sclafenati, whom HAGEN, 27, could not find to have received any reward, was given the Cistercian Abbey of Ripolta (*Regest. 772, f. 104, dat. 1492, VII. Cal. Sept. See also TRINCHERA, II., 1, 161–162); Sanseverino (VALORI, *loc. cit.*), was given "la casa del Cardinale che fu di Milano con qualche altra cosa." I am able to add a supplement to this from *Regest. 773, f. 206: grant of an Abbey to Sanseverino, dat. Rom, 1492, XIV. Kal. Nov. In the same document, p. 230, there is mention of a favour bestowed on R. Riario (dat. Rom, 1492, tertio Id. Octob.), and *Regest. 772, f. 40b and 43: grant of benefices to R. Riario, dat. Rom, 1492, Prid. Cal. Sept. (see HAGEN, 26). D. della Rovere received a Benedictine Abbey in the Diocese of Turin, dat. 1492, tertio Cal. Octob. *Regest. 772, f. 187. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ JOVIUS, Vitae, II., 39, and HAGEN, 18.

§ HAGEN, *loc. cit.*; WAHRMUND'S view (p. 58) namely that Rovere did not come out empty-handed and was instrumental in securing Borgia's election, is contradicted by all authentic sources.

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Gherardo, now in his ninety-sixth year and hardly in possession of his faculties, alone remained, and he was persuaded by those who were about him to give his vote to Borgia.* The election was decided in the night between the 10th and 11th August, 1492, and in the early morning the window of the Conclave was opened and the Vice-Chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia, was proclaimed Pope as Alexander VI.† The result was unexpected;‡ it was obtained by the rankest simony. Such were the means, as the annalist of the Church says, by which in accordance with the inscrutable counsels of Divine Providence, a man attained to the highest dignity, who in the early days of the Church would not have been admitted even to the lowest rank of the clergy, on account of his immoral life. The days of distress and confusion began for the Roman Church;§ the prophetic words of Savonarola were fulfilled; the sword of the wrath of

* See SANUDO, Duchi di Venezia, 1250 (also HAGEN, 28) and the *Despatches of Vicomercatus of the 18th Aug. 1492 (Milanese State Archives), and of Trotti, 28th Aug. 1492 (State Archives of Modena), which are in Appendix, Nos. 12 and 14.

† Despatch of A. SFORZA, to his brother, Rom, 1492, Aug. 11: Me congratulo cum la Ex. V. (Milanese State Archives, Cart. Gen.) The notary Pietro Merili, says that the election took place: Summo mane ante ortum solis (GORI, Archivio, IV., 242). The Ricordi di Sacchi in TUCCIA, 426, say "All' Aurora." Valori (in BURCHARDI Diarium, ed. Thuasne, II., 1–2), mentions the 10th hour. The Acta Consist., f. 1b say: De mane circa horam undecimam. Consistorial Archives.

‡ Letter of FRANC. TRANCHEDINUS ex Bononia, Aug. 12, 1492: In questa nocte passata circa le VII. hore è portata qui la nova de la creation del moderno pontefice quale è per sorte venuta in lo rmo Monre Vice-cancellero, preter omnium fere opinionem. (Milanese State Archives Cart. Gen.) See PARENTI, *loc. cit.*, National Library, Florence.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1456, n. 41; 1492, n. 26; also DÖLLINGER, 353–7, and HERGENRÖTHER, Kirchengeschichte, II., 1, 130. In regard to Alexander VI.'s former life, see *supra*, p. 362 *seq.*

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God smote the earth and the time of chastisement had arrived.*

However just in itself this view of the matter may be, it must not be supposed that the general feeling of the time was unfavourable to the election of Alexander VIth. On the contrary Rodrigo Borgia was looked upon as the most capable member of the College of Cardinals. He seemed to possess all the qualities of a distinguished temporal ruler; and to many he appeared to be just the right man to steer the Papacy, now more than ever the fulcrum on which all the politics of the time were balanced, through the complications and difficulties of the situation. That this was considered enough to outweigh all objections from the ecclesiastical point of view is significant of the tendencies of the time.† One of his contemporaries in describing him only says, he is an ambitious man, fairly well-informed and ready and incisive in speech; of a secretive temperament; singularly expert in the conduct of affairs.‡ Sigismondo de' Conti who had opportunities of getting to know Borgia well, characterises him as an extremely accomplished man, uniting to distinguished intellectual gifts a thorough knowledge of business and capacity for it. "It is now thirty-seven years" he continues "since his uncle Calixtus III. made him a Cardinal, and during that time he never missed a single Consistory unless prevented by illness from attending,

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 165 *seq.* (Engl. trans., ed. 2).

† *Cf.* similar appreciations in REUMONT, III., 1, 201; LANGE, 33; and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 303–8, ed. 3, and Lucrezia Borgia, 9, who all justly observe that nothing can be more false than the ordinary conception of Borgia as a morose and inhuman monster. At the same time it is right to mention that the chronicler SCHIVENOGLIA, p. 137, for the year 1459, says of him: De uno aspecto de fare ogni male. This is, however, the only expression of the kind.

‡ Opinion of JACOPO DA VOLTERRA. See *supra*, p. 366 *seq.*; and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 303, ed. 3.

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which very seldom happened. Throughout the reigns of Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII., he was always an important personage; he had been Legate in Spain and in Italy. Few people understood etiquette so well as he did; he knew how to make the most of himself, and took pains to shine in conversation and to be dignified in his manners. In the latter point his majestic stature gave him an advantage. Also he was just at the age, about sixty, at which Aristotle says men are wisest; robust in body and vigorous in mind, he was admirably equipped for his new position." Further on the same writer completes the picture, adding, "He was tall and powerfully built; though he had blinking eyes, they were penetrating and lively; in conversation he was extremely affable; he understood money matters thoroughly."* The Spanish Bishop Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, in 1493 speaks in enthusiastic terms of the physical beauty and strength of the newly elected Pope.† Still greater stress is laid upon his imposing

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 53, 270; *cf.* also 268. The age of the Pope is wrongly given by some of his contemporaries, *e.g.*, SCHIVENOGLIA, 137, Porzio (THUASNE, II., 425), and Hieronymus Donato in SANUTO, II., 836. Alexander himself told the Cardinals in Burchard's presence that he was born Jan. 1, 1431; see BURCHARD-THUASNE, II., 425; III., 228. HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 56, says erroneously that Alexander VI. was fifty when he was elected.

† ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 35. As to the portraits of Alexander VI., which all agree in giving him a crooked nose, see YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 79 *seq.* The medal here reproduced represents coarse and, to our taste, far from beautiful features; it does not quite correspond with the fresco by Pinturicchio in the Appartamento Borgia, of which he also gives a copy, and which he considers "presente au point de vue de l'ensemble un aspect de grandeur incontestable." A much better example of this portrait is to be found in the Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto vaticano, quae Romanor. Pontif. erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Chr. Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta. (Typis Vaticanis, 1893, published

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presence, a quality that has always been highly valued by the Italians, in the description given of him by Hieronymus Portius in the year 1493: "He is tall, in complexion neither fair nor dark; his eyes are black, his mouth somewhat full. His health is splendid, and he has a marvellous power of enduring all sorts of fatigue. He is singularly eloquent in speech, and is gifted with an innate good breeding, which never forsakes him."*

In all these descriptions nothing is said about Borgia's moral character; but it must not be inferred from this that it was unknown, but rather that public opinion in those days not only in Italy, but also in France and Spain, was incredibly lenient on that point.† Among the upper classes a dissolute life was looked upon as a matter of course; in Italy, especially, the prevailing state of things was deplorable. The profligacy of the rulers of Naples, Milan, and Florence of that time was something almost unheard of.‡ The fact that the lives of many princes of the Church were no better than those of the temporal rulers gave little or no scandal to the Italians of the Renaissance. This was partly due to the general laxity of opinion in regard to morals, but the habit of looking upon the higher clergy mainly as temporal governors, had also something to do with it.

by J. C. Heywood, and dedicated to Pope Leo XIII., but unfortunately the edition consists of only 25 copies). On Caradosso's medals which give the head of Alexander, *cf.* Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsamml., III., 38. On the busts said to be of this Pope in the Berlin Museum, see Preuss. Jahrb., LI. (1883), 408; BODE, Porträtsculpturen, 19, 42; and GRIMM, Michel Angelo, I., 547 *seq.* ed. 5.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 8. *Cf.* also CHRISTOPHE, II., 375; and Lord ACTON'S description of him in the "North British Review," October, 1870, January, 1871.

† CIPOLLA, 672. In regard to Spain, see HÖFLER, Aera der Bastarden, 54.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 114 *seq.*

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At the same time, while the irregularities of the Cardinal's earlier life were apparently easily forgiven, much indignation was aroused by the shameless bribery by means of which he had secured his election. There is a stinging irony in Infessura's words; "Directly he became Pope, Alexander VI. proceeded to give away all his goods to the poor," which are followed by the enumeration in detail of the rewards bestowed on each of the Cardinals who voted for him.* In speaking of this simoniacal election, the Roman notary Latinus de Masiis exclaims: "Oh, Lord Jesus Christ, it is in punishment for our sins that Thou hast permitted Thy vicegerent to be elected in so unworthy a manner!"†

Nevertheless, it is a fact that Borgia's election was hopefully welcomed by many both in Italy and abroad. On the 16th of August, 1492, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander VI. which is full of sanguine anticipations.‡ In Rome it was said that the election of so distinguished and genial a Pope, whose good looks and dignified bearing also won the hearts of the common people, augured a brilliant Pontificate.§ As early as August 12 the conservators with some of the most notable of the citizens, 800 in all, came in procession on horseback with lighted torches to the Vatican to greet

* INFESSURA, 281.

† GORI, Archivio, IV., 242. On the other hand, Alexander's simoniacal election is mentioned in the Chronicle of NOTAR GIACOMO, p. 176, without a word of blame.

‡ See the interesting document by which Pico prepared the way for his reconciliation with the clergy in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XXV. 360–61.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 308, ed. 3. The speech of G. Maino here quoted, which is taken from a MS. in the Chigi Library, has often been printed; see HAIN, n. 10,975–78; and GABOTTO, Giason del Maino, 162–3.

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the new Pope. Bonfires blazed in all directions throughout the city.*

The coronation on August 26 was unusually splendid. Both the Florentine and the Mantuan Ambassadors agree in declaring that they had never witnessed a more brilliant ceremony.† Innumerable multitudes flocked into Rome; nearly the whole of the nobility of the Patrimony was assembled. The streets were decorated with costly hangings, exquisite flowers, garlands, statues and triumphal arches. All the grace and beauty of the Renaissance was displayed, but its darker side was not absent. The Roman epigraphists and poetasters, who some years later were remorselessly to load the name and memory of this Pope with opprobrium, surpassed themselves in the ingenuity and rank paganism of their compliments. It would be impossible to exceed the profanity of some of their productions, of which the following distich is a specimen‡:—

"Rome was great under Cæsar, greater far under Alexander,
The first was only a mortal, but the latter is a God."

* *Cf.* the account in BURCHARD, ed. Gennarelli, 206, and a *Letter from the senator Ambrogio Mirabilia to Barth. Calchus, dat. Rom, 1492, Aug. 13. (Milanese State Archives.) On the rejoicings in Bologna, see GHIRARDACCI, lib. 36, Cod. 768 of the University Lib. at Bologna.

† See THUASNE, II., 615, in the Appendix, N. 18, *Brognolo's Report. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Corio's description reprinted in THUASNE, II., 615 *seq.*, is very fascinating. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 51 *seq.*; Atti dell' Emilia, III., 2, 250; CHRISTOPHE, II., 377 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 187–93. On the beautiful coronation medal, probably designed by Caradosso, see Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunsts., III., 141. In the *Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 524, f. 147, we find entered: Nov. 24, 1492 solvit [thesaurarius Camerae Apost.] ducat. 12,000 (=15,087 de cam. 36 bol.) pro pannis diversarum sortium datis officialibus urbis et aliis personis pro die coronationis. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94, I., Bulletar., 29 Aug. 1492: Alme urbis conservatoribus duc. quinquaginta pro emendis pannis ad coperiendas vias papales. State Archives, Rome.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 202-3.

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It is not surprising that good men such as Delfini, the General of the Camaldolese, were scandalised at such unmeasured adulation. "An incident which I saw with my own eyes," writes Delfini to a friend, "forcibly reminded me of the instability of all human things. In the Lateran Basilica the Pope suddenly fainted, and water had to be dashed on his face before he could recover consciousness." * Indeed, at the end of the great day the whole Court was utterly worn out with fatigue, aggravated by the heat and dust. "Your Highness can imagine," writes Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy, "what it was to have to ride from eight to ten miles at a stretch in such a crowd." † Thus the statement of Guicciardini, a bitter opponent of Alexander, that the news of his election filled all men with dismay is proved entirely false. On the contrary, it was hailed with the greatest satisfaction by several of the Italian Powers, notably by Milan. An Envoy reports that Duke Ludovico il Moro was in the highest spirits at the success with which his brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's efforts had been crowned. ‡ He had good reason to rejoice. Senator

* THUASNE, II., 4.

† See Appendix, N. 18 (*Report, Aug. 31). The letters in which Alexander VI. announces his election and begs for prayers for the prosperity of his reign, are all dated from the Coronation-day (see CIACONIUS, III., 156–7; SANTAREM, X., 110–11; LEONETTI, I., 312–3; a similar letter in MS. in Cod. 1461 of the Library at Grenoble; another to the Archduke Sigismund in the State Archives at Vienna). In the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94 (cited *supra*, p. 390, note †) we find among the expenses, f. 1, an entry on Sept. 10, 1492 (*cf.* f. 4), septem mazeriis euntibus cum litteris assumptionis in Franciam, Hispaniam, Angliam, Alamaniam, Neapolim, Mediol., Venet. State Archives, Rome.

‡ Trotti's *Despatch, dat. Milan, 1492, Aug. 13: Lo ill. S. Ludovico per il singular honor chel pretende che in questa creatione del pontefice habia havuto et guadagnato il rev^mo Mons. Aschanio supra et ultra modum ne jubila. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also PISTOJA'S Sonnet, quoted by V. Rossi in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 209. Hence it is clearly untrue

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Ambrogio Mirabilia writes on August 13, that Cardinal Ascanio is the man who made Alexander VI. Pope, consequently it is impossible to exaggerate the power and influence that he possesses; indeed, he is held to be as much Pope as Alexander himself.*

In Florence as in Milan the election was received with public rejoicing and ringing of bells. Before the coronation festivities both Sforza and Alexander himself had written letters to Piero de' Medici, assuring him of their friendly dispositions;† and indeed, the son of Lorenzo had reason to expect kindness from the new Pope. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John was convinced that the wisdom and justice of Alexander VI. would rid the East of the tyranny of the Turks.‡ It is not surprising that in various parts of Italy there should have been some who were dissatisfied with the result of the Conclave. Some such malcontents were to be found even in Genoa, where grateful memories of Calixtus III. caused the majority to hail the elevation of his nephew with joy,§ and when Guicciardini says that Ferrante, King of Naples, wept when he heard that Borgia had been elected, we must not accept the statement too literally.‖ In the

to say, as VILLARI does in Savonarola, I., 164 (Engl. trans., ed. 2): L'Annunzia della sua elezione fu ricevuto in tutta Italia con rammarico universale.

* See in Appendix, N. 11., the *Text from the original in the Milanese State Archives.

† LANDUCCI, 66; THUASNE, II., 113; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 27.

‡ LAMANSKY, 289.

§ SENAREGA, 532, and *Report of C. Stangha, dated Genoa, Aug. 15, 1492, Milanese State Archives.

‖ GUICCIARDINI, Storia d'Italia, I., 1. Although GREGOROVIUS, VII., 316 (310, ed. 3), doubts the correctness of this statement, VILLARI (Savonarola, I., 164, Engl. trans., ed. 2) holds to it; as, nevertheless, in his work on Machiavelli, I., 207, he seems to lean to the opinion of Gregorovius.

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King's letters there is nothing to support it, nor was he the sort of man who would have been likely to shed tears on such an occasion; at the same time, Borgia's elevation, which he had throughout strenuously opposed* could not have been agreeable to him; but Ferrante had quite wit enough to conceal his sentiments. He immediately despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander,† couched in the most friendly terms; and on the 15th of August desired Virginio Orsini to assure the Pope of his devotion "as a good and obedient son."‡ Ferrante may at that time have thought it possible to win Alexander VI., though, considering the existing relations between Naples and Rome, which were such that open war might be declared at any moment, the task was not an easy one.§

At the Spanish Court the tension between Rome and Naples excited serious apprehensions. In Spain, Alexander's enterprising disposition was well-known, and he was credited with an ardent desire to accomplish something that should be remembered. While only a Cardinal he had founded the Dukedom of Gandia; and now that he was Pope, what might he not attempt for the aggrandisement of his family?‖

The Venetians made no secret of their displeasure at Alexander's elevation. Their Ambassador at Milan, spoke very plainly to the Envoy from Ferrara of the means by which the election had been carried. It had been obtained,

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56; and DESJARDINS, I., 439.

† Report of the Milanese Envoy, dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 147–8.

§ See TRINCHERA, II., 1, 148, on the conduct of the Papal Governor of Benevento at that moment. Also, Alexander did not so easily forget the King's opposition to his election. See DESJARDINS, I., 439.

‖ ZURITA, V., 15; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 58.

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he said, by shameless simony and fraud; and France and Spain would certainly withhold their obedience when they became aware of this abominable crime. Many of the Cardinals had been bribed by the Pope, but there were ten who had received nothing, and who were thoroughly disgusted;* the hope here insinuated that a schism would ensue was not realised, for almost all the Powers hastened to profess their obedience to the new Pope in the most obsequious terms. Lodovico il Moro had proposed that all the Envoys of the League,—Milan, Naples, Ferrara, and Florence,—should present themselves in Rome together; but the vanity of Piero de' Medici, who was bent on coming to Rome and making his entry with great pomp at the head of the Florentine mission, upset this plan.† After the Florentines, followed the representatives of Genoa, Milan, and Venice. According to the custom of the time, these delegates were chosen from the ranks of the most distinguished Humanists and scholars. Thus Florence was represented by Gentile Becchi, and Milan by the celebrated Giason del Maino.‡ The addresses delivered on this occasion were admired as master-pieces of humanistic eloquence, and extensively disseminated through the press. They were crammed with quotations from the classics; but, "though the great qualities of the newly-elected Pope were eulogised in borrowed terms, a real underlying conviction that his gifts were of no common order can be plainly traced."§

* *Letter from Trotti, Aug. 28, 1492, in Appendix, N. 14. State Archives, Modena.

† GUICCIARDINI, I., 1; SISMONDI, XII., 81; BUSER, Beziehungen, 308; DESJARDINS, I., 434.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 8 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*; GABOTTO, G. del Maino, 159 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 310, ed. 3; *cf.* Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 353. Nearly all the congratulatory addresses delivered before Alexander VI.

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In foreign countries a high opinion was entertained of the new Pontiff. The German chronicler, Hartmann Schedel, wrote soon after he came to the throne that the world had much to hope for from the virtues of such a Pope. The new Pope, he says, "is a large-minded man, gifted with great prudence, foresight, and knowledge of the world. In his youth he studied at the University of Bologna, and obtained there so great a reputation for virtue, learning, and capability that his mother's brother, Pope Calixtus III., made him a Cardinal; and it is a further proof of his worth and talents that he was called at such an early age to a place in this honourable and illustrious assembly, and was also made Vice-Chancellor. Such things being known of him, he was quickly elected to govern and steer the barque of S. Peter. Besides being a man of a noble countenance and bearing, he has, in the first place, the merit of being a Spaniard; secondly, he comes from Valentia; thirdly, he is of an illustrious family. In book-learning, appreciation of Art, and probity of life he is a worthy successor of his uncle, Calixtus of blessed memory. He is affable, trustworthy, prudent, pious, and well-versed in all things appertaining to his exalted position and dignity. Blessed indeed therefore is he adorned with so many virtues and raised to so high a dignity. We trust that he will prove most serviceable to all Christendom, and that in his pilgrimage he will pass safely through the raging surf and the high and dangerous rocks, and finally

were printed in Rome by N. Plank, 1492–93. The Borghese Library, sold by auction in 1893, contained a great number of contemporaneous works of this description. Many printed addresses of congratulation are also to be found in Clarorum hominum orat. (Coloniae, 1559); also in the Orationes gratulatoriae in electione pontif. imperat., etc. (Hanoviae, 1613) as well as in LÜNIG, Orationes procerum Europae, I., 113 *seq.* Lipsiae, 1713.

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reach the steps of the heavenly throne."* The Swedish Chancellor, Sten Sture, sent a present of horses and costly furs to Rome as a token of good-will.†

The new Pope began his reign in a manner which tended to confirm these good opinions. He at once took measures to secure a strict administration of the laws. This had become exceedingly necessary, as in the short time which had elapsed between the commencement of the illness of Innocent VIII. and Alexander's coronation, two hundred and twenty murders had been committed in Rome. Alexander VI. ordered a searching investigation into these crimes; he nominated certain men to visit the prisons, and appointed four commissioners to hear complaints in Rome; and on Tuesdays he himself gave audiences to all who had any grievance to bring before him.‡ He endeavoured by the strictest economy to repair the disordered state of the finances, as is proved by the household accounts. The whole monthly expenditure for housekeeping was only 700 ducats (£140 sterling). His table was so plain that the Cardinals, unaccustomed to such simple fare, avoided invitations as much as possible. The Ferrarese Envoy, writing in 1495, says, the Pope has only one course at dinner; he requires this to be of good quality, but Ascanio Sforza and others, such as Cardinal Juan Borgia and Cæsar, who, in former days, often dined with him, by no means relish this frugality, and avoid being his guests as much as they can."§

* SCHEDEL, Chron. Chronicar (Nürnberg, 1493), f. 257b. *Cf.* LANGE, 47 *seq.*

† These presents (nonnullus equos ac certas foderaturas de hermelinis et marta) are mentioned in the *Littera passus, dat. IV., Non. Mart., 1492, A° 1° Regest. 879, f. 100. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ INFESSURA, 282–3. *Cf.* Constitution of April 1, 1493, in Bull., V., 359 *seq.*, and DAL RE, 92; see also LEONETTI, I., 321 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 87–8; and SYBELS Histor-Zeitschr.,

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In other points also the new Pope made a favourable impression. He said to the Florentine Envoy on the 16th of August, that he would do his utmost to preserve peace and to be a father to all without distinction.* The Envoy from Ferrara reports that Alexander means to reform the Court; there are to be changes in regard to the secretaries and officials connected with the press; his children are to be kept at a distance.† The Pope told the Milanese Ambassador that he was resolved to restore peace to Italy, and to unite all Christendom to withstand the Turks; his uncle Calixtus had set him an example on this point which he was determined to follow.‡

It is probable that there was a moment in which Alexander really entertained the idea of restraining his family ambition and devoting himself to the duties of his office.§ Unfortunately these good intentions were but short-lived; his inordinate attachment to his family soon burst forth again. To establish the power of the house of Borgia on

XXXVI., 158, *cf.* 161 *seq.*, and also CHABAS' Spanish periodical, El Archivo Revista de ciencias hist., VII., 90 (Valencia, 1893); GEBHART'S description, 183–4 is misleading.

* THUASNE, II., 613.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 27.

‡ *Report of the Milanese Ambassador, dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1492. Milanese State Archives.

§ GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 46, who draws attention to the fact that Alexander did not permit Cæsar to come to Rome immediately. In October 1493, he began to take measures for an expedition against the Turks who at that time were assuming a very threatening attitude (see HAMMER, II., 305); but the state of things in Italy almost immediately drove these plans into the background. *Cf.* the Briefs of Oct. 20, 1493, to Giangaleazzo and L. Moro (in the Notizenblatt, 1856, p. 421) and to Ferdinand of Spain (Orig. in the National Library, Paris: Espag., 318, f. 1); A. Sforza, in a *Letter dated Rome, Oct. 19, 1493, states that the result of the consultation on the Turkish question was a resolution that a tithe should be levied. Milanese State Archives.

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secure and lasting foundations became the one purpose of his whole life. Even in the Consistory of the 31st August, in which the rewards to the electors were dispensed, Alexander gave the Bishopric of Valencia, which was worth 16,000 ducats, to his son Cæsar, although Innocent VIII. had already bestowed on him that of Pampeluna.* In the same Consistory he made his nephew Juan, the Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal of S^ta^ Susanna.† Six Legates were also either appointed or confirmed at this Consistory: Giuliano della Rovere to Avignon; Fregoso to Campania; Savelli to Spoleto; Orsini to the Marches; Sforza to Bologna; and Medici to the Patrimony.‡

Unfortunately for Alexander, as had happened with Calixtus, all his relations immediately flocked to Rome, fully and recklessly determined to make the most of the golden opportunity. Not only his near relations, but all who could in any way claim kinship or friendship with the new Pope, trooped thither to seek their fortunes. Gianandrea Boccaccio, writing to the Duke of Ferrara, declares that "ten Papacies would not have sufficed to provide for all these

* The date of this Consistory has been variously given; FRAKNÓI (see *supra*), and HAGEN, 24, make it Aug. 30; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 312, ed. 3, gives Sept. 1; in the *Acta Consist. 1489–1503, C^2^, f. 44 of the Consistorial Archives, it is expressly mentioned as die Veneris ultima, Aug. 1492, and the *Collation-records of the Bishopric of Valencia (Secret Archives of the Vatican), printed in Appendix, N. 15, and the **Report of Boccaccio, dat. Rome, Aug. 31, 1492 (State Archives, Modena), agree with this; GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 45, is quite wrong in assigning the 26th of Aug. as the date of the gift of the Bishopric of Valencia. According to the *Acta Consist., Cæsar also at the same time received *in commendam* to the Monasterium Vallisdegnae Cist. Ord. Valent. dioec.; Regest. 772, f. 1^b^, Secret Archives of the Vatican corroborates this.

† *Cf.* Appendix, N. 16, *Nomination-Brief, August 31, 1492. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Acta Consist., Alex. VI., Pii III., Jul. II., Leon. X., f. 2^b^ in the Consistorial Archives.

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cousins."* The motive which only too soon brought about a complete and unfortunate revolution in Alexander's conduct, was in itself not an ignoble one, namely, his affection for his family, and more especially for his children, Cæsar, Jofré, and Lucrezia.† The latter whose name has become historical, was her father's greatest favourite. "Chroniclers and historians have conspired with the writers of epigrams, romances, and plays to represent Lucrezia Borgia as one of the most abandoned of her sex, a heroine of the dagger and poison-cup. The times were bad, the Court was bad, the example of her own family detestable, but even if Lucrezia may not have been wholly untainted by the prevailing corruption, she by no means deserves this evil reputation. The most serious accusations against her, rest on stories which, in their foulness and extravagance, surpass the bounds of credibility and even of possibility, or on the lampoons of a society famed for the ruthlessness of its satire. Numbers of well attested facts prove them to be calumnies."‡ All that is known also of Lucrezia's personal appearance is out of harmony with such a character.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 47.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 363 *seq.* MÖHLER, II., 523, says with great justice: "The ruin of this Pope was his family, and it was also the ruin of the Church."

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 204. *Cf.* p. 206: "Lucrezia must be acquitted of the great majority of the charges brought against her." See also REUMONT in the Bonner Literaturblatt, V. (1870), 447 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS omits all mention of Reumont, but in his investigation into the charges against Lucrezia (p. 159 *seq.*), comes to the same conclusion. "No one can suppose that Lucrezia Borgia in the corrupt atmosphere of Rome and of her own personal surroundings, was likely to have kept herself absolutely blameless; but, on the other hand, no impartial judge would venture to maintain that she was guilty of the horrible crimes of which she is accused." In a critique in HILDEBRAND'S Italia, I., 317, the result of Gregorovius' investigations is summed up in the words:

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All her contemporaries agree in describing her as singularly attractive with a sweet joyousness and charm quite peculiar to herself. "She is of middle height and graceful in form," writes Nicolò Cagnolo of Parma, "her face is rather long, the nose well cut, hair golden, eyes of no special colour; her mouth rather large, the teeth brilliantly white, her neck is slender and fair, the bust admirably proportioned. She is always gay and smiling." Other narrators specially

"There was nothing to be discovered against Lucrezia. One would have thought that the learned writer might have contented himself with this sufficiently significant result; but instead of this he goes on to read between the lines, to fill up gaps with hypothetical descriptions and quite superfluous sentimental observations of the kind which the French call 'rapprochements,' and which are often in very questionable taste." When we find that Gregorovius can exactly describe Vanozza's Salon (p. 15–16), and even tell us what were her prayers during the Conclave (p. 42), we perceive that this criticism is not unwarranted. For Reviews of the work of Gregorovius see also Hist.-Pol., Blätter LXXVII., 577 *seq.*; BLAZE DE BURY in Rev. des deux Mondes, XX. (1877), 243 *seq.*, and S. MÜNTZ in the English Hist. Review, VII., 699. GREGOROVIUS, 159 *seq.*, connects this investigation into the charges against Lucrezia with the statement of an agent of the d'Este at Venice (dat. 15th March, 1498) that about this time she had borne an illegitimate child. He adds here that no persons except Malipiero and P. Capello "had been mentioned by name as lovers of Lucrezia's." This is not the case. An unprinted letter, from Cristoforo Poggio, Bentivoglio's secretary, to the Count of Mantua, dat. Bologna, March 2, 1492, contains the following passage which, coming at the same time, confirms the story of the agent. *Dopo le altre mie per non ci esser cavalcata da Roma non ho altro di novo di là, se non che quello Peroto (he is the same man whose death is shrouded in mystery, of which more presently) camariero primo di N.S., quale non se ritrovava, intendo essere in presone per haver ingravidato la figliola de S. Sta Ma Lucretia. This rather important document is to be found in a hidden corner in the Bolognese correspondence in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. It makes the opinion of R. DI SORAGNA (Rassegna Naz., X. [1882],124), and those who agree with him that Lucrezia was entirely blameless, untenable.

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praise her long golden hair.* Unfortunately we have no trustworthy portrait of this remarkable woman;† at the same time we can gather from some medals which were struck at Ferrara during her stay there, a fair notion of her features. The best of these medals, designed apparently by Filippino Lippi, shews how false the prevailing conception of this woman's character, woven out of partisanship and calumny, has been. The little head with its delicate features is rather charming than beautiful, the expression is maidenly, almost childish, the abundant hair flows down over the shoulders, the large eyes have a far-off look. The character of the face is soft, irresolute and gentle; there is no trace of strong passions; and rather it denotes a weak and passive nature incapable of self-determination.‡ Thus Lucrezia's fate was entirely in the hands

* ANTONELLI, L. Borgia in Ferrara, 39 (Ferrara 1867). *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, 226.

† This is the opinion of Crowe-Cavalcaselle, Gregorovius and Campori; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 115 *seq.* tries to prove, "qu'à défaut d'originaux incontestables dûs à la main de quelque grand artiste du temps, il existe au moins trois copies d'un même portrait de L. Borgia"; but he does not succeed in establishing his point.

‡ *Cf.* BLAZE DE BURY in Revue des deux Mondes, XX. (1877), 248, and *ibid.* GEBHART, LXXXVI. (1888), 142; the medal is described in FRIEDLÄNDER, Berl. Blätt. f. Münzkunde (1866), No. 8; GRIMM, Ueber Künstler und Kunstwerke, II., 81 *seq.*; ANTONELLI (*loc. cit.*), in GREGOROVIUS and in YRIARTE, 118; in this latter also a second medal, p. 117. See also Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunsts., III., 34 *seq.* On the character of Lucrezia, HILDEBRAND, II., 47, remarks: "History does not record a single deed or word of Lucrezia's; she submits to everything, never resists, adapts herself with marvellous rapidity to each fresh situation imposed upon her by her father or her brother. Her letters, which remain to us, reveal no personality; they are correct, colourless, without passion, wit or observation, strangely contrasting in their utter emptiness with those of her correspondent and sister-in-law, the beautiful, clever and lively Marchesa Isabella Gonzaga, who so well understands how to

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of her relations. At eleven years old she was betrothed to a Spanish grandee, Juan de Centelles, and later to Don Gasparo, Count of Aversa. Both of these engagements were broken off. The all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, then proposed an alliance with a member of his own family, Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotignola and Lord of Pesaro, a brilliant offer which Alexander gladly accepted.*

manipulate the dry formality of the epistolary style of the day, so as to let her fascinating self peep out." In regard to her marriage, HILDEBRAND, II., 49, says "Naturally, she was not consulted, any more than other Princes' daughters were."

* GREGOROVIUS, 39 *seq.*, 47 *seq.* *Cf.* Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad., Hist. Kl. (1872) 505 *seq.* As to G. Sforza, see RATTI, I., 163 *seq.* In regard to the Roman period, the darkest time in Lucrezia's life, Foucard has found some new documents in the Archives in Modena and inserted them in the second edition of Gregorovius (published 1876). They make no important change in the estimate of her character. The case is otherwise in regard to the letters mentioned *supra*, from the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, which confirm the statement made by an agent of the d'Este at Venice that Lucrezia had had an illegitimate child. Since this document has been discovered, I think it quite on the cards that others also may turn up, which may make it possible to arrive at a final and decisive judgment in regard to Lucrezia. The MS. materials for Lucrezia's biography which were collected by Baschet must now be in the hands of Yriarte, and we may hope that he will be more careful than Gregorovius in the editing of these documents. LUZIO, Precettori d'Isabella, 42, has already pointed out that the letter of Lucrezia given by Gregorovius in fac-simile No. 62 is not addressed to Isabella d'Este, but to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, as is evident from the beginning, Illmo Sor mio. Many documents in Gregorovius are disfigured by glaring mistakes, as may be seen by comparing them with the originals in the Gonzaga Archives in Mantua. Thus in the Report of El Prete of Jan. 2, 1502, printed in Appendix, N. 35, "zoia" should be read *instead of* "zove," "uno cosino" *instead of* "so cosino," "strete de uso" *instead of* "strele"; "tanti alle colti" *instead of* "tanti colti." In Troche's letter (App., No. 42), "cose" should be read *instead of* the unintelligible "ase." In the letter of the Marquess of Mantua of Sept. 22, 1503 (App., No. 49), "del respiro" *should be* "ch'el spiri"; "cossi" *instead of* "assi"; after

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Cæsar Borgia shared with his sister Lucrezia the smiling countenance and ready laugh which both inherited from their father, however little resemblance there may have been in their characters either to him or to each other. "Cæsar possesses distinguished talents and a noble nature," writes the Ferrarese Envoy in 1493, "his bearing is that of the son of a prince; he is singularly cheerful and merry, and seems always in high spirits. He never had any inclination for the priesthood; but his benefices yield more than 16,000 ducats.* He was well-versed in the culture of the time, loved Art, and associated with poets and painters and had a poet attached to his court. Personally, however, his taste was rather for war and politics. He combined unusual military and administrative talents with an iron will. Like most of the princes of the day his one aim was to obtain power, and no means were too bad for him provided they would serve his end. When he had got what he wanted he shewed his better side.† He was a first-rate Condottiere, excelled in all knightly arts, and surpassed the best "Espadas" in a bull-fight; with one blow he completely severed the head of a powerful bull from the trunk. His complexion was swarthy, in his latter years his face was disfigured with blotches. The expression of his eyes which were deep-set and penetrating, betrayed a sinister nature, voluptuous, tyrannical and crafty.‡ All

"in contra" there should be a stop, etc. Count Malaguzzi-Valeri told me at Modena that the documents in Gregorovius, copied from the Archives of that city, also need many corrections.

* GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 54. *Cf.* also P. CAPELLO'S description in his relation of 1500 in SANUTO, III., 846. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61, calls Cæsar adolescentem spei magnae et indolis optimae.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 17. *Cf.* HILDEBRAND, II., 45, who asserts that Cæsar was "not much worse" than Louis XI. of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Henry VII. of England.

‡ JOVIUS, Elogia vir. illustr., 201-2 (Basiliae, 1575). It is now universally

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the members of Cæsar's household, his servants, and latterly his fighting men and even his executioner were Spaniards; he and his father usually spoke Spanish to each other.*

Ferrante had already taken umbrage at the project of an alliance between Sforza and Cæsar's sister;† and soon, other events occurred which further disturbed the relations between Rome and Naples. King Ladislaus of Hungary had announced that he did not consider his betrothal to Ferrante's daughter binding, and there was reason to believe that the Pope would decide in his favour.‡ In addition to this family affair, the ambitious projects of Lodovico il Moro were a still more serious cause of apprehension to the King of Naples. Lodovico was bent on dethroning his nephew Giangaleazzo of Milan, who was married to a niece of Ferrante. France was already on his side and he further hoped to secure the assistance of

admitted that the well-known picture lately transferred from the Borghese Palace to Paris, is a contemporary portrait of Cæsar, whether or not it be from the hand of Raphael. According to YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 113, the woodcut in Jovius is taken from a contemporaneous portrait; a copy of the one which he possessed is in the Uffizi Gallery. YRIARTE, 112-13, published a likeness of Cæsar which is in the collection of Count Codronghi at Imola, and which he holds to be the most authentic of all his portraits. PASOLINI, II., 227, disregarding the observations of Lermolieff (Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst., X., 102) is mistaken in setting too high a value on a portrait of Cæsar ascribed (on no sufficient grounds) to Giorgione or Palmeggiani, in the Gallery of Forlì. Dr. Vischer-Merian of Basle kindly sent me a hitherto unknown picture of Cæsar which is in the Albani gallery at Urbino. Dr. Vischer looks upon this picture, which differs from Yriarte's, as the most genuine likeness; other similar portraits are also to be found elsewhere in Umbria, *e.g.*, one in the possession of Signor Giov. Bocchi at Pennabilli.

* BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 104, ed. 3.

† Report of the Ferrarese Envoy in GREGOROVIUS, L. Borgia, 48.

‡ *Cf.* OVARY'S Essay in Szàzadok, XXIV., 761 *seq.* See also EHSES, Documente z. Gesch. d. Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII., 60, n. 1.

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the Pope through his brother Ascanio Sforza, whose influence in Rome was unbounded. Hence the King awaited with feverish anxiety the result of the visit of his second son, Federigo of Aragon, Prince of Altamura, to Rome. He had gone there on the 11th November, 1492, to profess obedience in his father's name, and to persuade the Pope to enter into an alliance with Naples.* Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had prepared a handsome apartment for him in his palace.† Federigo proffered his obedience on the 21st December, and on Christmas Day received from the Pope a consecrated sword. On the 10th January, 1493, he left Rome without obtaining anything.‡ There was no chance of an alliance, and in the matter of the betrothal the Pope was not encouraging. Nor indeed was this at all surprising, for just at this moment Alexander had received information of an intrigue against the States of the Church which the King had been carrying on.

After the death of Innocent VIII. Franceschetto Cibò had fled to his brother-in-law Piero de' Medici, and from thence endeavoured to sell his property in the Romagna. On the 3rd September, 1492, an arrangement was entered into through the mediation of Ferrante and Piero by which in consideration of a payment of 40,000 ducats, Virginio Orsini became lord of Cervetri and Anguillara.§ It was clear Virginio could never have produced so large a sum without the assistance of Ferrante. Alexander VI. was completely taken by surprise, and fully determined when

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 14 *seq.* *Cf.* also NOTAR GIACOMO, 176.

† See the **Report of Brognolo, Nov. 29, 1492. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 22 *seq.*, 26, 33 *seq.*, and *Letter of a Milanese agent (Sebastianus), dat. Rome, Jan. 14, 1493, Milanese State Archives.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 313–14, ed. 3 (320–21, ed. 4); GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 227; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 309, and Arch. de Soc. Rom, X., 269.

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he heard of the sale, that this important domain should not remain in the hands of a man who had once threatened to throw Innocent VIII. into the Tiber. Virginio Orsini was Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army, and altogether on intimate terms with both Naples and Florence. Thus the Pope had good reason to suspect that his neighbours had a hand in the transaction by which the most powerful of the Roman barons obtained an important accession of strength. There was no need of those machinations on the part of Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio of which Ferrante complained; the danger to Rome of a power like that of the Prefects of Vico springing up in its near neighbourhood must be patent to every one.* When the Pope heard that Virginio's troops had already occupied these cities, he entered a protest before the Cardinals in Consistory, and a formal complaint against Giuliano della Rovere who had favoured the acquisition of this important territory by an enemy of the Holy See. Giuliano replied that it would have been a worse evil to have allowed these cities to fall into the hands of a relation of Cardinal Ascanio.† As in the Conclave, so now in the Consistory, Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere stood in bitter opposition to each other; the latter could count on the support of Naples and the Orsini and Colonna. Nevertheless he did not feel himself secure in Rome, and retired towards the end of the year to the fort which Sangallo had built for him in Ostia.‡

* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 57; GUICCIARDINI, I., 1; and Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XIV., 390. In his Storia di Firenze, GUICCIARDINI (p. 99) says that these domains were intended to be "un osso in gola" to the Pope. *Cf.* also REUMONT in Sybels Zeitschr., XXIX., 322.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 55. In order to weaken Ascanio's influence Card. G. della Rovere had secretly supported the nomination of Juan Borgia to the Cardinalate. See *Letter of Boccaccio, Aug. 31, 1492 (State Archives, Modena); this confirms BROSCH'S view, Julius II., 53.

‡ INFESSURA, 284, and THUASNE, II., 622 *seq.*

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Ferrante approved of this step and promised his protection to the Cardinal.* At Ostia, Giuliano received Federigo of Aragon on his return journey from Rome, and soon after also Virginio Orsini, who promised to support him in every way. The Envoy who relates this adds that Ostia is thoroughly defensible.†

The fort of Ostia was in those days supposed to be impregnable; it commanded the mouth of the Tiber, Giuliano's action in entrenching himself there was a direct menace to the Pope. An incident related by Infessura shews how much alarmed Alexander was. One day he had gone over to the villa Magliana intending to spend the day there; on his arrival a cannon was fired off as a salute which so terrified him that he at once returned to the Vatican; he apprehended an attack from some of Giuliano's adherents and thought the shot was a preconcerted signal.‡

At this time Civita Vecchia was fortified by his orders, which is another proof that he was thoroughly frightened.§ Disturbances also began to appear in the States of the Church, in which Ferrante and Piero de' Medici seemed to have a hand, and this further inclined the Pope to look

* TRINCHERA, II., 1, 252–3.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 56 and *Report of Sebastianus, dat. Rome, Jan. 19, 1493: El S. Virginio è stato ad Hostia et dicto al Carle che non dubiti che per luy vole mettere il stato et la vita, cosi dicono Colonesi. Se terranno fermo cosi anche il Re Ferrando Ostia non ponno haver li adversarii; è ben munita et fornita di tutto. Milanese State Archives.

‡ INFESSURA, 284. For the same reason when the Pope went in February to Sta Maria Maggiore, he was accompanied by an armed escort. BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 45.

§ On the 21st February, 1493, there is an entry of payments pro munitione arcis Civitevetulae in the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1492–94, Bullet., I. (State Archives, Rome.) In May 1493, Alexander's expenses for military purposes rose to 26,383 ducats; see Hist. Jahrb., VI., 444 (1493 should be read, *instead of* 1492).

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favourably on a proposal suggested by Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico il Moro, for entering into a defensive alliance with Venice.* The King of Naples now became uneasy and put forth all his diplomatic skill to prevent this. In March 1493, he sent the Abbot Rugio to Rome, to settle the dispute about Cervetri and Anguillara, and other Envoys to Florence and Milan with the same object. Overtures were made for a marriage between Cæsar Borgia, who wished to return to secular life, and a daughter of the King; later, negotiations were begun for a marriage between Cæsar's younger brother Jofré and a Princess of the house of Aragon. This proposal was eagerly accepted by Ferrante; but both projects soon fell through;† probably Ascanio had a hand in bringing this about. Ferrante complained bitterly; "the Pope ought to consider," he wrote, "that we have come to years of discretion, and have no notion of allowing him to lead us by the nose." At the same time he kept up close communications with Giuliano della Rovere and threw troops into the Abruzzi.‡ The treaty between Alexander, Venice and Milan was now concluded. On the 25th April, 1493, the new League, in which Siena, Ferrara, and Mantua were included, was announced in Rome; Milan and Venice engaged at once to send several hundred men to help the Pope against Virginio Orsini.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 57.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 317 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 330, 338, 343, 344 *seq.*, 348, 351, 355 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 316, ed. 3, and the Florentine Reports in YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 322-3. Jofré was originally intended for the Church; this fact, hitherto unknown, is to be gathered from the *Documents printed in Appendix, N. 17, from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 1, 360, 369 *seq.*, 382; REUMONT, III., 1, 209.

§ INFESSURA, 284-5; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 67 *seq.*; Arch. Napolit., IV., 774, 776-7; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 312; SIGISMONDO

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Meanwhile Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere still remained at Ostia. A Milanese Envoy reports on the 7th of March, 1493, that he never went out of the Castle without a strong escort.*

Later, Giuliano asked Ferrante's advice as to some other strong place to which he might retire. All this time the Neapolitan King was doing his utmost to stir up the other Cardinals who sided with Rovere, and urge them on to resist the Pope's project of creating new Cardinals. In June he privately informed them that his troops were ready, in case of need, to support them against the Pope.† At the same time, Ferrante despatched a letter to Antonio d'Alessandro, his Envoy at the Court of Spain, vehemently protesting his innocence, and accusing the Pope of being the only true disturber of the peace. Alexander's main object in all his policy, he said, was to stir up scandals and strife in Italy; his purpose in his nomination of new Cardinals, was merely to raise money in order to attack Naples. "Alexander VI." he writes, "has no respect for the holy Chair which he occupies, and leads such a life that every one turns away from him with horror; he cares for nothing but the aggrandisement of his children by fair means or by foul. All his thoughts and all his actions are directed to this one end. What he wants is war; from the first moment of his reign till now, he has never ceased

DE' CONTI, II., 58. A *Brief to G. Sforza, dat. April 22, 1493, desires him to hold a solemn Procession in thanksgiving for the conclusion of the League. (Florentine State Archives, Urb. Eccl.) On the same day Briefs were despatched to the Governors of Perugia, Todi, etc., commanding them to publish the League. The publication was notified to the Doge on April 25; the *Brief begins with the words: Quod felix faustumque div. M^tas esse velit, hodie, etc. State Archives, Venice.

* **Report of Stef. Taberna, dat. Rome, March 7, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† TRINCHERA, II., 1, 369 *seq.*, 383; 2, 48 *seq.*, 50, 51, 68 *seq.*

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persecuting me. There are more soldiers than priests in Rome; the Pope thinks of nothing but war and rapine. His cousins (the Sforzas) are of the same mind, all their desire is to tyrannise over the Papacy so that when the present occupant dies they may be able to do what they like with it. Rome will become a Milanese camp."*

A few months later, Ferrante entered into the closest relations with this same much abused Pope. Of course there can be no doubt that the charges against Alexander's conduct were well-founded. The proof is not far to seek. On the 12th June, 1493, the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro was celebrated at the Vatican with great pomp, in the presence of Alexander VI. At the wedding feast the Pope and twelve Cardinals sat down at table with the ladies who were present, among whom was the notorious Giulia Farnese. "When the banquet was over" says the Ferrarese Envoy, "the ladies danced, and as an interlude, we had an excellent play with much singing and music. The Pope and all the others were there. What more can I say? my letter would never end were I to describe it all; thus we spent the whole

* TRINCHERA, II., 41–48. "This letter," says REUMONT (Hist. Zeitschr., XXIX., 337) "is an act of accusation against the Papacy, especially against Alexander VI. When we consider how anxious, only three months before, the King had been to connect his own family with that of the Pope, and how eventually he actually accomplished this, we cannot attach much importance to it from a moral point of view, as far as his personal motives are concerned. But as an historical document, bearing witness to the decay of morals in high places at the close of the 15th Century, it possesses a painful interest. The King knew that the Court was full of Spaniards who thought of nothing but their own interests and would be very ready to injure him with their Sovereign; thus he endeavoured to be beforehand with them in describing the state of things in Rome. The Datary Juan Lopez undertook the task of defending the Pope against Ferrante's accusations;" see Bolet. d. Acad. d. Madrid (1885) p. 438 *seq.*

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night, whether well or ill, I will leave to your Highness to determine." *

Directly after these festivities, Diego Lopez de Haro, Ambassador of Ferdinand the Catholic, arrived in Rome to tender his obedience. According to Infessura, Lopez availed himself of this opportunity (June 19, 1493), to express the dissatisfaction of the King, who lived in internecine conflict with the infidels, at the breaches of the peace in Italy, and to require that the Marani (crypto-Jews) who had been allowed to establish themselves in Rome, should be expelled. According to the same authority, the Ambassador also demanded the surplus revenues, amounting to over 100 ducats, from the Spanish benefices, for the King, to assist him in his war with the infidels ; if this were refused, the King would find means to take it without leave. He adds, that Diego Lopez complained of the simony which prevailed in Rome, and warned the Pope not to give away anything of more value than a parish benefice. The rest of his observations in regard to the reform of the Church, says Infessura, I pass over. On the other hand, not a word of all this is to be found in Burchard, who was present at the Ambassador's audience. As it is in itself extremely improbable that an Ambassador sent to tender obedience should have exceeded his commission in this way, grave doubts must rest upon this story of Infessura.† The statement of the Spanish historian Zurita, who only says that Lopez told the Pope that the King looked upon

* Tagebuch Burchards, herausgeg. von PIEPER, 21 *seq.* ; INFESSURA, 287 (for remarks on this, see RATTI, I., 166 *seq.*, and PIEPER, 9); GREGOROVIUS and BORGIA, 57 ; Appendix, N. 9 and 10, for the marriage contract of Feb. 2, 1493. *Cf.* ALLEGRETTI, 827 ; Arch. St. Lomb. (1875) 180. A *Bull of May 29, 1494, confers sundry spiritual privileges on the young couple. Florentine State Archives, Urb. Eccl.

† Tagebuch, *loc. cit.*, 9–10, 27–28.

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the affairs of Naples and of the House of Aragon as his own, is probably nearer to the truth.*

Ferrante was naturally greatly rejoiced at this declaration on the part of the Spanish Ambassador.† He saw clearly, however, that there was nothing in this to warrant any relaxation in his efforts to counteract Lodovico il Moro's plans, for obtaining through the mediation of his brother Ascanio, the investiture of Naples from the Pope for the King of France,‡ and continued to labour with feverish energy to avert this danger. Towards the end of June he again sent his second son, Federigo of Altamura, to Rome to endeavour to arrange the affairs of Anguillara and detach the Pope from the League. He now adopted a menacing attitude. Federigo joined the party of the Cardinals of the opposition, attaching himself especially to Cardinal della Rovere, while Alfonso of Calabria with his troops threatened the frontier of the States of the Church. The immediate effect of these measures, however, was to increase the influence of Ascanio Sforza.§ Ferrante then resolved to try other tactics. Federigo, who was at Ostia negotiating with the Cardinals of the Opposition, della Rovere, Savelli and Colonna, desired to return to Rome, at any price, to get the Orsini affair set to rights, to promise the payment of the investiture tribute without delay, and to conclude a family alliance with the Borgia before the French Ambassador Perron de Baschi could arrive in Rome. The matrimonial projects for Jofré Borgia again came to the fore. He was to marry Sancia a natural daughter

* INFESSURA, 288; ZURITA, V., 26–7; HÖFLER, R. de Borja, 61 (in which Burchard and Infessura are interchanged); ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 33 *seq.*

† TRINCHERA, II., 2, 77.

‡ ZURITA, V., 27.

§ TRINCHERA, II., 2, 72, 79 *seq.*, 84, 86.

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of Duke Alfonso of Calabria, and to receive with her the principality of Squillace and the countship of Coriata; the engagement was to be kept secret till Christmas.* At the same time the Spanish Ambassador proposed a marriage between Juan Borgia, second Duke of Gandia, and Maria, daughter of King Ferdinand's uncle.†

It was not in Alexander's power to withstand the bait of such advantageous offers for his belongings. At the same moment, also his allies in the League, Venice and Milan, adopted an attitude which seemed to threaten ultimate desertion, and this made him all the more ready to lend a willing ear to these proposals.‡ The only remaining difficulty now was to come to a satisfactory arrangement with Virginio Orsini and Giuliano della Rovere. After much discussion the former agreed to pay 35,000 ducats to the Pope, and in return received from him the investiture of Cervetri and Anguillara. At the same time a reconciliation between Giuliano della Rovere and Alexander was effected. On the 24th July, Cardinal della Rovere and Virginio came to Rome, and both dined with the Pope. On the 1st August, Federigo was able to announce to his father that Alexander had signed the articles of agreement.§ On the 2nd of August his much-loved son Juan, Duke of

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 113 *seq.*, 121 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 141 *seq.*, and an **Anonymous Report, dat. Rome, Aug. 13, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† HÖFLER, R. de Borgia, 62–3.

‡ CIPOLLA, 678.

§ INFESSURA, 292; THUASNE, II., 641 *seq.*; TRINCHERA, II., 2, 198. The stipulation that A. Sforza should leave the Vatican was finally dropped by Federigo and G. della Rovere—see TRINCHERA, II., 2, 189 *seq.*; BROSCH, 53; Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVI., 392–3. The second of the three payments of the Neapolitan Investiture Money, 10,823½ florins sterling, was paid into the Apostolic Treasury on Aug. 31, 1493. GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 233.

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Gandia, gorgeously equipped, set out for Spain to be united to his Spanish bride." *

A few days later Perron de Baschi arrived in Rome to demand the investiture of Naples for Charles VIII. The Pope sent an answer couched in vague terms, and in the subsequent private audience his language was equally indecisive. The French Envoy had to depart on the 9th August without having accomplished his mission.†

Ferrante now flattered himself that the dreaded storm had blown over. He wrote in high spirits to his Envoy in France. "When Perron de Baschi gets back to France, many projects will have to be given up, and many illusions will be dissipated. Be of good cheer, for perfect harmony now reigns between me and the Pope." ‡ On the 17th of August the deed of investiture was ready for Virginio Orsini; on the previous day Jofré Borgia had been married by procuration to Sancia the daughter of Alfonso of Calabria.§ Alexander communicated the arrangement in regard to Cervetri and Anguillara to Lodovico il Moro on

* *Cf.* in HÖFLER (Rodrigo de Borja, 62 *seq.*), the Documentos ineditos de Alejandro VI. in Soluciones Católicas, I., 52 *seq.* (Valencia, 1893), and Alejandro VI. y el Duque de Gandia. Estudio sobre documentos Valencianos in the periodical El Archivo: Revista de ciencias historicas, VII., 85 *seq.* (Valencia, 1893). Here the date of the Duke's departure wrongly given in Gregorovius and Höfler, is corrected.

† *Letters of A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Aug. 11, and 13, 1493. (Milanese State Archives.) DELABORDE, 283, knows only the second letter, the first, in a later copy, is in the Cart. Gen., wrongly placed in August, 1492.

‡ TRINCHERA, II., 2, 205.

§ Florentine Report in THUASNE, II., 641 *seq.* On the document from the Orsini Archives cited by Gregorovius VII³., 325 (332 ed. 4.), compare *Regest. 869, f. 88, and 90, dat. Romae, 1493, sexto dec. Cal. Sept. A°. I°. On the same day (Aug. 17) V. Orsini was absolved from all censures—the *Bull, Consuetam Sedis Ap^c clementiam, is in *ibid.* f. 98, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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the 21st of August.* Eight days before this a Milanese Envoy had written home "Some people think that the Pope has lost his head since his elevation; as far as I can see, the exact contrary is the case. He has negotiated a League which made the King of Naples groan; he has contrived to marry his daughter to a Sforza, who, besides his pension from Milan, possesses a yearly income of 12,000 ducats; he has humbled Virginio Orsini and obliged him to pay; and has brought King Ferrante to enter into a family connection with himself. Does this look like a man whose intellect is decaying? Alexander intends to enjoy his power in peace and quietude." As to Cardinal Ascanio, the writer believes that he will not lose his influence, in spite of the favour which Giuliano della Rovere now enjoys.† He was mistaken in this, however, for the immediate result of the Pope's reconciliation with Ferrante, Giuliano and the Orsini, was the temporary disgrace of the hitherto all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio who was forced to leave the Vatican.‡

* Exemplum brevis ap. Jo. Galeacio duci Mediolani et Lud. Moro duci Bari. Copy in the Milanese State Archives (has been placed by mistake in 1495).

† Molti vogliono dire chel papa da poi che le papa non ha piu ingegno soleva havere. A me pare chel ne habia anchora piu che da poi chel era papa e capellano del Re ha saputo fare una liga con la quale da secore da sospirare al Re. Ha saputo maritare sua figlia in casa Sforzescha in uno S^re^ chi ha 12 mila duc. d'intrata l'anno senza el soldo che li da il duca di Milano. Ha saputo tochare dal S. Virginio [35,000] duc. et factolo venire piacevole et ha saputo cum la reputatione de questa liga condurre el Re ad aparentare cum lui et darli un tal stato con tal conditione per el figliolo. Non so se queste siano cose da homo chi non habia cervelo et ultimamente vole lui vivere et godersi el papato in pace et quiete. Report of an anonymous writer, dat. Rome, Aug. 13, 1493 (wrongly placed in 1495). Milanese State Archives.

‡ There are two, unfortunately mutilated, *Reports by the anonymous author, relating to this subject, dat. Rome, Aug. 26, 1493 (wrongly placed in 1492). Milanese State Archives.

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Meanwhile, the relations between Alexander VI. and Ferrante had, very soon after their reconciliation, been again disturbed, had then improved for a short time, but quickly changed anew for the worse. In any case it must have disagreeably affected Ferrante to find that in the nomination of the new Cardinals on September 20th, 1493, his was the only important State which was not represented.*

Raimondo Peraudi was recommended by Maximilian of Austria; Charles VIII. asked for Jean de la Grolaie, Ferdinand of Spain for Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. A Cardinal was given to England in the person of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Venice had the eminent theologian, Domenico Grimani; Milan, Bernardino Lunati; Rome was represented by Alessandro Farnese (hitherto head of the Treasury) and Giuliano Cesarini; Ferrara had Ippolito d'Este. The Archbishop of Cracow, Frederick Casimir, was made Cardinal at the request of King Ladislaus of Hungary, and King Albert of Poland. Alexander added Cæsar Borgia, and Giovanni Antonio Sangiorgio, Bishop of Alessandria, noted for his great juridical learning and the blamelessness of his life.

In these first nominations of Alexander there is in the main, nothing to find fault with; the various nationalities

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 208, 211, 221, 233, 235, 241, 244, 260, 271, 280, 309 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61; SENAREGA, 534; ALLEGRETTI, 827. On the Creation of the 20th Sept. (ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 36, erroneously gives the date Aug. 20; CARDELLA, 249, Aug. 21) 1493. See *Acta Consist. f. 3 (Consistorial Archives). According to the same authority, the date of the Assignatio titulorum was Sept. 23. *Cf.* also S. Taberna's *Report of Sept. 24, 1493. (Milanese State Archives.) A *Report of the Mantuan agent Brognolo, dat. Rome, Sept. 23, 1493, agrees with this. The same agent had written on June 24 that the nomination of Cardinals had been put off. Both *Reports are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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were all considered, and many both able and worthy men are to be found among the new Cardinals.* The elevation of Ippolito d'Este aged only fifteen, and that of Cæsar Borgia who was far more fit to be a soldier than an ecclesiastic, cannot of course be defended.† Sigismondo de' Conti says that Alessandro Farnese was nominated at the request of the Romans, while other writers speak of an unlawful connection between Alexander VI. and Farnese's sister Giulia (*la bella*). "If this was the case, Farnese's personal worth was such as to give him the means of causing this questionable beginning to be soon forgotten."‡

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 61–62; RATTI, II., 258; BUSCH, England, I., 387; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 3, 330 (ed. 3). Sigismondo's account of Peraudi's election is corroborated by the *Acta Consist., where in reference to Peraudi we read: instante S. Romanor. imperatore. According to the same authority there is an error in SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 33, where he says that Peraudi was made Cardinal on April 21, 1494. According to the *Acta Consist., Peraudi came to Rome on April 22, and was received in Consistory on the following day. The reason that the Red Hat was not sent to him or to his Polish colleague is explained in a *Letter of A. Sforza, dat. Orvieto, Nov. 26, 1493, in which he says the Pope's object was, "che questi dui cardinali per desiderio di haver il capello procurasseno che quelli signori mandasseno la obedientia et per honorarla venesseno cum epsa ad pigliar il capello." Milanese State Archives.

† Cæsar received minor orders and the sub-diaconate on March 26, 1494, at the same time, with his brother Juan (BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 99). He never received priests' orders.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 267; INFESSURA, who indeed in the spirit of a partisan represents this whole Creation of Cardinals of Sept. 20, 1493, as a pecuniary speculation, calls (p. 293) Giulia, Alexander's concubine; and MATARAZZO in his pamphlet, p. 4, and SANNAZAR, Epigr., 1, 2, both use the same term. A stronger proof is to be found in a letter of Alexander to Lucrezia Borgia, dated July 24, 1494, in which he expresses his annoyance at Giulia's departure, UGOLINI, II., 521–2. Any further doubt in regard to these relations, which began while he was still a Cardinal, is dispelled by the letters of L. Pucci of the 23rd and 24th December, 1493,

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The creation of these Cardinals on 20th September, 1493, was a great addition to Alexander's power and a terrible blow to the Cardinals of the opposition. They could not contain themselves for rage, while the crafty Ferrante, with an eye to the future, took pains to conceal his annoyance.* Giuliano della Rovere especially was furious, and now quarrelled again with the Pope. When the news was brought to him at Marino, he uttered a loud exclamation, and fell ill with anger. The Milanese Envoy writes in great delight, 24th September: "Words would fail me to describe the honour which this success has brought to your Highness and Cardinal Ascanio." † On the 28th September the latter informs his brother: "The Cardinals of the opposition continue their demonstrations against the Pope. Cardinal Caraffa keeps away from

published by GREGOROVIUS in his Lucrezia Borgia, App. N. 11. *Cf.* also L'ÉPINOIS, 397 *seq.*, and PIEPER, Burchards, Tagebuch, 16–22. Rumours of this scandalous connection penetrated into Germany. See GREGOROVIUS, VII., 328, ed. 3 (334 in ed. 4); and, later, it came to be so universally believed that Paul III. was openly taunted with the way in which his Cardinalate had come to him. See letter in Rivist. Cristiana, II., 261; and Soranzo's Report in ALBERI, VI., 3 Serie, 314. Alessandro Farnese (born 1468) was a pupil of P. Leto and was made Protonotary Apostolic and Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto by Innocent VIII. Shortly after his election Alexander VI. made him Treasurer-General; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 21, 87, 275. In regard to the creation of Cardinals of Sept. 1493, Infessura says further, in the place mentioned above: In eorum creatione consenserunt tantum septem cardinales, reliqui dissenserunt. MARIANA, Hist. Hisp., c. XXVI., asserts on the contrary: Contra hiscere nemo cardinalium, cum quibus rem communicavit ausus est. On the Festa at Ferrara in honour of Ippolito's elevation, see *Caleffini, f. 312, in Cod. I., 1–4 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 261, 266, 319, 346 *seq.* See also **Letter of A. Sforza, to L. Moro, Sept. 24, 1493. Milanese State Archives.

† See Appendix, N. 20 for Report of Stef. Taberna, Sept. 24, 1493. Milanese State Archives. See also App., N. 22.

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Rome. Costa intends to retire to Monte Oliveto. Giuliano is as he was; Fregoso and Conti follow him. Nothing is to be heard of Piccolomini. Such being the state of things, the Pope fears there may be disturbances, and would be glad of your Highness's advice." *

* See Appendix, N. 21 for Reports of A. Sforza, Sept. 28, 1493.

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CHAPTER II.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALFONSO II. OF NAPLES AND ALEXANDER VI. — FLIGHT OF CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE TO FRANCE.—INVASION OF ITALY BY CHARLES VIII.

AS the year 1493 drew to its close, signs of a fresh rupture between Ferrante of Naples and Alexander VI. began to appear. On the 5th December, Ferrante complained of the too amicable relations between the Pope and the King of France; and on the 18th he wrote a letter to his Envoy in Rome, in which the facts of the case are somewhat distorted. "We and our father," he says, "have always been obedient to the Popes, and yet, one and all, they have invariably done us as much mischief as they could; and now, although this Pope is a countryman of our own, it is impossible to live with him a single day in peace and quietude. We know not why he persists in quarrelling with us; it must be the will of Heaven, for it seems to be our fate to be harassed by all the Popes."* All the latter correspondence of the King is filled with complaints against Alexander VI., who, he says, breaks all his promises, and does nothing to hinder the designs of the French against Naples. Through all the bluster, however, we detect a secret hope, which he never relinquishes, of eventually winning Alexander's friendship.†

* TRINCHERA, II., 2, 322 *seq.*, 348 *seq.*

† TRINCHERA, II., 2, 378 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*, 390 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*, 411 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*, 421 *seq.*

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Ferrante instinctively felt that the catastrophe could no longer be averted, and that the kingdom which he had built up at the cost of so much bloodshed was doomed. The marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Bianca Sforza* was to him an additional reason for being on his guard against Lodovico il Moro. The last months of Ferrante's life were full of care and anxiety. On the 27th of January, 1494, the news of his death reached Rome.†

The question of the moment now was, what line the Pope would adopt in regard to the new King, Alfonso II. Charles VIII. at once despatched an embassy to Rome. If Alexander seemed inclined to be favourable to Alfonso, he was to be threatened with a General Council. At the same time the French King entered into communication with Giuliano della Rovere, whose friendship with the Savelli, the Colonna, and Virginio Orsini, made him one of the most dangerous enemies of the Holy See.‡

Meanwhile, in the Pope's cabinet the Neapolitan question was already decided. Alfonso had done everything in his power to win Alexander; he not only paid the tribute about which his father had made so many difficulties, but

* Alexander VI. congratulated Lodovico on the 15th Nov., 1493. See Notizenblatt (1856), 422–3. A consecrated sword was sent to Maximilian I. See Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Sammlung des Œsterreich. Kaiserhauses, (1883), S. XXXII.; LESSING in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlung (1895), XVI., 113 *seq.*; and *Despatch of Stef. Taberna, dat. Rome, March 14, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

† *Qui è nova della morte del Re de Napoli, Despatch from Cataneo, dat. Rome, Jan. 27, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the same day A. Sforza wrote to his brother that Alfonso had announced his father's death to the Pope, and that Alexander would send him a letter of condolence, in which he would address Alfonso as King. (Milanese State Archives.) *Cf.* A. Sforza's letter of the 29th Jan., 1494, in Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 695.

‡ DELABORDE, 306.

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undertook to continue it in the future, and persuaded Virginio Orsini to promise complete submission to the Pope.* As early as the first week in February, Alexander warned the French Envoys against any attack upon Naples, and at the same time wrote a letter to the King, in which he expressed surprise that Charles should entertain designs against a Christian power when a close union between all European States was indispensable in order to resist the Turks.† To mitigate this rebuff, the Golden Rose was sent to him on the 8th March, 1494. On the 14th the Neapolitan embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Naples, Alessandro Caraffa, the Marquess of Gerace, the Count of Potenza, and Antonio d'Alessandro arrived and made their obedience privately on the 20th.‡ Two days later a Consistory was held, at which a Bull was read containing the Pope's formal decision in favour of the House of Aragon. Innocent VIII. had already granted the in-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 62.

† BALAN, V., 305; DELABORDE, 306-7, who, however, had failed to notice the statement of Balan. The Brief to Charles VIII. is (undated) in MANSI-BALUZE, III., 122 *seq.* I found a contemporaneous copy of this Brief in the Milanese State Archives, and here the date, 3rd Feb., 1494, is given. On the King's annoyance, see DESJARDINS, I., 280. All modern historians, from CHERRIER (I., 346-84) to GREGOROVIUS, VII., 332 *seq.*, ed. 3 (339, ed. 4), have cited as a proof of Alexander VI.'s duplicity, a Bull of Feb. 1, 1494, in which he agrees to Charles VIII.'s invasion of Italy, and grants a free passage through the States of the Church to the troops he is sending against the Turks. This is printed in MALIPIERO, 404. DELABORDE, in the Bibl. de l'École des Chartes (1886) 512 *seq.*, has convincingly shewn that this Bull belongs to the year 1495. GREGOROVIUS, ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 41, and CREIGHTON, III., 177, prove their superficiality by taking no notice of this demonstration. The most cursory perusal of the Bull makes it clear that it could not belong to 1494.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 93-7 *seq.*, and *Letter of A. Sforza, dat. Rome, March 14 and 20, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

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vestiture of Naples to Alfonso as Duke of Calabria, and now this could not be revoked.* When Alfonso also complied with Alexander's demands in regard to the Duke of Gandia and Jofré Borgia, a further step in his favour was taken. At a Consistory on the 18th of April, the Pope commissioned Cardinal Juan Borgia to crown Alfonso at Naples. The Consistory lasted eight hours; the Cardinals of the opposition protested vehemently; the French Envoy threatened a General Council.† All was in vain. On the same day the Bull appointing the Legate for the Coronation was drawn up.‡

Great was the astonishment and dismay at the French Court at Alexander's defection. Letters came from them announcing that Charles VIII. would withdraw his obedience, and that all French benefices would be taken away from the Cardinals who sided with the Pope, and given to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.§

Another danger for Alexander was to be feared from the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. Already, on March 8, in a despatch in cypher of the Milanese Envoy, Taberna, the possibility is suggested of detaching this Cardinal from

* *Letter of Ascanio of March 22, partly in ROSMINI, II., 201, and DELABORDE, 308–9. *Cf.* *Letter of Alexander VI. to Franc. de Sprats, March 22, 1494, in Appendix, N. 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† INFESSURA, 296; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 108; *Acta Consist. in the Consistory Archives; and *Report of Brognolo, April 19, 1494, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Unfortunately the key is wanting to the cypher of A. Sforza's *Letters of the 18th and 23rd April, 1494, in the Milanese State Archives.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 3–4. On the arrival of the Legate in Naples, and the Coronation, see Despatches of the Milanese Envoys in Naples, in Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 712 *seq.*

§ BALAN, 307–10. Ascanio had wished to leave Rome at the beginning of April, but the Pope refused to give him leave. *Cf.* his **Letter, dat. Rome, April 6, 1494, in the Milanese State Archives.

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Naples and winning him over to the French cause, and thus attacking the Pope from the ecclesiastical side.* Secret negotiations in this direction were begun.† On the 26th of March Giuliano came to Rome; but even before the Consistory of April 28 he again betook himself to Ostia, whence he proceeded to enter into close relations with the Colonna.‡ "If Cardinal Giuliano can be got to ally himself with France," writes Taberna on the 2nd May, "a tremendous weapon will have been forged against the Pope." § And this was accomplished.

On the 24th April, 1494, the news was brought to Alexander that Giuliano had fled on the preceding night in a ship, with a retinue of twenty persons, leaving the fort of Ostia provisioned for two years, under the charge of the prefect of the city, Giovanni della Rovere. The Pope immediately sent to the Neapolitan Envoy to request the King's help to enable him to recover this important post, which commanded the mouth of the Tiber. A similar command was despatched to the Orsini and the Count of Pitigliano, who arrived on the evening of the 25th. "Ammunition and troops," says the Mantuan Envoy on the following day, "are being collected in all directions to act against Ostia." ‖ Strong as it was, the fort did not hold out

* See Appendix, N. 23. Milanese State Archives.

† DELABORDE, 347.

‡ BROSCH, 55 *seq.*, proves this; but GREGOROVIUS, VII., 333, ed. 3 (339, ed. 4), takes no notice of his statement. Brognolo announces Giuliano's return (yesterday evening) in a *Despatch of March 27, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ DELABORDE, 346.

‖ *Cf.* a *Report of Brognolo, April 26, 1494 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a *Letter in cypher of A. SFORZA, dat. Rome, April 24, 1494 (Milanese State Archives), in Appendix, N. 26, with INFESSURA, 296, and ALLEGRETTI, 829. See Appendix, N. 25. See also Arch. St. Napol., XI., 546 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 42, announces that Giuliano has

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long. By the end of May it had capitulated through the mediation of Fabrizio Colonna. "The conquest of this fortress was of the highest importance to the Pope. Ostia was the key to the Tiber, and communication by sea was absolutely necessary to the security of the alliance with Naples." *

Alfonso was crowned in Naples by Cardinal Juan Borgia on the 8th of May. On the previous day the marriage of Jofré Borgia with Sancia had been solemnised. Jofré became Prince of Squillace, with an income of 40,000 ducats; his brothers Juan and Cæsar were not forgotten. The former received the principality of Tricarico and the latter sundry valuable benefices.†

Cardinal Giuliano had in the first instance fled to Genoa, from whence Lodovico il Moro enabled him to proceed to France.‡ He went first to his episcopal palace at Avignon, and then to the camp of Charles VIII., who had already, on the 17th of March, announced his intention of starting for Italy, long before the arrival of Giuliano, which did not take place till the 1st of June. The Cardinal's vehement representations, now added to the entreaties of the Neapolitan refugees and the intrigues of Lodovico il Moro, materially contributed to hasten the French invasion.§

fled to save his life from an attack of Alexander; BROSCH, 57, says the story does not sound probable, and is nowhere else mentioned. See also the Ambassador's Reports in BALAN, 316, and DESJARDINS, I., 399.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334, ed. 3 (340, ed. 4); MALIPIERO, 318, and in Appendix, N. 27, the Brief of May 24, 1494. Colonna Archives, Rome.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 129 *seq.*, 151 *seq.*, 154 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 36; ALLEGRETTI, 829, who all give May 8 as the date. In GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334, ed. 3 (341, ed. 4); CREIGHTON, III., 178; and REUMONT, III., 1, 212, the date is wrong; and also in Caraccioli in MURATORI, XXII., 116.

‡ BALAN, 310.

§ CIPOLLA, 690; CHERRIER, I., 406; DELABORDE, 320. BROSCH, 51,

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This alliance between Giuliano and the French King threatened a serious danger for Alexander VI. From the beginning the enemies of the Pope had counted upon the Cardinal to carry the war into the purely ecclesiastical domain. Accordingly, the King at once informed Rovere that he desired to have him at his side at his meeting with the Pope, when the question of the reform of the Church would be broached. Giuliano himself openly declared the necessity of calling a Council to proceed against Alexander VI.* There could be no doubt of the effect this must produce upon the Pope. "His simoniacal election was the secret terror of his whole life. He dreaded above all things the use that might be made of this blot in his title to the Papacy, by the Cardinals of the opposition and his other enemies to bring about his downfall, in view of the universal feeling of the crying need of reform in the Church."† In addition to this, the Gallican tendencies in France threatened the power of the Church, both materially and spiritually. Hence, when Ascanio Sforza, in a letter in cypher to his brother on the 18th June, says that the Pope is in the greatest alarm at the efforts of Cardinal Giuliano to support the calling of a Council and the Pragmatic Sanction, his statement is in all probability perfectly true.‡ Alexander's dismay could not be concealed, when in May Charles's Envoys arrived in Rome, to assert the right of their master to the throne of Naples and demand his investiture. By

has confused the chronological sequence of events. On Charles VIII.'s reception of Cardinal Giuliano, see the Report in DESJARDINS, I., 299 *seq.*, 307, 310, 312. *Cf.* 392.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 423 (Despatch of March 8); and also DELABORDE, 348, and DESJARDINS, I., 399, 451.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 334 *seq.*, ed. 3; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

‡ S. Sta. sta in infinito per temere supra modo del card S. P. in v. lo concilio e la pracmatica. *Despatch in cypher of A. Sforza, dat. June 18, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

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his orders they were treated with all possible consideration. In his reply the Pope spoke of reconsidering the evidence in favour of the rights of the King.* The Envoys, however, saw plainly that Alexander meant to adhere to his alliance with Naples, and occupied themselves with preparing the way in secret for stirring up troubles in the States of the Church by subsidising Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna as well as other Roman nobles.† It was Ascanio Sforza who had brought about the defection of the Colonna; on the 28th of June he betook himself to their strongholds. The Pope had an enemy in his own house, says Sigismondo de' Conti; his army was insignificant, and he could not expect any effectual help either from the King of the Romans or from any other European power. The loyalty of the more distant parts of the States of the Church, such, for instance, as Bologna, was very doubtful.‡ It was not surprising, therefore, that the Pope's alarm almost bordered on despair, and the steps which he took to defend himself betrayed these sentiments.

His ally, Alfonso, was already on friendly terms with the

* DELABORDE, 366; BUSER, Beziehungen, 333, where, however, the date of Card. Peraudi's letter must be wrong. *Cf.* also SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 37; BALAN, 312; and *Letter of A. Sforza, May 25, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

† DELABORDE, *loc. cit.* In regard to the disposition of the Pope, the Florentine Envoy writes on the 13th June, 1494: *"Mostro un fermo proposito et una constanta fede et intentione verso la M^ta^ del Re Alphonso, al quale non era per manchare, ma volea mettere la vita et il sangue per la defensione sua." State Archives, Florence.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 65; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 180. Cardinal Fregoso also at this juncture fled from Rome. See BALAN, 314. Ascanio writes on the 6th July from Frascati; on the 15th July, and the 13th, 22nd, and 25th August from Genazzano; on the 22nd September again from Rome. All these *Letters are in the Milanese State Archives. In regard to the state of things at Bologna, see SANUDO, Spediz., 55 *seq.*; and DESJARDINS, I., 489.

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Sultan Bajazet. The Pope made no objection to this, and on May 12th wrote a letter to Bajazet, bespeaking his goodwill for Naples.* In June, Alexander requested Bajazet to send the accustomed yearly payment (40,000 ducats) for Dschem, as the money was needed to enable him to defend himself against Charles VIII. His messenger, the Genoese, Giorgio Bocciardo, was commissioned to inform the Sultan that the French King intended to get Dschem into his hands, in order, when he had conquered Naples, to set him up as sovereign at Constantinople. Bocciardo was also to beg the Sultan to persuade Venice to abandon her attitude of strict neutrality, and take an active part in withstanding Charles.† Later, the Pope made another

* The original minute of this letter is to be found among the papers of the Papal Secretary, L. Podocatharo, in the Library of S. Mark at Venice. GREGOROVIUS quotes it, VII., 341, ed. 3; the whole is given in THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 326. From the beginning of his reign there were friendly relations between Alexander VI. and the Sultan on account of Dschem. *Cf.* Burchard's interesting report of the audience of the Turkish Envoy on the 12th June, 1493, published by PIEPER, 19 *seq.* BURCKHARDT, Cultur., I., 88 *seq.*, ed. 3, points out that almost all the Italian States of that time had no scruples against being on the most cordial terms with the Turks; the novelty was that a Pope should be found following in the same track.

† When Bocciardo (*cf.* PIEPER, Tagebuch Burchards, 19, and THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 320) was returning home, in November 1494, accompanied by a Turkish Envoy, both were in accordance with a plan concocted in June by Alexander's enemies (see MAKUSCEV, II., 202 *seq.*), attacked about ten miles from Ancona and robbed of their despatch boxes. The Turkish Envoy, who was bringing the money for Dschem to Alexander, succeeded in making his escape, by yielding up his 40,000 ducats, but Bocciardo was made prisoner by the chief of the attacking party, Giovanni della Rovere, prefect of the town of Sinigaglia, and detained there. Giovanni at once wrote to his brother, Cardinal Giuliano, to announce this important event. (*Cf.* the Ambassadors' Despatches, in Atti Mod., IV., 334.) The captured documents were forthwith published by the opponents of the Pope. BURCHARD (II.,

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attempt, through his Legate in the same direction, but in

202 *seq.*) and SANUDO (Spediz., 42 *seq.*), in their histories, accept them all as genuine. Modern critics consider the instructions to Bocciardo as undoubtedly authentic; but reject the letter of the Sultan to Alexander, of the 12th or 15th September, 1494, in which he proposes that the Pope should make away with Dschem, promising 300,000 ducats for the corpse. (In regard to the printed copy, see the collection in HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 519–20. In MS. it is also in the *Informat. Polit., in the Berlin Library, see ZINKEISEN, 491, and in a vol. of collections in the Library at Aix in Provence, M. No. 835, f. 285 *seq.*, and in Cod. 124 [from S. Andrea della Valle] in the Vittorio Emanuale Library in Rome. First DU BULAIS, and later, RANKE (Zur Kritik [ed. 2], 99, and Rom. und Germ. Völker [ed. 2], 52), and BROSCH (Julius II., 62) have pronounced this letter of the Sultan's to be a forgery. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 341, ed. 3, thinks the letter appears to be "unauthentic in form, but possibly not in its contents." HEIDENHEIMER (Correspondenz, 531 *seq.*), p. 524, mistakenly supposes that Raynaldus had Burchard in the original before him. Burchard's Diarium, of the times of Alexander VI., is not to be found in the original, either in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, nor yet in the Vatican Library. Even in a not easily accessible collection of MSS. in the Archives of the Ceremonieri in the Vatican, which would be the most likely place, there are only later copies to be found, as I had the opportunity of ascertaining in the spring of 1893. A portion of the original of Burchard's Diarium, extending from August 1503 to May 1506, is, however, preserved in the Vatican Archives, and has been recently described by PIEPER in the Römischen Quartalschrift, VII., 392 *seq.* In this exhaustive work, the best that has as yet been written on Burchard, the genuineness of the letter is strongly maintained. CREIGHTON, III., 301 *seq.*, agrees with Pieper, and produces some new evidence. THUASNE also, Djem-Sultan, 338, holds the same view. Against Heidenheimer, HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 315, observes: "That Charles VIII., in his manifesto of Nov. 22, 1494, appears to have been acquainted with this letter proves nothing; the whole thing was a manœuvre of the French party." CIPOLLA, 692, also is inclined to agree with Brosch. He remarks: "Fosse pur vera la lettera di Bajazet, essa non aggraverebbe punto la colpa del Borgia, il quale ad ogni modo non ricevette i promessi ducati, nè per questi fece morire Gem." GREGOROVIUS, in his 4th ed., VII., 348, says, in reference to this letter, that while "the form

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vain.* Alexander and the King of Naples found themselves completely isolated in presence of the French invasion. They met at Vicovaro on the 14th July, to arrange their plan of operations. It was agreed that Alfonso, with a portion of his forces should occupy Tagliacozzo, while Virginio Orsini was to remain in the Campagna, to hold the Colonna in check. The mass of the Neapolitan and Papal troops, supported by the Florentines under Alfonso's eldest son, Ferrantino, Duke of Calabria, were to march into the Romagna, and from thence threaten Lombardy;

does not seem genuine, the contents produce the contrary impression. Heidenheimer has endeavoured to establish its authenticity." Neither Heidenheimer nor Creighton are acquainted with P. Ferrato's rare work, Il Marchesato di Mantova e l'impero Ottomano alla fine del secolo XV., Mantova, 1876. Here, p. 3–5, there is a letter of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga to the Sultan, dated Jany. 9, 1495, describing the attack near Ancona, and how the writer had succeeded in saving the Turkish Envoy, Cassim Bey. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, 555. When Heidenheimer (Correspondenz, 518) remarks "that this letter, if authentic, is to a certain extent an evidence of the estimate of Alexander's character formed by the Sultan in his distant home," we must remember that in those days political assassinations were planned by all sorts of States. Venice, for one, may be taken as an instance, as we see from LAMANSKY, Secrets d'État de Venise, St. Pétersbourg, 1884. In connection with this question, which possibly may never be decided with certainty (BRIEGERS Zeitschrift, VII., 152 *seq.*, contains an appeal for further investigation); a *Despatch from the Mantuan agent in Rome, G. Brognolo, Dec. 2, 1494, is interesting. In it he says: "*Ho inteso per bona via come ne le robe che sono state tolte a lo oratore del Papa che portava li 44m ducati sono stati ritrovati certi capituli che havea sigillati esso oratore col Turcho, dove el Papa si obligava a darli la testa del fratello dandoli esso Turcho duc. 400m et cussi erano dacordo et si iudica ch' l Papa facesse questo per poder sostenere questa impresa in favore del Re, al quale fin qui se tochato cum mano che le andato sincerissimo, etiam che tutta Roma habia sempre predichato in contrario." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DESJARDINS, I., 506 *seq.*

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Federigo of Aragon, the King's brother, was Admiral of the fleet which was intended to conquer Genoa.

If this plan had been quickly and resolutely carried out, it might have succeeded.* But from the very beginning the reverse was the case. The attitude of the Bolognese caused the Pope great anxiety;† and that of his own immediate surroundings, many of whom had been tampered with by Charles VIII., was even more unsatisfactory. At the end of August he commanded the Cardinals who had fled from Rome to return under pain of losing their benefices, but without effect. Ascanio Sforza remained with the Colonna, and Giuliano della Rovere with the French. Both said openly that Alexander had not been lawfully elected, and must be deposed.‡

Charles VIII., secure of the friendship of Lodovico il Moro and of the neutrality of Venice, had advanced, on August 23, 1494, as far as Grenoble. Shortly before this he had commanded all French prelates to leave Rome, and had strictly forbidden any money to be sent thither. On the 29th August he took leave of the Queen, and on the 3rd September he crossed the frontier between France and Savoy, with the avowed object of making good by force of arms the old, but unjustifiable, claims of the House of Anjou to the Crown of Naples.§

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 180 *seq.*; *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives; GUICCIARDINI, I., c. 2; Arch. St. Napolit., XIV., 180 *seq.*; UGOLINI, II., 522; DELABORDE, 369; CREIGHTON, III., 182. *Cf.* also the *Briefs to G. Sforza, July 22 and 29, 1494. State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.

† The Pope was actually obliged to forbid the Bolognese to harbour Milanese troops and allow them to pass through their territory. *Cf.* the *Briefs of August 19 (Milanese State Archives, Autogr., III.) and September 2, 1494, in the State Archives, Bologna.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 64; BALAN, 315.

§ DELABORDE, 388, 391, 397. *Cf.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 328.

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The strength of the French army, which included several thousand Swiss, has been much exaggerated.* A careful investigator estimates the land forces at 31,500 men, with 10,400 on board the ships, and, for the Italy of those days, a considerable force of artillery.† The young commander of this army was a small and weakly man, with a large head and puny limbs. "The French King," wrote the Venetian ambassador, Zaccaria Contarini, "is insignificant in appearance; he has an ugly face, large lustreless eyes, which see badly, an enormous hooked nose, and thick lips which are always open. He stutters and has a disagreeable, convulsive twitching in his hands, which are never still."‡ The hideous head of this ungainly little man, whose physical defects made him doubly repulsive to the artistic temperament of the Italians,§ was teeming with the most ambitious projects. He proposed to conquer the kingdom

HAEGHEN, in the Rev. Hist., XXVIII., 28 *seq.* has clearly shewn that Clement IV.'s Bull in favour of Charles of Anjou contains nothing which could justify Charles VIII. in this enterprise.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 339, ed. 3 (345, ed. 4), gives 90,000 men; VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 219, ed. 2, 60,000 men.

† DELABORDE, 324 *seq.*; MÜLINEN, 128.

‡ ALBERI, 1 Serie, VI., 15. See also BASCHET, Dipl. Vénet., 325. *Cf.* Charles VIII.'s portrait after a bust in terra-cotta in the Florentine National Museum, in Delaborde's work, and again, on p. 241 of the same, a still more unpleasing representation from the National Library in Paris. The effects of the nervous twitching in the hands, mentioned by Contarini, are visible in Charles's signature; fac-simile in DELABORDE, 245.

§ "Lo Rè di Francia," writes Sebastiano da Branca de' Talini, "era lo piu scontrofatto homo che viddi alli dì miei, piccolino, ciamaruto, lo piu brutto viso che havesse mai homo." CREIGHTON, IV., 292; and III., 191, note 1 of the same, contains similar remarks from other Italians. Charles VIII., from a physical point of view, was the complete opposite of Philip the Fair, who is called by VILLANI, IV., 4, "il piu bello Christiano che si trovasse al suo tempo."

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of Naples, "to possess himself of the Italian peninsula between the new French state and the continent; to attain imperial dignity, whether in the East or the West, remained for the present undetermined; to make the Papacy again dependent on France, and himself the master of Europe." It is difficult to believe that he could have entertained any serious hopes of conquering Jerusalem in the course of his intended expedition against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the attack upon Italy, always such a tempting object to a conqueror, was entirely his own doing. Charles encountered nothing but opposition and discouragement from his councillors and generals, who had not the slightest desire to embark in a bloody war of subjugation; but the King carried his purpose, and commenced an undertaking, the result of which was to effect a complete alteration in the relations which had hitherto obtained between the southern and south-western states of Europe.*

* HÖFLER, Joh. v. Brandenburg, 7; and Markgraf, in SYBELS Hist. Zeitschr., LXV., 552. See also FUMI, Alessandro VI., 17.

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CHAPTER III.

VICTORIOUS MARCH OF CHARLES VIII. ON ROME THROUGH LOMBARDY AND TUSCANY.—DISMAY AND HELPLESSNESS OF ALEXANDER VI.—OSTIA IN THE HANDS OF THE COLONNA. —DEFECTION OF THE ORSINI.—THE FRENCH BEFORE ROME.

Presto vedrai sommerso ogni tiranno,
E tutta Italia vedrai conquistata
Con sua vergogna e vituperio e danno.
Roma, tu sarai presto captivata ;
Vedo venir in te coltel dell' ira,
E tempo è breve e vola ogni giornata.
. . . . . .
Vuol renovar la Chiesa el mio Signore
E convertir ogni barbara gente,
E sarà un ovile et un pastore.
Ma prima Italia tutta fia dolente,
E tanto sangue in essa s'ha a versare,
Che rara fia per tutto la sua gente.

THESE lines by Fra Benedetto are a summary of the prophecies of his master, Savonarola. In his Lent sermons of the year 1494, the great preacher had announced the coming of a new Cyrus, who would lead his army in triumph through the whole of Italy, without breaking a lance or meeting with any resistance.*

This "resuscitated Cyrus" made his entry into Turin on September 5, 1494. Had he been the acknowledged sovereign of Savoy, his welcome could not have been more brilliant or joyous. Throughout the whole country he was

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 134. *Cf. supra*, p. 189.

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equally well received. At Chieri the children came out to meet him, carrying banners bearing the French arms; and at Asti he was greeted by Lodovico Sforza, Ercole of Ferrara, and Giuliano della Rovere. The French King, on his side, did his best to impress the lively imagination of the Italians, and the white silken standard of the army bore the mottoes *Voluntas Dei*, and *Missus a Deo* interwoven with the Royal arms.*

During his stay at Asti the news arrived of the victory of his brother-in-law, Louis of Orleans, at Rapallo, over Federigo of Aragon; the moral effect in Italy of this success was immense. At that moment the progress of the expedition was temporarily checked by the sudden illness of Charles. He soon recovered, however, and it was plain that he had not relinquished his plans. On the 14th October, he entered Pavia in triumph; on the 18th he was in Piacenza, where an Envoy from the Pope made vain endeavours to come to an agreement on the Neapolitan claim. At Piacenza he heard of the death of the unfortunate Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan. By this event Lodovico il Moro obtained the Ducal throne of Milan, which had been for so long the object of his desires.† Shortly after, the news arrived that Caterina Sforza and her son Ottaviano had declared for France. This was the beginning of troubles for Alexander and Alfonso in the Romagna itself. About the same time the French troops crossed the Apennines by the Col de la Cisà, and encamped before the

* DELABORDE, 397, 420; BALAN, R. Boschetti, I., 24.

† The rumour which was at once set afloat (MALIPIERO, VII., 320) that Lodovico il Moro (as to his character, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 216 *seq.*, 273) had poisoned his nephew, is apparently unfounded, as MAGENTA, I., 535 *seq.*, has shewn. Alexander VI. sent his condolences to Lodovico on the 9th November, 1494. See Notizenblatt (1856), 444 *seq.* On Lodovico's investiture with Milan by Maximilian I., see ULMANN, I., 225 *seq.*

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Florentine fortress of Sarzana.* As the news spread of this irresistible stream of foreign barbarians pouring unchecked into Italy, it created indescribable consternation throughout the country. The Italians were used to the game of brag played by the mercenary troops; but now they found themselves face to face with war in earnest, with all its horrors and bloodshed. Rumour magnified the army into a host that could not be counted, and told tales of giants and savages, and invincible weapons.† In Rome the alarm was aggravated by the revolt of the Colonna and Savelli instigated by Ascanio Sforza. On the 18th of September Ostia was treacherously handed over to the Colonna, who immediately hoisted the French flag.‡ French galleys soon began to appear at the mouth of the Tiber, which made the occupation of Ostia still more serious for Alexander. In dread lest he should lose more cities in the States of the Church,§ the Pope, after a consultation with Virginio Orsini, determined to declare war against the rebels.‖ On the 6th October an ultimatum was sent to them, commanding them to lay down their arms; troops

* DELABORDE, 400 *seq.*, 406 *seq.*, 420, 427, 431–432. *Cf.* Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 786 *seq.*

† VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 203, ed. 2; GASPARY, II., 339 *seq.*—and 337 *seq.* on the echoes of this great national calamity in the poetry of the time. The cruelty of the French after the conquest of Rapallo made a great impression. *Cf.* F. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 4–5.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 65, who says of the fort of Ostia: a qua urbs Roma propter comeatum quasi spiritum ducit. *Cf.* also BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 186; BALAN, 317; and Brognolo's **Report, dat. Rome, Sept. 22, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On Sept. 22, 1494, Alexander VI. wrote to the Doge complaining of the perfidia et insolentia of the Colonna and Orsini, and begged for support; on the 28th he requested assistance from Spain to enable him to recover Ostia. These *Briefs are in the State Archives at Venice.

§ *Cf.* Brief of Sept. 21, 1494, to Orvieto in FUMI, Alessandro VI., 73.

‖ Brognolo's **Report of Sept. 22, 1494, *loc. cit.*

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were collected, and it was decided that Cardinal Piccolomini should be sent to Charles VIII. The French King, in a letter to his Envoy at Rome, announced that the Colonna were under his protection; and at the same time informed the Pope that he had bound himself by a vow to visit the Holy Places in Rome, and hoped to be there by Christmas.*

It was fortunate for Alexander that the Colonna had but few fighting-men; there was no want of will on their part to do him as much mischief as possible. A conspiracy was discovered which aimed at nothing less than the seizure of Dschem, a revolution in Rome, and the imprisonment of the Pope; simultaneously with this there was to be a rising in the southern parts of the States of the Church. Alexander and Alfonso took measures to protect themselves; Dschem was shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, the Colonna were outlawed and troops sent against them. Although they were not powerful enough to carry out their plans in their entirety, their revolt had the effect of preventing the King of Naples from employing all his forces against the French in the Romagna.†

Meanwhile Charles VIII. had entered Tuscany. There was so little attempt at resistance that the French were amazed at their good fortune. Commines repeatedly exclaims that God himself was with them. The veil of æsthetic culture which had hitherto partially concealed the moral and political corruption of Italy was rent asunder, its utter disunion, and the shortsighted selfishness of the various states became glaringly apparent. Piero de' Medici,

* DELABORDE, 419–420; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 329.

† DESJARDINS, I., 457–458, 463–465, 467 *seq.*, 475. GHIRARDACCI, Storia di Bologna, says of the year 1494: Il Papa promette di fare cardinale Antonio Galeazzo figliolo del Sig. Giovanni con patto che non si dia il passo al Re di Francia. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

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on the 26th October, presented himself at the French camp and quietly yielded up all his fortified cities to the conqueror without ever drawing a sword. This dastardly act, however, instead of saving him, proved his ruin. "The sword has arrived," cried Savonarola, on the 1st November, from his pulpit in the Cathedral in Florence; "the prophecies are on the eve of their fulfilment, retribution is beginning; God is the leader of this host." To the eloquent Dominican it was due that, in spite of the universal excitement, so few excesses were committed in Florence, and the inevitable overthrow of the Medici was so quietly effected. On the 9th of November the Florentines rose with the war cry, "The people and liberty, down with the Balls" (the Medici arms). Piero and his brother, the Cardinal, fled, and their palace, with all the art-treasures which it contained, was plundered by the populace.*

Charles VIII. entered Lucca on the 8th November, and it was here that Cardinal Piccolomini, who had been sent by Alexander VI. to endeavour to come to terms, found him;† but the French King refused to see him, saying that he was coming to Rome in order to treat with the Pope

* VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 224 *seq.*, ed. 2; PERRENS, Hist. de Florence, II., 69 *seq.*, 84 *seq.* On the pillage of the Medici Palace, see DELABORDE, 445 *seq.*; and also SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 72.

† Piccolomini had been nominated Legatus de latere for the French King on Oct. 1, and had set out to meet him on the 17th. (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.) According to this DELABORDE, 447, requires to be corrected. The decree for Piccolomini of the 8th Oct. is to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 16. Alexander sent a Brief to Charles VIII. to announce Piccolomini's mission on Oct. 14. (State Archives, Venice.) The *Littera passus for Cardinal Piccolomini, ad car. in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Francor. regem ill. in presentiarum in partibus Italiae constitutum et ad universam Italiam ad quecunque ipsius Italiae loca, ad que eum declinere contigeret. Dat. Romae, 16 Cal. Nov., 1494, is in Regest. 879, f. 294. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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himself.* Alexander could have no illusions as to what this meant. On the 4th November Piccolomini had written to him from Lucca that the French proclaimed that their King was coming to Rome "to reform the Church."† On the 9th November Charles was welcomed at Pisa by the citizens, as their liberator from the tyranny of Florence. Here he received Savonarola and the Florentine deputation. Savonarola greeted him as the most Christian King, the messenger of God sent to deliver Italy out of her distresses and to reform the Church. At the same time, he warned Charles that he must be merciful, especially towards Florence, otherwise God would punish him severely.‡

On the 17th November, the French army entered Florence, which was decked in festal array to receive it. The mob shouted "Viva Francia"; at night the city was illuminated. After the festivities came the negotiations, which were not easy to arrange. After a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that Charles should be given the title of protector and restorer of the liberties of the Florentines, and should receive 12,000 golden florins. He was not to retain the fortified places which Piero had yielded for more than two years, and was to deliver them up before that time if the war with Naples were concluded earlier. The Medici were to remain in exile.§

* SANUDO, Spediz., 110; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 71; ALLEGRETTI, 830.

† Aiunt etiam multo vulgo inter illos iactari, regem Romam venturum et statum Romanae ecclesiae reformatorum. Card. Piccolomini to Alexander VI., Dat. Lucca, Nov. 4, 1494; Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 354, n. 5. The *Brief is in the S. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, I., 239 *seq.*, ed. 2; DELABORDE, 447, 450; PERRENS, Savonarola, 143 *seq.*, and Hist. de Florence, II., 81 *seq.* On the relations between CHARLES VIII. and Pisa, see FANUCCI, Le Relazioni di Pisa e Carlo VIII., Pisa, 1892.

§ LANDUCCI, 80 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 133 *seq.*; F. RICCIARDI DA

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It was about this time that Cardinal Giuliano's brother fell upon Bocciardo, who was on his way home accompanied by a Turkish Envoy bringing the annual pension for Dschem, ten miles before they reached Ancona, and succeeded in getting possession of all his letters and the money.* The manifesto to all Christian nations, written in the style of an Emperor and Pope rolled into one, which Charles VIII. issued on the 22nd of November, has been connected with this occurrence. In this document he declared that the object of his expedition was not conquest, but simply following in the footsteps of his predecessors, the overthrow of the Turks and the liberation of the Holy Land. He only desired to recover possession of his Neapolitan kingdom in order to accomplish this. He asked nothing from the Pope but a free passage through the States of the Church, and supplies for his troops on their march; if this were refused, he would take it without leave. He protested beforehand against being held responsible for any ill consequences that might ensue, and, if necessary, would renew this protest before all the princes in Christendom, whom he purposed to summon to join him in his expedition against the Turks. This manifesto was published in Latin and French, and soon after translated into German, and disseminated through the press.†

PISTOJA, Ricordi, 13 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 457 *seq.*; PERRENS, Hist. de Florence, II., 95 *seq.*; Arch. St. Ital., 1 Serie, I., 362–375; IV., 2, 47 *seq.*; Revue d'Hist. Dipl. (1887), I., 593 *seq.* REUMONT, in the Allg. Zeitung (1875), No. 103, Supp., has pronounced against RANKE, who (Zur Kritik, 17, 41) throws doubt on the well-known encounter between Capponi and Charles's private secretary. DELABORDE, *loc. cit.*, and REINACH, in the Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs de France, X., XLVI. (Paris, 1893), think that Guicciardini exaggerated the incident.

* See *supra*, p. 428, note †.

† The manifesto begins like a Bull (sous la forme d'un bref, says

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Charles's manifesto contained for Alexander a hardly-veiled threat of a Council and deposition. It was the strongest pressure that the King could put upon him; and Charles, knowing how apprehensive he was on this point, had good reason to hope that it would prove effectual.

The Pope had completely broken down before the rapid progress of the French, and the extreme improbability of help being forthcoming, either from Venice or from any other quarter.* The King of Naples urged him to proceed against Charles and Lodovico il Moro with spiritual weapons, but Alexander could not make up his mind to this. Alfonso complained to the Florentine Envoy of the Pope's niggardliness and nepotism, and of his cowardice.† It is easy to see from the reports of this Ambassador that the King no longer felt secure of the Pope's support. Alexander was, indeed, in great difficulties. The rebellion

PILORGERIE, 101. See MALIPIERO, VII., 325-7, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 73-6—the latter not quite agreeing with Malipiero), with the words: Carolus Dei gratia Francorum rex universis Christi fidelibus praesentes litteras inspecturis zelum catholicae fidei et salutem in domino sempiternam. Considerantes attentius, etc. *Cf.* DELABORDE, 480-81 (who, however, looks upon the whole thing as a forgery), and HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 541 *seq.* THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 340, considers it a mistake to imagine any connection between the manifesto and the captured letters.

* In a *Brief of the 5th July, 1494, Alexander announced the mission of the Bishop of Calahorra; and on the 22nd September made a direct request for assistance (see *supra*, p. 436), but without success. See DESJARDINS, I., 517. The documents published by PERRET, La mission de Péron de Baschi a Venise, Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, LII., 285-98, shew how careful, even in 1493, the Venetians were to avoid doing anything against Charles VIII.

† DESJARDINS, I., 466, 472, 477, 481, 483. Taberna speaks of the Pope's projects for getting hold of the possessions of the Colonna and giving them to his family, in a *Letter dat. Rome, July 5, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

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of the Barons made the neighbourhood of Rome thoroughly insecure; French ships were continually bringing reinforcements to the defenders of Ostia, and to the Colonna and Savelli. All the Pope's enemies were unwearied in proclaiming that the French King was going to summon a Council and have the Pope deposed. The manifesto of November 22nd shewed what Charles's dispositions were; and at his side stood Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to bear witness, as no one better could, to the simony by which his election had been secured. His heart sank within him at the future that lay before him. Sanudo expressly mentions this terror of his, lest Charles should determine to depose him and set up an anti-Pope.*

Under these circumstances it appeared not impossible, even at the last moment, to win Alexander over for France. Two attempts were made in this direction. On the 2nd of November, Ascanio Sforza came to Rome and had several long conversations with the Pope; the first lasted five hours, and did not conclude till midnight. Ascanio enumerated all the dangers that were to be feared from the French King, and tried to persuade Alexander to adopt a neutral attitude. The Pope is said to have replied that he would rather sacrifice his crown, his dominions, and even his life, than abandon Alfonso. It is certain that at that time he thought of making his escape from Rome, and enquired at Venice whether he might hope to find a refuge there. Some people thought they perceived an air of satisfaction in Ascanio's demeanour when he was leaving Rome, which convinced them that he had come to an understanding with the Pope.† This, however, was not the case. A few days

* SANUDO, Spediz., 115.

† SANUDO, *loc. cit.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, ed. Thuasne, 194 *seq.*, 646 *seq.* A **Brief of Alexander VI. to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Oct. 26, 1494, belongs to this time. Milanese State Archives.

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later Pandolfo Collenuccio, acting on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara, made another attempt to persuade Alexander to side with France; but he emphatically declared that he would rather leave Rome, and even give up both life and crown than become the slave of the French King, who was bent on being master of the whole of Italy.* When the news arrived, on November 14, that Charles had refused to receive Piccolomini, the French Cardinal Peraudi was immediately appointed Legate, and despatched to the King.† He was commissioned to inform Charles VIII. that Alexander would come to meet him, in order to consult with him about the proposed Crusade; but the crafty King declined this great honour, saying that he wished to do homage to the Pope in the Holy Father's own palace. At the same time, he succeeded in talking over Cardinal Peraudi, who was really eager for the Crusade, and winning him to his side. Thus Alexander found his policy defeated

* In regard to the mission of P. Collenuccio, see Reports from the State Archives at Modena in BALAN, V., 323, and "I Papi ed i vespri Siciliani con doc. inediti" (Terza ediz., Roma, 1882), 95. An Ambassadorial *Report, unfortunately without a date, apparently belongs to this time, in the postscript of which we find: Non mi pare anche tacere che presente lo ambax^re Spagnolo la S^ta Sua dixe chel Re de Franza la menazava de concilio et altre cose et quando se venesse a questo deliberava anche intendere se la muliere ha la Christ^ma M^ta Sua è vera muliere o femina e che procederia alle censure etc. Al che io rispose (*sic*) che la S^ta Sua volesse abstenirse da simile parole perche la doveva sapere che papa Innocentio provedete a questa cosa talmente che la Christ^ma M^ta Sua po tenere sanctam^te la regina per sua vera consorte et che iterum la pregava ad non farne parola. Milanese State Archives.

† *Die Novembr. 14, 1494, litteris r^mi d^ni Card^lis Senensis ad pontificem sacro senatui constitit, christianiss. regem Franciae se legatum noluisse admittere; ea de causa eo die Car^lis Gurcensis (MS. Cruccensis) regem adivit. Ex manuscriptis manu propria Juliani Secundi diaconi Card^lis Caeserini temp. Alex. VI. et Julii II. S. P. Cod. XXXIII., 48. Barberini Library, Rome.

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on every side.* As a last resource he sent a third Legate, Cardinal Sanseverino, who had been in France, and belonged to the party of Ascanio, to arrest if possible the onward march of the French. But Charles informed him that he had resolved to keep Christmas with the Pope in Rome, and there to treat with the Holy Father in person. In great haste Sanseverino hurried back to Rome—he only took 36 hours to accomplish the 100 miles from Siena—to bring this news to the Pope.† Soon after, came the alarming announcement that Viterbo had opened her gates to the enemy, the Papal governor had fled, and Virginio Orsini with his troops had arrived too late. The advance of the French was so rapid and unexpected that Giulia Farnese, who was travelling, fell into the hands of the enemy, but was soon released at Alexander's request. The Envoy who relates this closes his report with the words: "The French King will not meet with the smallest resistance in Rome."‡

The Pope continued to cast about on all sides to find some one who would deliver him from this terrible "Pilgrim." On the 24th November he sent for Maximilian's Ambassador, the Prince of Anhalt. Charles VIII., he said, not only aimed at the conquest of all the Emperor's possessions in Italy, but at obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. Even with the knife at his throat he, the Pope, would never consent to this. Hence he desired the Ambassador to urge

* DELABORDE; 478, *ibid.*, 403, on Peraudi's zeal for the Crusade. *Cf.* also SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 35 *seq.*, and Hist. Jahrb., VI., 456 *seq.* As to Peraudi's itinerary, *cf.* a *Letter of Card. Piccolomini to Alex. VI., dat. Siena, Nov. 20, 1494. Card. Piccolomini in this expresses his satisfaction that Peraudi has been sent, and remarks: Heri vesperi hanc urbem ingressus est rev. Cardlis. Gurcens. I found the original of this letter in the valuable Cod. X., 174, of St. Mark's Library of Venice.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 146–7.

‡ See Appendix, N. 28, *Report of Brognolo, Nov. 29, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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the King of the Romans to come forward as the protector of the Church.* He also implored the Venetian Envoys to stand by him.†

The excitement in Rome increased from day to day. The city was blockaded on the sea-side by Ostia and on the land by the Colonna, and food was already beginning to become scarce.‡ The gates of the city were closed with chains and some were walled up; S. Angelo was put in a state of defence. It was said that Alexander would fly to Venice or Naples, to escape being deposed by the French. Cardinal Sanseverino advised the Pope to try for a reconciliation with Ascanio Sforza, who was on the most intimate terms with Charles VIII.§ This was attempted, and on the 2nd December, Ascanio again came to Rome; Cardinals Sanseverino and Lunati conducted the negotiations, in his name with Juan de Lopez, the Pope's confidant; they seemed to be on the point of coming to an agreement, in accordance with which Sforza and Prospero Colonna were to march against Viterbo. When, on the 9th December, Sforza and Colonna were preparing to depart, they, together with the two Cardinals, were arrested and put in prison by the Pope's orders; and the French Ambassador was informed that passage through the States of the Church could not be granted to Charles VIII.‖ What could have induced

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 198–9.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 149.

‡ BALAN, V., 330.

§ In a *Letter dated from Marino, Nov. 12, 1494, A. Sforza expresses his satisfaction to the French King at the news contained in a letter from the latter announcing his arrival in Siena. Nothing has given him so much pleasure as videre et venerari Maj^tem Vest. Milanese State Archives.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 199 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 149 *seq.* In the Notizenblatt for 1856, 445–6, the Pope's appeal for help to L. Moro of Dec. 4, 1494, with a postscript in his own handwriting, in which the

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Alexander to act in this manner? The reason is not far to seek. The Duke of Calabria, Giulio Orsini, and the Count of Pitigliano were encamped with the Neapolitan army before Rome. On the 10th December they entered the city.* Alexander hoped, through the imprisonment of Prospero Colonna and the Cardinals, to regain his power over Ostia, and to induce the inhabitants of the Campagna to rise against the French. Neither of these hopes were realised. Charles VIII. steadily advanced, meeting with no serious resistance anywhere, and favoured by the unusual mildness of the winter.†

The more the Pope saw of the Neapolitan army the more convinced he became that it was no match for the French. Consequently, the more distinguished Germans and Spaniards in the city were requested to undertake the military organisation of their countrymen; Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies at the Papal Court, called the Germans together at the Hospital of the Anima. The assembly resolved not to comply with the Pope's wish, because the German corps would have to be under the orders of the city authorities.‡ Alexander grew more and more helpless from hour to hour. "At one moment he wanted to defend himself, the next to

negotiations with A. Sforza are mentioned, Zurita, 50b *seq.*; Ambassadorial Reports in DELABORDE, 495 *seq.*; and BALAN, V., 330 *seq.* *Cf.* also Brognolo's **Report, dat. Rome, Dec. 11, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See further, ** Sommario de le lettere di Steph. Taberna et M. Mapheo de Trivilio a Nepe a di 17 Decemb., 1494. Milanese State Archives.

* In questhora el duca de Calabria è entrato dentro (di) Roma col. S. Virginio et Conte da Pitiliano. *Despatch from Brognolo dat. Rome, Dec. 10, 1494. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 348, ed. 3 (354, ed. 4).

† DELABORDE, 500.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 201 *seq.*

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come to terms; then, again, he thought of leaving the city." On the 18th December Burchard relates that everything in the Vatican, down to the bedding and table service, was packed for flight; all valuables had been sent to S. Angelo; the Cardinals' horses were standing ready to start.* On the same day, the Milanese Envoy writes that he is convinced that Alexander intends to fly from Rome that night, taking the imprisoned Cardinals with him.† After all the Pope did not fly, probably because now, flight was hardly possible.

On the 17th December, Civita Vecchia was taken by the French;‡ and on the same day a still more disastrous event occurred; the Orsini went over to the French King and admitted him to their strong castle of Bracciano, where he set up his head-quarters.§ It was on the 19th also that the first French outposts appeared on Monte Mario. From the windows of the Vatican the Pope could see the enemy's cavalry galloping their horses in the meadows under S. Angelo.‖ Cardinal Sanseverino was now released, in order to treat with Charles VIII. Meanwhile the scarcity in Rome was becoming intolerable. The Romans sent word to the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 211; REUMONT, III., 1, 215.

† *Per duplicate mie V. S. Ill. havera inteso la detentione del ill. suo fratello. Al presente quella sera avisata come è publico et certo nome chel papa [e] el duca de Calabria partiranno questa nocte et menaranno cum se M^re^ Ascanio, S. Severino et S. Prospero per haver mandato questa nocte passata circa doe squadre ad preparar et assecurare el camino de Tibuli et evacuato tucte le robbe de palazo insino a la sacristia. F. de Curte to Lodovico il Moro, dat. Rome, Dec. 18, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

‡ **Report of Stef. Taberna and M. de Trivilio, Dec. 17, 1494. Milanese State Archives.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 84.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 211. In regard to Gothein's (108 *seq.*) false account of Peraudi's behaviour at this time, see SCHNEIDER, 42 *seq.*

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Pope that if he did not come to terms with Charles within two days, they would themselves admit him into the city.*

The Duke of Calabria advised Alexander to fly to Naples, and promised him 50,000 ducats a year and the fortress of Gaeta. To give effect to this proposal a deed was drawn up and was only awaiting the Pope's signature,† when, at the last moment, he again changed his mind. He determined to release Cardinal Sforza, to give up resisting and irritating the French King, and permit him to enter the city. On the morning of Christmas-day he informed the Cardinals and the Duke of Calabria of this decision. Charles VIII. granted to the latter a letter of safe conduct,‡ with which the Duke and his troops left Rome the same day, going in the first instance to Tivoli and then to Terracina.§ During the night three French Envoys had entered Rome; their suite coolly took possession of the places in the chapel reserved for the prelates. The pedantic Prefect of Ceremonies, Burchard, wanted to turn them out; but the terrified Pope prevented him, angrily exclaiming: "You will cost me my head; let the French put themselves wherever they please."‖

The Pope and the King found it extremely difficult to

* *Caleffini's Chronicle, Cod. I.—I. 4, f. 327b in the Chigi Library, Rome.

† This deed is in THEINER, Cod. Dipl., III., 510–11.

‡ DELABORDE, 505.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 214 *seq.* SANUDO, Spediz., 161. *In questa hora che sono circa XV. lo illmo Sr Ducha de Calabria è ito in palazo armato per pigliare licentia da N. Sre, poi si aviarà cum tutta la comitiva sua per andare nel Reame. Farrà la via de Tivoli et porta cum si victualie per dui zorni; credo che hora el Re de Franza verrà a Roma. Tutto el di de heri se atese ad altro che a portare robba fora de palazo, dove si stimma chel pto Re debba alogiare, et chel Papa debba ridursi in castello; pur non do questo per certo a la Ex. V. Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua, Rome, Dec. 25, 1494. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 215.

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come to an understanding, because Charles demanded that Dschem should be at once delivered over to him, while the Pope was not prepared to do this until the Crusade had actually begun. This point was left undecided for the present. Charles promised to respect all the Pope's rights, both temporal and spiritual; the whole of the city on the left bank of the Tiber was given up to be occupied by his troops. A Commission was appointed to arrange for the billeting of the French, who, since the 27th of December, had been arriving in detachments, while the Pope's army (consisting only of 1000 horsemen and a few foot soldiers) occupied the Borgo. Alexander shut himself up with his Spanish body-guard in the Vatican.*

* SANUDO, Spediz., 162; *cf.* 165; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 85; DELABORDE, 505-6; CHERRIER, II., 71.

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CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES VIII. IN ROME AND NAPLES.—THE HOLY LEAGUE OF MARCH 1495.—FLIGHT OF THE POPE.—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY.

THE French King decided to make his formal entry into Rome on S. Silvester's Day which had been declared auspicious by the Astrologers. Early in the morning the Pope sent Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies, to meet him at the village of Galera, and to arrange the details of the reception. Charles told him that he wished to make his entry quietly and without pomp. To the address of the delegates of the Roman citizens who accompanied Burchard, he gave a short and colourless reply. "The King made me ride by him" says Burchard, "and in the course of our journey of four miles asked me so many questions about the customary ceremonial, the Pope, Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, and other things, that it was all I could do to give satisfactory answers to them all." *

At the Borghetto, Cardinal Sforza came to meet the King, at the Ponte Molle, he was received by Cardinal Cibò. At the Porta del Popolo, the keys of all the city gates were handed over to the King's Grand-Marshal. The entry of the troops lasted from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till 9 in the evening, amid cries from the mob of Francia, Colonna, Vincoli (Giuliano della Rovere). The Via Lata, now the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 216; SANUDO, Spediz., 163 *seq.* The preparations for the reception of Charles cost 500 flor. auri de cam. *Exitus 527, f. 192. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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Corso, was lighted with lamps when darkness came on, and crowded with spectators.

A long file of mercenaries, Swiss and German, headed the march, powerful men and splendid soldiers, keeping line and time perfectly, to the sound of their trumpets. Their uniforms were short, many coloured and close-fitting; some had plumes in their helmets. They were armed with short swords, and spears ten feet long, made of oak and pointed with iron; a fourth part of them, instead of spears, carried strong halberds fitted for striking as well as thrusting. Five thousand Gascons, mostly cross-bow men, followed the Swiss and Germans, forming a strong contrast to them by their small stature and sober uniforms. Next came 2500 heavy cavalry with sharp lances and iron maces, and amongst them rode the flower of the French nobility in gorgeous silk mantles and costly helmets with gilt chains. Each knight was followed by three horsemen, his esquire and two grooms, all armed. The horses were large and powerful, with close cropped ears and tails, according to the fashion of those days in France. Attached to these were about 5000 light cavalry, armed with English long-bows and long arrows which carried far. Some of these also had daggers with which to stab those who had been ridden down by the dragoons. The arms of their chiefs were embroidered in silver braid on their cloaks. Four hundred archers, of whom one hundred were Scots, came next to the King, whose body-guard was formed of two hundred of the noblest of the French knights, on foot. They carried iron maces like heavy axes on their shoulders; but when on horseback they were armed like the Dragoons, and only distinguished by their finer horses and magnificent accoutrements.

The Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere rode beside the King, and behind him Cardinals Colonna and Savelli. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna and the other

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Italian generals rode amongst the French nobility. The men and horses and banners of the French loomed larger and more numerous even than they were, in the uncertain light of the torches, and struck terror into the hearts of the Romans; but the climax of fear and wonder was reached when the artillery appeared on the scene, more than 36 bronze cannons rattling over the pavement at a rapid trot. Each of these guns was eight feet long, weighed six thousand pounds, and had a bore of the size of a man's head. In addition to these there were field-pieces half as long again, and falconets, the smallest of which discharged shot as large as a pomegranate.*

Besides those already mentioned, the Cardinals Jean de la Grolaie, Peraudi, Sanseverino and Lunati were also in the King's train, and accompanied him to his residence, the Palace of San Marco. All the important points of the city were occupied that same evening by detachments of French soldiers. A portion of the artillery was stationed in front of the King's palace.†

All the Cardinals except Caraffa and Orsini came to pay their respects to Charles, who received them haughtily and without the usual honours. The only exception that was made was in favour of Cardinal Cesarini.‡ Charles

* JOVIUS, II., 41b–42b; SANUDO, Spediz., 162 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 217; PILORGERIE, 143 *seq.*; Sebast. de Branca de' Talini in CREIGHTON, IV., 291. The entry is briefly mentioned in the * Acta Consist.: * Die ultimo Decembris, 1495 (*sic*) hora prima noctis, Ser. D. Carolus Francorum rex per portam b. Mariae de populo intravit urbem cum exercitu suo et hospitatus est in palatio S. Marci. Consistorial Archives.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86; SANUDO, Spediz., 164 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 508; CALAFFINI, f. 328 (error in date). Chighi Library, Rome.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, I., 217–18. * Ego, 2 Januarii, 1495, post prandium immediate Suam Mtem conveni et in S. Marci palatio descendenti mihi dominus de Albeny se obviam dedit; regi postmodum

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required from the Pope that the Castle of S. Angelo and Prince Dschem should be delivered over to him, and that Cæsar Borgia should accompany him to Naples. On the 5th January, a Consistory was to have been held to deliberate on these points, but had to be postponed till the following day, the Pope having had a fainting fit. The result was a resolution that all three demands should be refused. When the Cardinals, who had been charged with the negotiations, informed the King of this decision he replied "My Barons will acquaint the Pope with my will."* Alexander then expressed his readiness to give up Civita Vecchia, but not S. Angelo at any price. The Envoys were greatly alarmed as to the possible consequences of this reply.†

me advenisse pronuntiavit qui per passus circiter quindecim mihi recurrit et complexus est non minus ac ego capite detecto, quod paucis aliis effecit. Ego regem alloquutus, cardles S. Petri ad vincula, Gurcensem, Columnam, Sabellum, qui regi astabant, amplexus sum. Sequenti post die cardlem S. Petri ad vincula visitavi, quo factum est, ut mihi pontifex retulerit, dictum sibi fuisse a tribus cardinalibus, me meum votum ipsi cardinali obtulisse, quod non cederet; Suam Beatnem quietavi etc. Ex manuscriptis Juliani Card. Caesarini, Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 17, in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* As a supplement to SANUDO, Spediz., 170 and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219, *cf.* Card. CESARINI'S *Notes for which I have to thank Dr. Gottlob. We find here: *Die 5 Januarii post vesperas Epiphaniae exutus pontificales vestes Papa in camera pistacci volens se iam reducere, subito quodam accidenti defecit (Alexander VI. was liable to frequent fainting fits; see *supra*, Chap. I.) quem S. Severini Cardlis et ego ad cameram audientiae pedibus non subsistentem reduximus, ubi maximis stomachi doloribus vexatus est; postea ad cameram quietis portavimus . . . Eo vesperi regis Francorum oratoribus S. D. N. responsum daturus erat, sed praepeditus ad diem sequentem distulit post missam cappellae; after mass the three demands of Charles were considered. Omne tria sacer senatus denegavit atque reiecit. Cod. Citat. of the Barberini Library, Rome.

† See Appendix, N. 29, *Report of Brognolo, dated 4th of Jan., 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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In the city the panic was so great that the inhabitants buried all their valuables.* "The discontent of the people is at its height" says Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy on January 6th, 1495, "the requisitions are fearful, the murders innumerable, one hears nothing but moaning and weeping. In all the memory of man the Church has never been in such evil plight." "It is impossible" he writes two days later "for so large an army to remain long in Rome, both provisions and money are beginning already to fail. To-day, in consequence of a paltry quarrel between the French and the Swiss, all the troops were called out and the streets swarmed with armed men."† Although the King had gallows erected in the public squares, the disorders amongst the soldiers continued.‡ On the 7th January the Pope, accompanied by six Cardinals (Caraffa, Orsini, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Pallavicini, Juan and Cæsar Borgia), fled through the underground passage to the Castle of S. Angelo.§ It was not only his personal security which was now in danger, but his actual existence as Pope. The five Cardinals (G. della Rovere, A. Sforza, Peraudi, Savelli

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 357, ed. 3 (363, ed. 4).

† See Appendix N. 30 and 31, Brognolo's *Reports of the 6th and 8th Jan., 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219 *seq.*; ALLEGRETTI, 838; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 43. DELABORDE, 509, endeavours to exonerate the French from all blame as much as possible. It is, however, quite clear that their occupation both of the city and the States of the Church was most oppressive. *Cf.* with the Reports of the Mantuan Envoys printed in the Appendix, MALIPIERO, 330; Diario di S. Tommaso di Silvestro, 25; Trotti's Despatch in BALAN, 334, n. 6, and also Boccaccio's Report in Arch. St. Napol., IV., 792, 794. Brantôme bears witness to the evils connected with the French army, which are also brought up by CANTÙ in Arch. St. Lomb., XV., 337–8 against Delaborde. *Cf.* also LUZIO-RENIER, F. Gonzaga alla batt. di Fornovo, 9–10.

§ SANUDO, Spediz., 171; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220.

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and Colonna), who had constant access to Charles VIII.,* were unwearied in urging him to call a Council in order to depose the simoniacal Pope, and reform the Church. "Reform" was only a pretext, as Commines himself, though a Frenchman, acknowledged. The accusation of simony at the election, he observes, was true; but the man who preferred it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, was the one who of all others had received the highest pay for his vote at the Conclave. In a later account he says that the draft of the decree for Alexander's deposition was already on paper at that time; but it was not Charles's intention, nor would it have been for his interest, to proceed to this extremity.†

Briçonnet, writing about this time to the Queen of France says, "the King desires the Reform of the Church but not the deposition of the Pope."‡ The French King has recently been severely blamed for not having followed up his victory and destroyed his opponent. Such a judgment betrays a complete misapprehension of the circumstances of the case.

Only those who, like the Germans, knew nothing personally of Charles VIII. could have supposed that the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86.

† COMMINES, VII., 15. The account of the decree of deposition is in a *Despatch from B. Navagero, of May 21, 1577 (MS. Foscarini, 6255, in the Court Library, Vienna), quoted by Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.*, 355. The passage runs as follows:—Sua S^ta^ (Paul IV.), entro a deplorar le miserie d'Italia et narrò l'historia dal principio che fù chiamato Rè Carlo in Italia da Ludovico Moro et Alfonso d'Aragona con li particolari del parentado fra questi due, la causa dell' inimicitia, il passar Rè Carlo per Roma, la paura di papa Alessandro di esser deposto, come publicamente dicevano li cardinali che vennero co'l Rè tra quali erano S. Pietro in vincola, che fù poi Giulio secundo; che furno fatti li capitoli della privatione da un Vicentino vescovo di [*illegible*] all' hora auditor della Camera.

‡ PILORGERIE, 135.

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young and pleasure-loving King could be seriously anxious for the reform of the Church. Commines remarks that "the King was young, and his surroundings were not of a nature to fit him for so great a work as the reform of the Church."* Lodovico remarks with a sneer that the French King would do well to begin by reforming himself.† As regards the deposition of Alexander, Charles must have felt that the great powers of Europe, already jealous of his successes, would not have stood quietly by had he attempted to take such a step as this; Maximilian, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Venice, would all have supported the Pope. He must also have been aware that he would have had to face opposition among his own subjects whose veneration for the Head of the Church would have recoiled from such an extreme measure.‡

Apart, however, from all this, what would Charles have gained by substituting Giuliano della Rovere or Ascanio Sforza for Alexander? was he not far more likely to get what he wanted from the timid and vacillating Borgia.§ As a matter of fact the policy which he pursued was that

* COMMINES, VII., 15.

† ROMANIN, V., 56. As to opinion in Germany; see CHMEL, Urkunden zur Gesch. Maximilians I., 56; Briçonnet's asseverations in Florence in regard to the readiness of Charles to reform the Church, may be seen in CAPPELLI, 46–7. Even Delaborde is obliged to admit the disorderliness of his life; CIPOLLA, 720, says: un animo leggero ed effeminato quale era quello di Carlo VIII., diveniva perfino ridicolo mettendosi a predicar la morale. On this point RANKE, Studien, 223, needs correction.

‡ ULMANN, Maximilian I., I., 278 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 515, 528 *seq.*, 533. As to the reverence of the French for the Pope, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 219, and the remarkable passage—interesting also in other respects—in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 86. See also Hist. Jahrb., VII., 320. Against the hypotheses of GREGOROVIUS, VII., 359 *seq.*, ed. 3, *cf.* BALAN, 333 *seq.*

§ DELABORDE, 515.

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of squeezing as much as possible out of Alexander by playing upon his fears. Threat followed upon threat. Commines relates that the French artillery was twice got ready for action.* If Alexander had hitherto believed that the Castle of S. Angelo was capable of standing a siege he was undeceived on the 10th January, 1495; during that night a considerable piece of the wall of the fort fell down of its own accord. There was nothing for it but to give way. "Although the terms were hard in the extreme" writes Sigismondo de' Conti "the Pope agreed to everything for fear of being attacked."†

The terms of the agreement of January 15th, 1495, were the following; Cæsar Borgia was to accompany the army as Cardinal Legate (really as a hostage) for the next four months. Dschem was to be handed over to Charles during the expedition against the Turks; the Pope notwithstanding, still to receive the 40,000 ducats for his pension. The Cardinals, Barons, and Cities, with their Prefects, who had joined the French, were to receive a complete amnesty. Cardinal Giuliano was to retain Ostia, the Legation of Avignon, and all his other possessions and benefices. Cardinal Peraudi was to be confirmed in his Bishopric, and Cardinal Savelli reinstated in the Legation of Spoleto. In future all Cardinals were to be free to leave Rome whenever they pleased. The Pope granted a free passage to the French army through the whole of the States of the Church, and gave up Civita Vecchia to the King. Governors,

* COMMINES, VII., 15. ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 43, questions this statement in Bernaldez, but without reason. Commines' authority for what he says, was probably Charles VIII. himself. See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Lettres et négociations de Ph. de Commines, II., 208. Bruxelles, 1868.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 92; *cf.* ZURITA, V., 54. On the falling in of the wall, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220; SANUDO, Spediz., 171, and Diario Ferrarese, 290.

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acceptable to the King, were to be appointed to the cities in the March of Ancona and the Patrimony, and a similar condition was to be observed in regard to the Legates of the Campagna and Maritima during the expedition against Naples. The Pope was to keep the Castle of S. Angelo, and, on Charles' departure, the keys of the city were to be restored to Alexander. Charles was to profess obedience to the Pope, to impose no constraint upon him either in things spiritual or temporal, and to protect him against all attacks. In regard to the election capitulation, the King and the Pope were to come to terms.*

The agreement contains nothing about the investiture with Naples; Alexander had been as firm on this point as on that of the Castle of S. Angelo. It was also an important gain for the Pope to have managed to avert the attack on his spiritual power. The vexation of the Cardinals of the opposition was intense. Ascanio Sforza and Lunati left Rome at once. Peraudi is said to have gone to Alexander and rated him soundly to his face; but of all the irreconcilables, Giuliano della Rovere was the worst.† Charles VIII. twice personally endeavoured to mollify him, but without success. He absolutely refused to trust Alexander, even when the Pope in an autograph Brief

* MOLINI, I., 22–28; THUASNE, II., 661 *seq.* SANUDO, Spediz., 185 *seq.* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 88 *seq.*, the speech given here can hardly be authentic, but the passage which follows is important: Inflexit animum regis sapiens et vera oratio; sed multo magis largitio Alexandri qua penitiores regis amicos corruperat. *Cf.* DELABORDE, who (p. 518) misunderstands the arrangement about the election capitulation; see also HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 560 *seq.*; FOUCARD, Carteggio Dipl., 44 (Napoli, 1879), and BALAN, 336.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 233, with the saving clause: si sui verum mihi retulerunt. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 44 *seq.*, and HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondenz, 567. See also Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 16, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 791.

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assured him that he should not be molested on any pretext. He remained with the King.*

On the same day, 16th January, 1495, that the Cardinals Sforza and Lunati left Rome, the French King accepted the Pope's invitation to take up his abode in the Vatican, where the so-called apartment, *stanze nuove*, had been prepared for him. Alexander VI. came through the covered way from S. Angelo to receive the King, who on his part hastened to forestall the Pope. They met at the garden entrance of the tunnel, and the moment the first salutations were over Charles asked for the Red Hat for his friend and favourite, Briçonnet. The request was granted on the spot, and all possible honour in every way was shewn to the King.† On the 18th January the agreement was officially ratified, and on the following day Charles presented himself in the Consistory to make his obedience to the Pope. After the three prescribed genuflections he kissed the Pope's foot and hand, who then raised and embraced him. The President of the French Parliament, de Ganay, then said that the King had come to profess his obedience, but that first he had a favour to ask, namely, the investiture with

* SANUDO, Spediz., 196; BROSCH, Julius II., 68. There is also a Papal *Declaratio super benef. obtenta for Giuliano della Rovere, dated Jan. 28, 1495, in Regest. 869, f. 239; *ibid.*, 235, Jo. Bapt. S. Nic. in Carcere et Jo. S. Mariae in Aquiro cardinalibus datur absolutio for absence without permission from the Court, dat. 1494 [st. fl.], Cal. Feb. A° 3°, f. 246b. There is a similar absolution for Card. A. Sforza, dat. Rome [st. fl.], prid. Cal. Feb. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 222 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 185 *seq.*; SENAREGA, 545. *Acta Consist., in the Consistorial Archives and Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 16, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 791–2. On Briçonnet's aspiration to the Cardinalate, see DELABORDE, 274 *seq.*, 294, 330. Briçonnet left a memorial in Rome in the Church of SS. Trinità de' Monti for which he gave the marble; *cf.* CARDELLA, 268 *seq.*

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Naples. Alexander answered evasively; but nevertheless Charles proceeded to make his obedience, pronouncing in French the prescribed formula. "Holy Father, I am come to offer obedience and homage to your Holiness, as my predecessors the Kings of France have done before me." When Charles had ceased speaking, de Ganay added that his master acknowledged Alexander as the true Vicar of Christ, and successor of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul.*

Alexander had now surmounted his greatest danger; he had obtained the recognition of the ruler of France and conqueror of Italy. He shewed his gratitude by making the King's cousin, Philip of Luxemburg, a Cardinal on January 21st.† On the 25th of January, the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, the Pope and the King proceeded together in state, accompanied by the Cardinals and Ambassadors, from S. Peter's to S. Paul's as a public manifestation of their friendship.‡ "Alexander VI.," says the Mantuan Envoy, "endeavours to gratify the French in every way; all possible expectancies, reservations and favours of all sorts are bestowed on them."† The Ferrarese Envoy was convinced that Charles had received the investiture of Naples, and been named Emperor of Constantinople. Similar rumours were circulated through-

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 226 *seq.*, and Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy of Jan. 14, 1495, in Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 793.

† PANVINIUS, 334, erroneously places the nomination in the year 1497; and CARDELLA, 270, in 1496. The date given above is the one mentioned in BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 233; in Brognolo's *Despatch of the 22nd Jan., 1495 (Appendix, N. 32), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and in the *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 234; and Brognolo's **Report of Jan. 28, 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Appendix, N. 32, *Report of Brognolo, Jan. 22, 1495. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

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out Italy and Germany. In reality, beyond the agreement of January 15th, the King had obtained nothing except the nomination of two Cardinals.*

The commissariat for the French army in Rome became daily more and more difficult, and the disputes between the citizens and the soldiery were incessant. Charles could have had no motive for lingering there any longer, unless it were that he still hoped to obtain the investiture of Naples. If so, he was mistaken. When at last he took leave of the Pope on January 28th, the only document that he received was the Bull granting free passage to his army through the States of the Church.†

In splendid weather, Charles VIII. set out to attack Naples, along the same Roman road which had been selected by Charles of Anjou, 229 years before. Giuliano della Rovere and Peraudi awaited him in Marino, and it was here that he was informed of Alfonso II.'s abdication. So abject was the terror of the despotic ruler of the two

* *Cf.* MALIPIERO, VII., 1, 329; SANUDO, Spediz., 188; FOUCARD, Carteggio, 46, and Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 792-4; DELABORDE, 522-33. Maximilian had in a letter apparently written in December 1494, protested against Charles' supposed intention of assuming the title of Imperator Graecorum; Peraudi was asked to dissuade him from doing this; (see ULMANN, I., 272). It was Peraudi who on the 6th September, 1494, had obtained from Andreas Palæologus, who was then living in Rome, the transference of his rights over Byzantium to Charles VIII. FONCOMAGNE has published the original draft of this act of cession which is in the Library of Paris. See Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscript., XVII., 539-78 (Paris, 1751); DELABORDE, 405, gives a portrait of Charles, adorned with Imperial Insignia, out of the Coll. Gaignières d. Bibl. Nat.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 226 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 192 (with a wrong date for the leave-taking from the Pope), and 195; *cf.* DELABORDE, 526, who draws a veil over the excesses of the French; on this point, *cf.* the Despatch of Jan. 22, in BALAN, 337, n. 5; Brognolo, in his **Letter of the 28th Jan., 1495, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, states that Charles took leave of the Pope on that day.

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Sicilies, that he would start up in his sleep crying that "he heard the French coming, and all the trees and rocks calling France." He fled to Sicily, leaving to his youthful son Ferrantino a ruined kingdom with the enemy at the gate.*

At Velletri, Charles met with a significant token of the change in the temper of the Great Powers of Europe which had been wrought by his conquests in Italy. The Envoys of Ferdinand the Catholic, expressed the displeasure of their King at his disrespectful treatment of the Pope, his occupation of the strongholds in the States of the Church, and, finally, of this expedition against Naples; they reminded him of the conditions in the treaty of Barcelona, which conferred on their King the right to defend the Church, and they demanded that Ostia should be restored, Cæsar Borgia released, and the attack upon Naples relinquished. Charles refused, and high words passed between them.†

Another unpleasant surprise befell Charles at Velletri; Cæsar Borgia suddenly disappeared. The King complained to the Pope, who professed utter ignorance of the whereabouts of the missing Prince, and expressed his regret, but did not send any other Cardinal.‡ Charles however, still continued his southward march, lured on by easy victories, for everywhere the party of Anjou rose to meet his troops. On the 27th January, Ferrantino himself announced to his Envoy "Aquila has raised the standard

* HAVEMANN, I., 78–9; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 18 *seq.*

† ZURITA, V., 54b; SANUDO, Spediz., 196, 204 *seq.*; PRESCOTT, II., 29 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 542 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Don Rodrigo de Borja, 65; BERNAYS, P. Martyr, 74, note 2; THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 447.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 101 *seq.*; SANUDO, Spediz., 197 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 293; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 44; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 238 *seq.*; ALVISI, 18–19.

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of France, Sulmona and Popoli have followed suit; in the Abruzzi all is lost as far as Celano."*

To please the Colonna, Charles permitted the storming of the fastnesses of the Conti, although these were within the States of the Church. The Fort of Monte S. Giovanni, close to the Neapolitan border, fell at the first onslaught, and was set on fire, while nearly all its inhabitants were cut to pieces. The destruction of this stronghold which had been supposed impregnable, and the barbarity which accompanied it, so terrified the Neapolitans that they retired without striking a blow. The French found the fortified cities, the passes, and even the important post of S. Germano, undefended. Even the weather seemed to be on their side. The February of that year was unusually mild; the fields were brilliantly green and studded with spring flowers. On the 16th February Gaëta fell. Capua had opened her gates on the 13th to the French. Ferrantino waited in vain for help from Spain and the Turks. On the 22nd February he fled to Ischia, while Charles VIII. enthusiastically welcomed by the populace, entered Naples in triumph. Cæsar's boast "I came, I saw, I conquered," wrote Sigismondo de' Conti, "was surpassed."† "In the short space of a few weeks," remarks another contemporary writer, "the French conquered as by a miracle, a whole kingdom, almost without striking a blow."‡ "The French,"

* FUSCO, Intorno alle zecche ed alle monete battute nel reame di Napoli da Re Carlo VIII., 132 (Napoli, 1846); REUMONT, Carafa, I., 25.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 102 *seq.*, 109; SENAREGA, 546; JOVIUS, II., 50 *seq.* Diario di S. Tommaso di Silvestro, 37; SANUDO, Spediz., 208 *seq.*, NOTAR GIACOMO, 187 *seq.*; PILORGERIE, 176 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, I., 81 *seq.*; DELABORDE, 547 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 715. The Diario Ferrarese, 289, also alludes to the extreme mildness of the whole winter of 1494–95.

‡ FR. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 23; *cf.* Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 39.

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said Alexander VI., "came in with wooden spears and found they had nothing to do but the quartermaster's work of marking the doors with chalk."*

There was nothing now to delay the Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, which had been so solemnly announced by Charles, and within his own immediate circle voices were not wanting to remind him of the fact. One of the most urgent of these was that of Cardinal Peraudi, whose whole life had been devoted to this cause. There are clear indications that Charles VIII. at this time was seriously considering the project of the war against the Turks, for which Alexander VI. had promulgated a Bull in February;† but he never got so far as to take any action in the matter. He preferred to remain in Naples and revel in the delights of the earthly paradise which had been so easily won; the prowess of the zealous champion of Christendom and reformer of the Church expended itself in enterprises of a very different character.‡ This, however, did not prevent the French from threatening Alexander with a Council which was to reform both the Pope and the Church.§

* COMMINES, VII., 14.

† This document, to be found in MALIPIERO, 404, was formerly universally ascribed to the year 1494, and brought forward as a proof of Alexander's duplicity; DELABORDE, however, has proved that the Bull belongs to the year 1495, thus dispersing all accusations founded on this supposition. *Cf. supra*, Book II., chap. 2, p. 422.

‡ *Cf.* SANUDO, Spediz., 261–2; DELABORDE, in his narrative assumes far too readily that the King was really in earnest about the Turkish war; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 47, takes the opposite view and doubts whether the King had ever seriously contemplated undertaking it. In fact, this opinion is the more correct one; it seems very doubtful that Charles took any real interest either in the Crusade or the reform of the Church. *Cf.* MARKGRAF in Sybels Hist.-Zeitschr., LXV., 552, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 17.

§ *Cf.* the Ferrarese Despatches in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 45–6.

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Dschem's death which took place February 25, 1495, was a severe blow to the King, but not more so than to the Pope. In those days, all cases of sudden death were invariably attributed to poison; and the enemies of Alexander at once accused him of the crime, but without the smallest ground. It is clear that Dschem died a natural death; probably the result of his disorderly life.* According to Sigismondo de' Conti, it was in consequence of his death that the King gave up all thoughts of the Crusade.†

To the French army the prolonged stay in Naples was most disastrous. Bacchus and Venus reigned paramount among the soldiers.‡

While Charles VIII. was thus revelling in the delights of the South, a storm was gathering against the "foreign barbarians" in the North. The "unexampled good fortune" of the French aroused an alarm in Italy which was shared by the Cabinets of foreign powers. It seemed as if France was on the point of obtaining that imperial power and world-wide domination at which she had so long been aiming. The opposition of Spain has already been mentioned. Upon the first successes of Charles, Maximilian I. had entered into an alliance with Venice, where many were already beginning to perceive the consequences of the neutrality of the government; but the negotiations pro-

* To the printed testimony and opinions brought forward by L'ÉPINOIS, 412 (*cf.* CIPOLLA, 719, and FORGEOT, 146), there is now to be added the following unprinted documents, which would no doubt have led THUASNE, Djem-Sultan, 375, to alter his opinion (he leaves the question undecided); Brognolo on March 3, writes from Rome to the Marquess of Mantua: *Illmo Sr mio. Ali 25 del passato morì in Napoli el fratello del Gran Turcho; credo di sua morte, benche molti dicano che li sia stato dato da bevere: questo hè vero che l'era disordenatissimo de ogni cosa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 111.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 240.

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ceeded but slowly, until the fall of the Aragonese kingdom startled them into brisker life.* Lodovico il Moro, who had long ceased to be friends with the French King, in telling the bad news to the Venetian Envoy, added that now there was not a moment to lose. In Venice the consternation was so great that Commines compares it to that which was caused in Rome by the news of the battle of Cannæ.† Secret negotiations were at once set on foot. From the unsatisfactory answer to the request made at the end of March by the French Envoy for the investiture with Naples, Charles could easily guess that the Pope was aware of what was going on. Alexander openly alluded to the League which he had been requested to join, and sent the golden Rose to the Doge.‡ By the time his messenger had got to Venice the coalition against France was well started.

On the 31st March, 1495, a Holy League for 25 years was concluded between Venice, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Maximilian I., Lodovico il Moro, and the Pope, for

* *Cf.* ULMANN, I., 282 *seq.*, and the rectifications in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1885) I., 336 *seq.*

† COMMINES, VII., 20; ROMANIN, V., 66; DELABORDE, 583 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 340 *seq.* For a criticism of the Pope's policy, see also MAURY, in the Rev. Hist., VIII., 84.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 277-80 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 248 *seq.*; MALIPIERO, 334-8. *Brief of commendation for the bearer of the Golden Rose, April 10, 1495. (Florentine State Archives.) CIPOLLA, 720; DELABORDE, 588 *seq.* Alexander VI., who was aware of Giuliano della Rovere's plans for getting him deposed (SANUDO, 267), thought for a moment at this time of fleeing from Rome; but A. Sforza who since February had been reconciled with him (see *Letter of A. Stangha, Feb. 23, 1495, Milanese State Archives), dissuaded him; *cf.* BALAN, V., 343. With regard to Giuliano, Joh. Bapt. Brocchus reports from Rome, Feb. 23, 1495: *S. Pietro ad vinc. ha scripto alli soi di Roma che li mandino per mare a Napoli li soi argenti et sue tapezarie; barbugli et trame ogni modo ci saranno. Milanese State Archives.

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the defence of Christendom against the Turks, and for the preservation of the dignity of the Chair of S. Peter and the rights of the Holy Roman Empire. The members of the League engaged to defend each other's dominions against all attacks of foreign powers who, at the present time, had possessions in Italy, and this was to hold good even though such powers should have lost the territories that now belonged to them. Each member was to furnish 8000 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers, the Pope to provide half this number, but with the condition that he should use his spiritual powers.*

On Palm Sunday, April 12th, the League was solemnly announced in the various States which had joined it. The Pope ordered the Vicars and Governors in the States of the Church to have the event solemnly celebrated in their Vicariates and cities.† On the 5th of April the Venetian Envoy officially informed Charles of the conclusion of the League. He was furious at the news; Cardinal Giuliano endeavoured in vain to calm him.‡

The only chance of salvation now lay in a rapid retreat

* LÜNIG, Cod., I., 1, 1, 115 *seq.*; SANUDO, 284, mentions secret articles, details of which are given by GUICCIARDINI, lib. 2. Even though these latter may, as ULMANN, I., 286 *seq.* has shewn, be unauthentic, still HUBER, III., 342, is certainly right in maintaining that "it stands to reason that there must have been secret articles" on the expulsion of the French from Italy. See also PORTIOLI'S rare work, La Lega contra Carlo VIII., nel 1495 (nozze del Vecchio-Norsa). Mantova, 1876. RANKE, Germ. und Roman. Völker, 51, erroneously gives March 29, as the day on which the League was concluded.

† SANUDO, 305 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 250 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 298; MALIPIERO, 337; PORTIOLI, *loc. cit.*; FUMI, Alessandro VI., 27, 79; AMIANI, II., 74; BERGENROTH, I, 57; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 369, n. 1, ed. 3 (375, n. 1, ed. 4). *Brief to G. Sforza, April 7, 1495. State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 294; BROSCH, Julius II., 316; CIPOLLA, 721.

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before the allies should have time to collect their forces. Instead of this, the French King, with incomprehensible fatuity, wasted the precious moments in endeavouring by alternate entreaties and menaces to induce the Pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. When he saw that the case was hopeless, he proceeded on May 12th, to the Cathedral of Naples, crowned, carrying the Imperial Orb in his left hand and the Sceptre in his right, and accompanied by a splendid retinue, to assert his claim before all the world both to the Kingdom of Naples and the Empire of the East. The strange procession elicited no demonstration of any sort.* Not till May the 20th, did the King with the half of his army commence his retreat; the rest of the troops remained under the command of Montpensier to hold the conquered kingdom.

To Alexander this meant a renewal of the perilous situation of the previous December. In the beginning of May he complained to the Envoys of Spain, Venice, and Milan, that Venice was the only member of the League which had sent him any troops; could not the Powers see, he said, that he would have to bear the first brunt of the attack; he did not wish to lose his tiara.† On May 3rd, a consultation was held in Consistory as to whether the Pope should leave Rome. The general opinion was in favour of his remaining; especially as the Romans were confident of their ability to defend the city; but on the 4th, Alexander informed the Cardinals that, as the presence of the French was likely to cause disturbances in Rome, he

* NOTAR GIACOMO, 190 *seq.* Arch. St. Napolit., IV., 797-8; PILORGERIE, 272 *seq.*; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 51; THUASNE, 291-2, and *Report of G. Tuttavilla to A. Sforza, dat. Naples, May 13, 1495. State Archives, Modena, used by BALAN, 346.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 326; ALLEGRETTI, 844, mentions the recall of the Papal troops to Rome.

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intended to retire to Orvieto.* On the 6th of May, Charles despatched a tranquillising letter to the Pope; he pledged his Royal honour that during his stay in Rome he would undertake nothing to the disadvantage either of Alexander or the Romans. The Pope replied that he and the Sacred College could not sanction the King's project of coming to Rome, let him choose some other meeting-place, Orvieto or Spoleto; two Legates would be sent to conduct him through the States of the Church.† Accordingly, on May 11th, Cardinals Morton and Carvajal were selected in Consistory for the office.‡ At the same time, Rome was put in a state of defence, and entrenchments were thrown up before the Castle of S. Angelo. On the 19th of May, fresh Envoys arrived from the King, Cardinal de la Grolaie, M. de Bresse, and François de Luxemburg. They offered in the name of the King a yearly tribute of 50,000 ducats, and the payment of the 100,000 ducats still owing from Alfonso and Ferrante, if the Pope would grant him the investiture of Naples; in regard to the Turkish war, Charles would personally arrange with Alexander. The Pope refused, although the Envoys spoke in a menacing tone.§

The excitement in the city meanwhile increased from day to day. "People are in terror" writes an Envoy on the 20th May "not only for their property, but for their lives also. During the last hundred years Rome has never been so entirely cleared of silver and valuables of all sorts. Not one of the Cardinals has plate enough to serve six persons; the houses are dismantled. Every day fresh

* SANUDO, Spediz., 327 *seq.*, and the *Notes of Cardinal Cesarini, Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 31, in the Barberini Library, Rome, already referred to, *supra*, p. 453, note *.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 370, n. 2, ed. 3 (376, n. 2, ed. 4); BALAN, 347.

‡ *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.

§ SANUDO, Spediz., 337, 343, 347; SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 47.

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troops come in; bastions have been erected at four of the gates." Some days earlier the same writer had announced that the Pope meant to fly without waiting for any more communications with the King.* This intention was carried out. On the 27th, Alexander left Rome accompanied by his body-guard, some Venetian and Milanese mercenaries, and twenty Cardinals, and went by Civita Vecchia to Orvieto.† In the Consistorial Acts, it is stated that the Pope left Rome in order to avoid disturbances which might arise during the passage of the King's army, in consequence of the different nationalities comprised in the Papal and French troops.‡

On the 1st of June Charles VIII., accompanied by the Cardinals Giuliano, Fregoso, and La Grolaie, arrived at the gates of Rome. By the Pope's orders, Cardinal

* **Litterae Zambeccarii ad Nestorem Palliotum, dat. Rom, Maii 19 and 20, 1495. State Archives, Milan.

† SANUDO, Spediz., 356 *seq.* Brief of June 1, in Notizenblatt (1856), 448; CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 55 *seq.*; MALIPIERO, 342 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*; BALAN, 348. Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 40; *Despatch of Brognolo, May 31, 1495 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); CIPOLLA, 722. In regard to Alexander's stay at Orvieto, see Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto, 76 (Roma, 1791); and FUMI'S valuable work, Alessandro VI., ed. il Valentino in Orvieto, 27, 28. *Cf.* also, D. DAL RE, 123 *seq.*

‡ *Causa autem huius discessus fuit ad evitandum scandala quae verisimiliter exoriri potuissent in adventu christ. Francorum regis cum exercitu e Neapoli redeuntis per urbem transituri attenta hominum et morum varietate praesertim gentium armigerorum diversarum nationum et factionum quae pro securitate eius Sanctis et status ecclesiae per ill. d. Venetos et Mediol. ducem destinata fuerant. (*Acta Consist.) The names of the 20 Cardinals who accompanied the Pope are given here: 1, Neapolit.; 2, S. Angeli; 3, Ulixbon.; 4, Recanat.; 5, S. Clementis; 6, Parmen.; 7, Benevent.; 8, Ursinus; 9, Montisregalis; 10, Alexandrin.; 11, Cartagin.; 12, Senen.; 13, S. Georgii; 14, Valent.; 15, De Caesaris; 16, Ascanius; 17, S. Severini; 18, Grimani; 19, Farnesio; 20, Lunati. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

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Morton, the Legate who had been left behind,* invited him to take up his residence in the Vatican. The King declined this, and after a visit to S. Peter's, established himself in the Palace of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere in the Borgo. The garrisons were now withdrawn from Terracina and Civita Vecchia, but that of Ostia remained. The King, anxious to give no handle of accusation to his enemies, enforced the strictest discipline. The Swiss soldiers were not allowed to enter the city. Except for one or two isolated cases of robbery, the French occupation this time passed off without disorder. On the 3rd of June Charles moved on to Baccano.†

Charles VIII. still hoped that the Pope and he might meet, and sent an embassy to Orvieto to endeavour to bring this about. Even Cardinal Sforza on the 1st of June still believed that Alexander would see the King; but the Pope could not bring himself to trust the French, and on June 5 he hurried away to Perugia with his Cardinals and the Envoys.‡ Now at last, Charles became

* The Decree nominating Cardinal Morton *legatus de latere* in Rome, is wrongly dated in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 21: VIII. Cal. Januarii. Mansi's correction is equally erroneous. The Decree is dated: R. 1495, octavo Cal. Junii, A° 3°, *Regest. 869, f. 269. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 371, note 3, ed. 3 (377, note 3, ed. 4), thinks from a note in the book of the Confraternity of S^to^ Spirito that Charles was still in Rome on June 4. All other authorities, however, name the 3rd as the day of his departure; see SANUDO, Spediz., 366; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 114 *seq.*; the Reports in BALAN, 348; the letter of the Conservators in Arch. Rom., XI., 692. *Acta Consist. and the *Memorandum by Card. Cesarini; Barberini Library, Rome. (See *infra*, p. 474, note †); *cf.* MANFREDI'S Despatch in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 55, 57.

‡ SANUDO, Spediz., 367; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 42; Cronache di Perugia, 113; FUMI, Alessandro VI., 29; A. Sforza declares in a *Letter, dated Orvieto, June 1, 1495, that an interview between Charles and Alexander would take place. State Archives, Milan.

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convinced that there was no chance of a meeting. When his scouts announced that the Venetian and Milanese troops were on their way to join each other at Parma he hastened his retreat.*

On the 13th June the French King reached Siena, and soon after arrived at Poggibonzi, where Savonarola came to meet him. "Most Christian Prince" he said "you have incurred the wrath of God by neglecting that work of reforming the Church which, by my mouth, He had charged you to undertake, and to which He had called you by so many unmistakeable signs. This time you will escape from the danger which threatens you; but if you again disregard the command which He now, through me His unworthy slave, reiterates, and still refuse to take up the work which He commits to you, I warn you that He will punish you with far more terrible misfortunes, and will choose another man in your place." †

Charles succeeded in crossing the Apennines in safety with all his artillery.‡ It was not till he reached Taxo near Fornuovo that he came across the army of the allies under the command of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga. On the 6th of July they fought; the battle was sharp but short.§ Charles plunged into the thickest of the fray, nor

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 115.

† VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 11 (Engl. trans.).

‡ On the heroic conduct of Charles' soldiers, especially the Swiss, *cf.* MÜLINEN, Schweizer Söldner, 138 *seq.*

§ Scardovelli's La battaglia di Fornovo (Mantova, 1889), is of little value. LUZIO-RENIER'S work, Francesco Gonzaga alla battaglia di Fornovo, secondo i documenti Mantovani (Firenze, 1890), is excellent in every respect. It not only contains an exhaustive summary of the numerous authorities and recent literature on the subject (BALAN, R. Boschetti, I., 28 *seq.*; and MÜLINEN, Schweizer Söldner, 140 *seq.*, are all that require to be added), but also an extremely careful résumé of the notices of the battle in the poetry of the time. From the military point

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was the Marquess Gonzaga behind-hand in daring; he had three horses killed under him. The King's army might have been practically annihilated, if it had not been for the undisciplined Bohemians who formed part of the Italian force, and who at once began to ransack the enemy's baggage. This enabled the French to cut their way through, though not without severe loss. The booty was large and valuable, consisting of all the plunder which had been gathered during the course of their victorious progress through the unfortunate country which had been so easily mastered. There were innumerable chests filled with jewels and gold and silver plate, two banners, Charles's helmet and sword, and his golden seal, together with a book containing the portraits of many fair ladies whose favours the gallant monarch had won in the various cities through which he had passed. It was not wonderful that the Italians should have claimed the victory, although the object of the battle had not been attained. The beautiful Madonna della Vittoria, which was painted by order of the Mantuan Marquess of Mantegna, remains as a standing memorial of this claim. It is now in the Louvre in Paris.*

The patriotism of the Italian poets burst into flame over the success of their arms at Fornuovo, and they are almost unanimous in singing of it as a brilliant victory.† Antonio

of view see RICOTTI, Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura in Italia, III., 304 *seq.* (Torino, 1845). For the topography see SYMONDS, New Italian Sketches, 240 *seq.* Leipzig, 1884.

* *Cf.* PORTIOLI'S interesting work, La chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria (Mantova, 1883); CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 432 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Renaiss., 601 *seq.*; Engraving in DELABORDE, 650. *Cf.* also HEISS, Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance; Sperandio de Mantoue, 45 (Paris, 1886); and LUZIO-RENIER, *loc. cit.*, 25, for notices of Sperandio's medal which bears the boastful inscription "Ob restitutam Italiae libertatem."

† On the influence of the political and military events of that time on Italian Poetry, see LUZIO-RENIER, *loc. cit.*, 34 *seq.*, 41 *seq.*; and

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Cammelli is the only one who, with a calmer and clearer insight than the rest of his countrymen acknowledges that.*

Passo il Re franco, Italia, a tuo dispetto
Cosa che non fe mai 'l popul romano,
Col legno in resta e con la spada in mano
Con nemici a le spalle e innanti al petto
Cesare e Scipion, di lui ho letto,
I nemici domâr de mano in mano:
E costui, come un can che va lontano
Mordendo questo e quel passò via netto.

Not till the 15th July, when he reached Asti, was Charles able at last to give a little well-earned rest to his jaded troops. Fortune seemed now to have entirely abandoned the French. The expedition against Genoa was unsuccessful, and Ferrantino drove Charles' troops out of Naples and forced them to retire to Castelnuovo.

The Pope had returned to Rome on the 27th June.† A

GABOTTO, Francesismo e anti Francesismo in due poeti del quattrocento in the Rassegna Emiliana, I. Pending the publication of Marino Sanudo's important collection of poems in S. Mark's Library at Venice (it. IX., 363), a comprehensive view of this subject is not as yet attainable. Valuable extracts from this work are to be found in the Poesie storiche sulla Spedizione de Carlo VIII. in Italia, pubblicate da Vitt. Rossi per le nozze Renier-Campostrini (Venezia, 1887). The publication consisted of only 35 copies. *Cf.* also V. ROSSI, in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 207 *seq.*; H. UNGEMACH, La guerra de Parma; an Italian poem on the battle of Fornuovo, 1495, published from an old letter-press copy; SCHWEINFURT, Programm des Gymnasiums, 1892, and Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XX., 468–9.

* REUMONT, Italienische Sonette, 10 (Archen, 1880). There is a good edition of A. Cammelli's Sonnets published by Renier (Torino, 1888), in which the one here quoted is on p. 324. In CAPPELLI-FERRARI'S edition it is on p. 5. See also Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 218.

† *Cum ingenti pompa et triumpho ivit ad palatium. (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives.) Cardinal Cesarini, in his notes says *Rex

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few days later he forbade the Swiss mercenaries to take part in the war against the allies.* Stronger measures soon followed. At the request of the Venetians on the 5th of August a monition was issued threatening Charles with excommunication;† but the most pressing danger for the King was the impending double attack upon France from Ferdinand of Spain on one side, and the Emperor Maximilian on the other. It was imperatively necessary to get home as soon as possible. He was fortunate enough by the conclusion of a separate peace with Ludovico Sforza at Vercelli on the 9th October, to withdraw that vacillating Prince from the League, and soon after re-entered his own dominions. All his lofty projects had failed and the shock which had been given to international relations in the South of Europe had rendered the prospect of the Crusade, of which the expedition to Italy was to have been the prelude, more gloomy than at any previous period.

This disastrous year, which had twice seen Rome at the mercy of the French, closed with one of the most destructive inundations that had ever been known in the Eternal City. Mementos of the high-water marks of 1495 are still to be

ab urbe die Junii 3ª pacifice recessit et per suos oratores alloqui Pontifici supplicavit, quod Pontifex futura scandala praecavens denegavit; sequentique die Perusiam versus abscessit, ubi aliquantisper moratus est, et post Regis a patrimonio Ecclesiae abscessum Papa cum Sacro Collegio Romam reversus magna populi applausu atque laetitia. Cod. XXXIII., 48, f. 32, in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* *Brief of June 30, 1495. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 5th August Alexander VI. repeated the prohibition (Notizenblatt, 1856, 468) but ineffectually; see DELABORDE, 568 *seq.*

† MALIPIERO, 383 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*, 409. *Letter of A. SFORZA, dat. Rome, Aug. 14, 1495. (State Archives, Milan.) *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 131; ROMANIN, V., 82. Charles VIII. answered in a defiant tone, see SANUDO, Spediz., 181. On further steps taken by the Pope, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 17, 35.

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found in places.* On November 25, 1495, the weather was exceptionally cold. On December 1st it snowed a little and then the temperature rose suddenly and torrents of rain fell. When this had lasted for two days and a half, on the 4th, the sky cleared and fine weather set in. Presently, the Tiber began to rise with extraordinary rapidity, and submerged all the lower part of the city. Just as the Cardinals were coming out of a Consistory, the flood reached the streets round the castle of S. Angelo, and in a moment turned them into a swirling sea. They only just succeeded, with great difficulty, in getting across the bridge. Cardinal Sclafenati found it impossible to reach his palace; when he turned his horse the water was up to the saddle. "After dinner," says one of the Venetians, "our Ambassador Girolamo Zorzi rode out to look at the inundation. We made our way towards the street by the river bank (called Canal del Ponte because it was so frequently flooded), and found the whole place under water; the Ponte Sisto was almost covered and the river

* The chief authorities on this subject are the letters of two Venetians from Rome, between the 4th and 8th Dec., 1495, in MALIPIERO, 409-15. *Cf.* also ALLEGRETTI, 854; SENAREGA, 558; Diario Ferrarese, 316; LANDUCCI, 120; CARPESANUS, 1205; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 271; BOLLET., St. di Suizz. Ital., VII., 97. For the notice of P. Martyr, see GERIGK, 45, and BERNAYS, 102, note 3. For the impetratory processions, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 252 *seq.* The high-water marks with inscriptions on the house of the Venetian Ambassador, Via del Paradiso, and on the façade of Sta Maria sopra Minerva, are given by REUMONT, III., 1, 538, 574; for others on the Castle of S. Angelo and elsewhere, see BORGATI, 101; J. CASTIGLIONE, Trattato dell' inondatione del Tevere, 36–37 (Roma, 1599); and CARCANO, Il Tevere e le sue inondazioni (Roma, 1875). See also BRIOSCHI, Le inondazioni del Tevere (Roma, 1876), and NARDUCCI, Bibliografia del Tevere (Roma, 1876). The rivers in Lombardy, and the Rhone also overflowed their banks at the same time. See Diario Ferrarese, *loc. cit.*; CARPESANUS, *loc. cit.*; and FURRER, II., 25.

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was still rising, roaring fearfully and full of the wreckage of mills, wooden bridges, and cottages. We tried to go to S^ta^ Maria del Popolo but that was out of the question. The sight of the falling houses, and the wretched fugitives escaping from them, was so heart-rending that we could bear it no longer and resolved to go home. The water was up to the saddles of our horses. At one in the morning the flood reached our own street. We did our best to dam up the doors and windows in the basement so as not to lose the wine in the cellars, but in vain, the water burst up through the floor, and had not the servants taken the casks on their shoulders and carried them up to the story above, we should have had none left. Presently the rising waves washed away our barricades, and in a moment the court-yard was a lake; the servants in the cellars had to fly for their lives. Our neighbours the Flemings were also forced to fly, lamenting the loss of all their goods, which they had to leave behind. Our landlord Domenico de' Massimi strove in vain to rescue the costly comestibles with which his shop was stocked. The water came pouring down in conflicting streams through the various streets, and everything was washed away. His shopmen could only save themselves by swimming, and he and his servants had to wade through the water breast-high. His loss is estimated at 4000 ducats. We provided him and all our neighbours with wine, while he supplied us with bread. The water continued to rise till the evening of Saturday. In our court-yard it was seven feet deep and ten feet in the street. Nearly all the city was in the same plight. People went about in boats, reminding us of our own lagoons, carrying provisions to the imprisoned inhabitants of the houses." In many places the water rose so rapidly that the people were drowned in their beds. Many lost their lives, and a still greater number all that they possessed.

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All night long cries of distress were to be heard from those who had been overtaken by the waters. For three hours a terrific storm raged; it seemed as though we were at sea.

The distress in many quarters of the city was extreme in consequence of the destruction of the food supply and of the wells. "Though we were surrounded with water" writes the Venetian narrator, quoted above, "many are perishing with thirst even at this moment. In Trastevere it is feared that all the bridges will be destroyed. Many houses and palaces have fallen and their inhabitants have been buried under the ruins. The Mosaic pavements in the churches are broken up, the tombs are burst; all the food in the city is spoilt. Almost all the cattle in the neighbourhood have been drowned; the herds took refuge in the trees; many died of hunger and cold, others contrived to reach the city by swimming with the help of uprooted trees or branches, and arrived half-dead. It is feared that no crops can be grown next year where the water has been. There were great floods in the reigns of Popes Sixtus IV. and Martin V. but never one like this. Many are filled with terror, and think there is something beyond nature in it; but it is not for me to say anything on this point. There is every reason to fear that there will be great mortality among the cattle, as has always been the case after calamities of this sort. These parts of Rome have suffered so much that it makes the heart ache to see it. The Pope has ordered processions to implore the mercy of God. Rome, December 4, 1495."

On the night of Saturday to Sunday* the flood slowly

* 5th to 6th December. The flood did not last 5 days as LANGE, 16, supposes, from the date (Tuesday, Dec. 8), of the Venetian account; Petrus Delphinus, however, says expressly, per sex et triginta horas quarta videlicet quintaque huius mensis—the water had continued to rise; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 38.

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began to subside. "Yesterday morning" writes a Venetian to his friends at home "the water had receded out of the streets, but the court-yards and cellars are filled with dead animals and filth of all sorts; it will take more than three months to cleanse them. The damage done to the city is incalculable; a quarter of a century will hardly suffice to repair it. The boats on the Tiber, the mills and all the old houses are destroyed, and all the horses that were in the stables have been drowned. In consequence of the destruction of the mills there will soon be no bread to be had. Thank God all our own people are safe. Many of the prisoners in Torre di Nona were drowned. The moats surrounding the Castle of S. Angelo are still as full as they can hold of water. Many of the labourers in the vineyards have perished, and nearly all the herds of cattle in the flooded districts. On Friday evening a poor fellow was fished out of the river at the Ripa Grande, more dead than alive, clinging to the trunk of a tree; he had been caught by the water at Monte Rotondo, eleven miles from Rome, and carried down all that way. The brothers of S. Paolo came to see our Ambassador yesterday evening; they said the water in their church was up to the High Altar; you know how high that is, and can imagine what it must have been in other places. The havoc that the Tiber has wrought on this occasion is incredible. I could fill a quire of paper with marvels and with the account of the damage the city has sustained. I beg your Excellency to forward this report to Marino Sanudo; in very truth since Rome has been Rome, such a flood as this has never been seen. Rome, December 8, 1495." The Venetian Annalist who has preserved this letter estimates the damage to the city at 300,000 ducats.

We cannot be surprised to find that the popular imagination was vividly impressed by such a calamity as this.

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The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah was recalled; the Venetian letter of December 8, already quoted, speaks of a belief in many minds that "the judgments of God were about to burst on the city, and that it would be entirely destroyed." The prevailing excitement found vent in portentous stories, which were widely circulated and believed. One of those which was most highly credited was told of a monster said to have been found on the banks of the Tiber in January 1496. The Venetian Envoys describe it as having "the body of a woman and a head with two faces. The front face was that of an ass with long ears, at the back was an old man with a beard. The left arm was human; the right resembled the trunk of an elephant. In the place of a tail it had a long neck with a gaping snake's head at the end; the legs, from the feet upwards and the whole body, were covered with scales like a fish."* The Romans looked upon this and other reported marvels of a similar character as omens announcing fresh disasters,—war, famine and pestilence. In other parts of Italy the same feeling prevailed. Thus, the strange beast which was found at the door of the Cathedral of Como was thought to portend the approach of evil times.† On all sides men's minds were filled with gloomy forebodings.

* MALIPIERO, 422; LANGE, 18. Lange appears unacquainted with Franc. Rococioli's work, De Monstro in Tyberi repert., Mutinae *s. a.* (Ad ill. ac eccell. principem divum Herculem Fr. R. Mutinensis libellus de monstro in Tyberi reperto A.D. 1495 [st. fl.]). A copy of this work from the Bibl. Manzoniana was sold by auction in 1893. I have sought in vain, in the State Library at Munich and elsewhere, for a copy of this rare book.

† LANGE, 42–3, see also p. 49 *seq.*, on a poem by the German Humanist, Jacob Locker, on the inundation. He regards the flood as a Divine warning to Maximilian that he should go to Rome; Sebastian Brant, who wrote an elegy on the inundation, takes the same view. On the insanitary condition of Rome in January 1496, see

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The mighty voice of Savonarola in Florence thundered prophecies of woe upon woe. "I announce to you" he cried in his Lent sermons of the year 1496, "that all Italy will be convulsed, and those who are most exalted will be most abased. O Italy! trouble after trouble shall befall thee; troubles of war after famine, troubles of pestilence after war, trouble from this side and from that. There will be rumours upon rumours—now rumours of barbarians on this side, then rumours of barbarians on that. Rumours from the East, from the West; from all sides rumour after rumour. Then men will yearn for the visions of the prophets, and will have them not; for the Lord saith, 'Now do I prophesy in my turn.' Men will lean on astrology, and it will profit them nothing. The law of the priesthood shall perish, and priests be stripped of their rank; princes shall wear hair-cloth; the people be crushed by tribulation. All men will lose courage, and as they have judged, so shall they themselves be judged."*

SANUDO, I., 6. Even before this, from the autumn of 1493 to that of 1494, Rome had been visited by a pestilence; see PIEPER; BURCHARD'S Tagebuch, 29; and HAESER, III., 235-6, ed. 3. Alexander VI. had left Rome on the 26th Oct., 1493, in consequence of the epidemic, and did not return till Dec. 19. See PIEPER, 10, 29-30; RICCORDI DI CASA SACCHI, 427, and *Caleffini, f. 312 of Cod. I.-I.-4, in the Chigi Library, Rome.

* VILLARI, II., 60 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* also P. Delphinus' collection in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 38.

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CHAPTER V.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM NAPLES.—EXPEDITION OF MAXIMILIAN I. TO ITALY. — UNSUCCESSFUL CONTEST OF ALEXANDER VI. WITH THE ORSINI. — MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GANDIA.—THE POPE'S SCHEMES OF REFORM.

THE withdrawal of Charles VIII. from Italy was far from including the complete liberation of the Peninsula from French occupation. His troops still held the important frontier fortress of Asti and the Florentine castles, to keep the road across the Apennines open, while ten thousand French soldiers yet remained in the Neapolitan territory. Charles VIII. himself spoke openly of returning, and the Florentines were doing their best to enable him to do so.* Thus it was of the highest importance that the French should be got out of the kingdom of Naples as quickly as possible; but although Ferrantino was supported by a contingent of Papal and Spanish troops under the celebrated Gran-Capitano Gonsalvo de Cordova, it seemed far from certain that he would succeed in accomplishing this. They still held their ground in Calabria, a portion of the Abruzzi, and in Terra di Lavoro; Tarento, Salerno, Gaeta, and other strong places were in their hands. In the beginning of the year 1496, provisions were introduced into Gaeta by French ships, together with a reinforcement of 2000 men and a store of ammunition. In spite of remonstrances from the Pope, Virginio Orsini gratified his spite against

* DELABORDE, 674 *seq.*; ULMANN, I., 408.

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the Colonna, who were fighting on Ferrantino's side, by taking service with the French, who achieved some successes in the Abruzzi.*

A change for the better in Charles' fortunes was by no means impossible. The Pope shewed his consciousness of the danger by expending a large sum on the fortifications of S. Angelo, and he often personally inspected the works during their construction. The pecuniary loss to the Court, now that no French ecclesiastics ever came to Rome for their benefices, was very considerable. "In spite of all, however," says Sanudo, "the Pope still held fast by the League."† The Briefs of those days shewed that he was doing his utmost to uphold Ferrantino. It was about this time that the Papal Nuncio, Lionello Cheregato, begged Maximilian I. to come to Italy.‡

The first reverse sustained by the French in Naples was consequent upon the arrival of assistance from Venice, for which Ferrantino had paid by handing over Brindisi, Otranto, and Trani to the Republic. The French general, Montpensier, now saw plainly that all was lost unless he could obtain efficient help from the King. By the month of April 1496, the French had hardly any footing left in Calabria, Apulia, and Terra di Lavoro.§ Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, who would have been well pleased to see the Pope turning his attention to the conquest of Virginio

* SANUDO, Diari, I., 8, 15, 34, 50.

† *Ibid.*, 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, 3, 6, 23-9; and GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 186. *Cf.* the **Briefs to Cardinal Colonna, dat. Rome, Nov. 17, 1495, and Jan. 16 and 20, 1496. (Colonna Archives.) On the mission of L. Cheregato, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1495, n. 15 *seq.* In a *Brief, dat. Rome, Oct. 26, 1495, Alexander VI. desires Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, to support the Papal Legate. State Archives, Düsseldorf, Geistl. Archiv.

§ *Ibid.*, 12, 18, 133; DELABORDE, 677.

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Orsini's possessions,* was taken into the pay of the League in May. By the end of June, the rest of the French army, with Montpensier and Orsini, were shut up in Atella, situated in the Basilicata, and a month later they were forced to capitulate.†

The success of the League was complete; and when, on its renewal on July 18, 1496, England also joined it, it became a European coalition.‡ Shortly afterwards Maximilian I. appeared in Upper Italy, and was welcomed at Mende, near Milan, on August 31, by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Carvajal.§ The entire force of the King of the Romans numbered only 4000 men; not one of the German Princes put in an appearance. In the matter of funds his

* SANUDO, I., 82, 141-3.

† *Ibid.*, 253 *seq.*, 264; and also RACIOPPI, La Capitulazione di Atella in the Arch. St. Napolit., XVI., 863 *seq.* In the deed of capitulation, Gonsalvo first appears with the title of Gran-Capitano, under which the French wrote Capitan-Général. See Quidde's Zeitschr. für Gesch., III., 412 *seq.* The book of the Exchequer of Alexander VI. shews that he was still supporting Naples in the autumn of 1496. See GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 234.

‡ LANZ, Actengesch. zur Gesch. Karls V., Introduction, p. 38; ULMANN, I., 415; BROWN, Stat. Pap., I., 247; BUSCH, England, I., 133, 387.

§ ULMANN, I., 465 *seq.* *Cf.* 443 *seq.* on the energetic action of L. Cheregato. See on this Nuncio, LJUBIČ, Dispacci di L. de Tollentis et di L. Cheregato, 9 *seq.* Carvajal, who was appointed Legate, July 6, 1496 (*Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives and RAYNALDUS ad an. 1496, n. 3-4), was commissioned at the same time to threaten Charles VIII. with Papal censures, unless he desisted from the war against Italy. Brief—cum nos hodie—partly in Raynaldus ad an. 1496, n. 5; the whole in *Regest. 873, f. 387 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 389 *seq.* Faculties for Carvajal, also dat. Rome, 1496, Prid. Non. Jul. A° 4°. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See Appendix, N. 35, Brief of July 24, 1496. (State Archives, Milan.) On Carvajal's departure, July 29, see BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 291 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist. In regard to the whole history of the Legation, *cf.* ROSSBACH, 45 *seq.*

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case was even worse, Venice failing to produce the promised subsidies. The Venetian government knew from trustworthy sources that Charles had no real intention of resuming the war in Italy, and by no means welcomed the arrival of the Emperor, whom they had invited under very different circumstances. His well-chosen plan of operations added still more to their disgust, as it would have effectually barred the way to the accomplishment of their designs on Milan. He purposed to force Savoy and Montferrat to join the League, and to wrest Asti from the French, in which case it would naturally have returned to Lodovico il Moro.* They adhered to their policy of tacit opposition in spite of stringent remonstrances from the Pope. "We do not consider," Alexander wrote on the 4th September, 1496, to the Doge, "that the French ought to be left alone because for the moment they are not attacking us. As long as they refuse to evacuate Naples and Ostia, and to withdraw the declaration of war against Italy, and continue daily to pour troops and ammunition into the country, to send war-ships to Gaeta, and to forbid the customary missions to Rome,—in short, to do all the things that are done in time of war, so long must we look upon them as enemies. They want not the will to do worse things, but only the power. We see all the signs of war and none of peace. In going on with the war and occupying the passes we are not attacking them, but merely defending ourselves." †

* ULMANN, I., 449.

† SANUDO, 295-7. Charles VIII., so far as French benefices were concerned, set himself resolutely to resist all patronage through the Roman Court, and to prevent any money payments passing from France to Rome. In June 1496, it was currently reported in France that he intended to have Cardinal Giuliano elected as the new Pope. See BROSCH, Julius II., 73. On the relations of Maximilian I. with Alexander VI., see SANUDO, I., 422, 448, and ULMANN, I., 468 *seq.*, 481. On

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All his remonstrances, however, were ineffectual, and Maximilian found it impossible to carry out his plans. He therefore now resolved to endeavour to force the Florentines to relax their hold on Pisa, and to relinquish the French alliance, by possessing himself of their port at Leghorn. But here, too, he failed mainly for want of the promised and indispensable help which Venice and Milan still withheld. Towards the end of the year he returned to the Tyrol thoroughly disgusted with the faithless allies who had so meanly failed to keep their engagements.*

Meanwhile, Alexander VI. was busily occupied in taking advantage of the altered conditions in the Neapolitan kingdom to carry out his own purposes. "By the expulsion of the French from Italy he was now relieved from the danger which had hung over him for so long,"† and he at once set to work to crush his disloyal nobles. "The French invasion had brought to light the utter untrustworthiness of the Papal feudatories. The great majority of them, and especially those who were most powerful, had faithlessly abandoned the Pope in the hour of danger. Some, regardless of their oath of fealty, had simply gone over to the enemy; others had made separate terms with him, leaving their sovereign helpless and defenceless."‡

the anxieties and apprehensions of Alexander, see HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 66. *Cf.* a *Letter from Card. A. Sforza, Sept. 15, 1496, which says: *N. S^re sta in grande suspensione de questi modi de la Ces. M^ta li quali non pareno alla B. Sua che siino cum quella prudentia et misura che recercharia il bisogno commune et la qualita de questi tempi periculosi. State Archives, Milan.

* ULMANN, I., 473 *seq.*, 500 *seq.*, 518–9; HUBER, III., 345 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 739 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 165.

‡ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 278, who justly observes: "It was absolutely necessary for Alexander to take measures to assert his authority as a temporal prince, if he meant to preserve his territory from a series of

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The most guilty of all were the Orsini; it was their defection which had practically delivered the Pope into the hands of the French; it was right that the first blow should be aimed at them. Already, in February 1496, Virginio Orsini had been proclaimed a rebel;* as he and his family still held to the French, on the 1st June the extreme censures of the Church were pronounced against them, with confiscation of all their possessions.† Alexander VI. no doubt intended to bestow their property on some of his relations.‡

The task of chastising the Orsini was assigned to Juan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Alexander's son, who was married to the first cousin of King Ferdinand the Catholic, and who was summoned from Spain to Rome for this purpose.§ The Pope had a mistakenly high opinion of the military talents of this Prince. When he arrived in Rome, on August 10, the French garrison at Atella had already been

volcanic explosions, which would have ended in the total annihilation of his powers, both temporal and spiritual." *Cf.* BALAN, 370; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 85; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 374.

* See *Brief to the Duke of Milan, dat. Rome, Feb. 6, 1496. State Archives, Milan, Autogr., III.

† See *Bulle Sacri apostolatus ministerio, dat. Romae, 1496, Cal. Junii, A° 4°, Regest. 873, f. 246 *seq.*, 341 *seq.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Only a part of this Bull is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 16.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 382, ed. 3 (388, ed. 4). As a supplement to what is here said of Cardinal Farnese, it seems well to observe that on July 16, 1496, a *Brief was despatched to Viterbo desiring the citizens to accord a favourable reception to the Cardinal as Legate for the Patrimony. While a second *Brief, dated Sept. 15, 1496, announces the appointment of Juan Borgia as Governor of Viterbo, with Farnese's approval. Both *Briefs are in the Neapolitan State Archives. Perg. dell. Arch. Farnese; Curia Eccl., n. 17, 18.

§ I found the first mention of the Pope's wish that Gandia should come to Rome in a *Report in cypher from Card. A. Sforza, dated March 5, 1496. State Archives, Milan.

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forced to capitulate. The effect of this was to hand over Virginio Orsini and his son Giovanni Giordano to Ferrantino, who, by the Pope's orders, kept them shut up in prison. Thus the Orsini were deprived of their ablest leader and chief.*

This was an opportunity too precious to be lost. Extensive preparations for the expedition against the Orsini were at once commenced, and the Duke of Urbino was also summoned. The Duke of Gandia had already in September been chosen Legate for the Patrimony, and was, on the 26th October, in S. Peter's, appointed Commander-General of the Papal troops. Besides the Duke of Urbino, he was to be accompanied by Cardinal Lunati as Legate. On the following day the expedition started to conquer the strongholds of the Orsini. At first all went well. Scrofano, Galera, Formello, and Campagnano were rapidly subdued, one after the other. Anguillara opened its gates without making any resistance.†

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 234–5; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 67–8.

† *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 166 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, I., 696; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 336 *seq.*; and SANUDO, I., 372 *seq.* *Cf.* also BALDI, I., 163 *seq.*, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 88 *seq.* A *Brief of Nov. 2, 1496, commands A. Sforza to take part in the war against the Orsini. (State Archives, Florence, Urb. Eccl.) On the 11th November, 1496, A. Sforza writes to his brother from Rome: *Si è inteso chel card. Ursini era cum alchuni pochi cavalli in quello stato de Perosa et poi si era partito, ne sin ad hora si sa quale camino habia piliato. (State Archives, Milan.) The undated *Decree, in virtue of which Joh. de Borgia, dux Gandie et Suesse, "habita . . . . cum venerab. fratribus nostris eiusdem S. R. E. deliberatione matura" is appointed omnium gentium armigerar. nostrarum et S. R. E. capitaneus generalis, is to be found in Regest. 873, f. 463. *Cf.* Regest. 875 (Alex. VI., offic.), f. 28. *Die XXVI. Octob. 1496, ill^mus dominus dom. Joh. de Borgia Guandiae Suessae, etc., dux ac S. R. E. capitaneus generalis constitutus ad presentiam S. D. N^ri pape assistentibus pluribus r^mis dom. S. R. E. Cardinali-

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The next step was to proceed to lay siege to the family Castle of Bracciano. This majestic fortress, with its five round towers, still crowns the height above the blue lake in grey and massive grandeur. Here the whole clan, with all their forces, was assembled. The youthful Alviano, with his high-spirited consort Bartolomea, Virginio's sister, commanded the defenders. The French flag floated over the towers, and the war cry was 'France.' At the beginning of the siege the Duke of Urbino was wounded, and thus the leadership devolved on the inexperienced Duke of Gandia,* who from the first was far from successful. Simultaneously with Bracciano, Trevignano, on the other side of the lake, had also been invested, but without result. No progress was made until the end of November, when the guns which the Pope had borrowed from the King of Naples arrived, and then first Isola, and soon after Trevignano, fell; but Bracciano still held out.† The troops suffered much from the bad weather and rain;‡ when winter began in earnest it was still more difficult to keep the field. The besieged made numerous sorties; detachments appeared even close

bus plurimisque episcopis et prelatis in ecclesia principis apostolor. finita missa sollemni S. Spiritus de huiusmodi capitanentus officio fideliter exercendo et administrando in manibus prefati S. D. N. pape debitum prestitit in forma solita iuramentum vexillumque S. R. E. . . . . per manus ejusdem S. D. N. traditum servatis solitis sollemnitatibus recepit actualiter et alia solita insignia ut est moris. Steph. de Narnia, Cam. Ap. not. rogatus. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* SANUDO, I., 376.

† *Ibid.*, 419; BALAN, V., 371.

‡ *Lo exercito quale è in la impresa de li Ursini si trova anchora ad Trivigliano non essendo possuto prima che heri arivare l'artigliaria regia in campo, la quale facendo lo effecto si spera expugnara in brevi quello loco et N. S. fara procedere alla impresa etiam che fin qui siino tempi pluviosi et pessimi. A. Sforza to his brother, dat. Rome, Nov. 22, 1496. State Archives, Milan.

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under the walls of Rome, where the party of the Orisini began to stir in a very disquieting manner. The Pope was beside himself; his illness on Christmas Day was attributed to vexation at the ill-success of his army. Reinforcements were despatched to Bracciano, and it was hoped that at last, either by force of arms or starvation, the garrison would be compelled to yield.* It certainly could not have held out had it not been relieved by the force which Vitellozzo, the tyrant of Città di Castello, and Carlo and Giulio Orsini, with the help of French gold, were able to send to its assistance. The approach of these troops obliged the Papal army to raise the siege and withdraw the artillery to Anguillara for security, while the rest of the forces went forth to encounter the new enemy. They met at Soriano on January 25, 1497, and the battle ended in the total defeat of the Papal troops. Guidobaldo was taken prisoner, Gandia was wounded, and their army completely routed; the Orsini were now masters of the Campagna.†

Alexander VI. now made peace as quickly as possible (on the 5th of February). All their castles were restored to

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 169; SANUDO, I., 404 *seq.*, 409 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 344 *seq.* The Pope's indisposition is mentioned by A. Sforza in a letter dated Rome, Dec. 21, 1496. State Archives, Milan.

† SANUDO, I., 451 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*, 464 *seq.*, 468, 472 *seq.*, 484 *seq.*, 490 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 171 *seq.*; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 79 *seq.*; and, amongst modern writers, HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 71. See also BALDI, I., 175 *seq.*, 180, and FUMI, Alessandro VI., 89, 90. The day of the battle is variously given by different writers. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 383, ed. 3 (389, ed. 4), names Jan. 23; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 353, Jan. 24; BALAN, 371, the 26th; SANUTO, *loc. cit.*, the 25th. In SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 195, the site of the battle is mentioned as 'proelium Bassanense' instead of the name now in use.

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the Orsini on payment of 50,000 golden florins, the Pope only retaining Anguillara and Cervetri. The Duke of Urbino was not included in the treaty, and remained in prison in Soriano; he had later to ransom himself.*

The Pope's unfortunate attack upon the Orsini left him in an extremely isolated position. The only friend whom he could now trust was Gonsalvo de Cordova, the General of the Spanish sovereigns, on whom he had recently bestowed the title of "Catholic."† On the 19th February Gonsalvo came to Rome, and after a brief sojourn of three days, proceeded with 600 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers to attack Ostia, which, still in the hands of the French, was a standing menace to the Pope. On the 9th March it was forced to yield.‡ About the same time the Pope decided, by his own personal authority, to deprive Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere of his benefices, and his brother Giovanni, who had sided with Vitellozzo, of the Prefecture of Rome.§

On the 15th of March, 1497, Gonsalvo de Cordova and the Duke of Gandia, "the one an able general and statesman, the other a mere stage prince bedizened with ornaments and tinsel," returned to Rome.‖ Modern writers assert that the Spanish leader seriously remonstrated with

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 172; MALIPIERO, 484-5; SANUTO, I., 506, 527, 547, 556, 576, 625; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 355; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 384, ed. 3 (390, ed. 4).

† SANUTO, I., 424; II., 424 (*cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 327). The date given by PRESCOTT, II., 28, is wrong.

‡ How difficult the French at Ostia had made the provisioning of Rome, may be seen in the Diario Ferrarese, 320. On the taking of Ostia, see SANUTO, I., 539, 547, 555-6; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 359; BALAN, 372; Bernaldez in HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 72.

§ SANUTO, I., 555.

‖ HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 73; *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 358 *seq.*

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Alexander on his nepotism and his misconduct; but there is no mention of this in contemporaneous authorities.*

There was certainly occasion enough for such remonstrances, considering the life Alexander was then leading and his partiality towards his family. It was about this time that Cardinal Peraudi said to the Florentine Envoy, "When I think of the lives of the Pope and some of the Cardinals, I shudder at the idea of residing at the Court; I will have nothing to say to it unless God reforms His Church."† In Rome also Alexander was extremely unpopular, mainly because he had surrounded himself almost exclusively with Spaniards.‡ Since February 1496 the Spanish party in the College of Cardinals had received a great accession of strength; on the 19th Alexander had added four, namely —Juan Lopez, Bartolomeo Martini, Juan de Castro, and his sister's son Juan Borgia, to the five which it already contained.§ In May 1497 Juan Borgia was made Legate

* CREIGHTON, III., 252, n. 2; BROSCH, Julius II., 77, doubts this, which PRESCOTT, II., 69, stated as a fact.

† THUASNE, II., 668. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 48. On Alexander's immoral life, SANUTO I., 369, relates appalling things; this passage has already been cited in Civ. Catt., March 1873, p. 727, and in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 88; no doubt, in all such tales there is an element of scandalous exaggeration, still enough remains that is unquestionably true. *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 746.

‡ *Cf.* Report of A. von Harff (33–34), who was in Rome at Easter, 1497.

§ *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives (with a wrong date, Febr. 29). BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 264; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 39 *seq.*; SANUTO, II., 31, 52 *seq.*; PANVINIUS, 334; CARDELLA, 271 *seq.* On Card. Colonna's vote, see Brief of Febr. 15, 1496 (Colonna Archives), in Appendix, N. 33 and N. 34 (Decree in Secret Archives of the Vatican). According to Panvinius, in the same year, Alexander published Luigi d'Aragona, who had already been created *in petto*, as Cardinal Deacon of S^ta^ Maria in Cosmedin. CARDELLA, 274, places the publication in the year 1497, and gives further particulars regarding this Prelate.

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of Perugia.* On the 7th June a secret Consistory was held, in which the Duchy of Benevento and the cities of Terracina and Pontecorvo were granted to the Duke of Gandia and his legitimate male descendants. Out of the 27 Cardinals who were present, Piccolomini was the only one who raised his voice against this alienation of these Church lands, and his remonstrance was unavailing. According to the Spanish historian Zurita, the Ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella had also endeavoured to prevent it, on the ground that it was an injury to the Church and to Christendom.†

These distinctions, conferred at the cost of the Church on a man who had shewn himself such an incapable commander in the field, were made all the more scandalous by the Duke's notorious immorality. On the 8th of June the Pope appointed Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, Legate for Naples, where he was to crown the new King Federigo.‡

On the 14th June a banquet was given in the vineyard of Vanozza, close to S. Pietro in Vincoli, at which the Duke of Gandia and his brother Cæsar, with many of their friends, and among them Juan Borgia, were present. It was somewhat late in the evening when the two brothers, with Cardinal Juan, mounted their mules in order to return to the Papal palace. Close to the Cesarini palace, where Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was then residing, the Duke of Gandia took leave of his companions, saying that he was

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 368; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 39–41; and MATARAZZO, 89.

† SANUTO, I., 650; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 386 *seq.*; ZURITA, V., 123 *seq.*; BORGIA, Benevento, III., 430; CONTATORE, Hist. Terrac., 127.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 9 *seq.*; SANUTO, I., 650, here mentions opposition from the Cardinals. See, on the other hand, Arch. St. Napolit., XV., 226.

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going to pay a visit which he wished to make unattended. The others endeavoured to persuade him to take an adequate number of servants with him, but he refused, and disappeared into the darkness, accompanied by only one groom and a man in *domino*, whom he had brought with him to the feast, and who for the last month had visited him daily. When he got to the Piazza degli Ebrei he dismissed the groom, also desiring him to wait an hour for him, and if he did not return by the end of that time to go back to the palace. Then he took the *domino* up on the mule behind him and rode off, whither no one knew.

When, on the following morning (June 15), his confidential servants found that he did not return, they sent word to the Pope. Alexander was a good deal disturbed, but both he and the servants consoled themselves with the probability that the Duke might be engaged in some gallant adventure, and was afraid of compromising himself if he were seen to leave the house. When, however, night came on, and still the Duke was missing, the Pope's distress became acute, and he commanded that every possible effort should be made to discover what had happened to him. All Rome was filled with dismay and apprehension; many of the citizens closed their shops and barricaded their doors; there was no knowing what the enemies of the Borgia might do. Excited Spaniards went about the streets with drawn swords. The Orsini and Colonna called their troops together. At last the groom was found badly wounded and unable to give any information; and soon after, the Duke's mule was caught, the stirrups bearing traces of a struggle; but of the Duke himself nothing could be heard. At length, on the 16th June, the searchers were put on the right track by a Slavonian timber merchant, whose yard was close to the Hospital of his nation, on the banks of the Tiber. He

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was in the habit of keeping watch at night over his property, and deposed to having seen on Thursday, "about two o'clock in the morning, two men come out of the street to the left of the Hospital and return again, after having looked round cautiously in all directions, as though to see if the coast were clear. Soon after, two other men appeared from the same place, and after looking about in a similar manner, and seeing no one, made a signal. Upon this a horseman issued from the lane, riding a white horse, and carrying a corpse in front of him, the trunk and legs hanging on either side of the horse, being supported by the two men whom he had seen at first. The other two carried dark lanterns, and when the ghastly cortège had reached a place on the bank where rubbish was shot into the river, the men took the body and hurled it into the water, flinging it as far as they could. The horseman asked if they had thrown it well in, to which they replied, 'Right well, Signor,' and then the five men disappeared down the street which leads to the Hospital of S. James." When the man was asked why he had not informed the authorities, his answer was significant of the state of Rome under the Borgia. "In the course of my life," he said, "I have seen more than a hundred bodies thrown into the Tiber at this spot, and never heard of any one troubling himself about them."

Men were immediately set to work to drag the river, and about mid-day of the same day, a body was found not far from S^ta^ Maria del Popolo, and close to a garden belonging to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. It was that of the Duke of Gandia. The throat had been cut, and it bore nine ghastly wounds. His purse, containing 40 ducats, and his rich garments were untouched. Robbery, therefore, had had nothing to do with the murder. The corpse was taken at once to S. Angelo and there washed and clothed in ducal robes, and then taken on an open bier to lie in state at

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S^ta^ Maria del Popolo. In addition to the Duke's suite and the Spanish and Milanese Envoys, many prelates and other persons joined the procession.*

"When Alexander VI. heard that the Duke had been murdered and his body thrown like carrion into the Tiber, he was perfectly overcome; he shut himself up in his room, overwhelmed with grief, and wept bitterly. From Wednesday evening until Sunday morning he neither ate nor drank, nor had he a moment's sleep from Thursday morning till Sunday." So says Jakob Burchard, though we seek in vain for any account of the murder itself in his pages.† There were many indications that the crime had been

* The above is taken from BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387-90, which in all essential points agrees with the Venetian Report in SANUTO, I., 651; the Mantuan Report in Arch. St. Rom, XI., 309 *seq.*; the extract from the letter of a Venetian ambassador in SANUTO, I., 651-52 (the date June 15, cannot apply to the whole of the letter, as the finding of the body, which did not take place till the 16th, is mentioned); the letter in MALIPIERO, VII., 1, 489-91, and, with some variations, in SANUTO, I., 658-59; Hugolinus Mathäus' letter in SANUTO, I., 657-58; and a *Despatch of the Ferrarese chronicler Carissimi, dated Rome, June 16, 1497, in the State Archives, Modena. The fisherman who found the body received 10 ducats; *cf.* the entry in the Roman State Archives in YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 121. In regard to the discovery of the corpse, P. Bilia, on June 16, 1497, writes as follows to the Duke of Milan: "El corpo del S. duca de Gandia fo trovato hogi a mezodi nel Tevero verso S. Maria del populo et non molto discosto dal giardino de Mons. R^mo^ Haveva ferita nela gola, nel pecto et in una cossa assai disconcie et era vestito del sayo suo con il cincto et il pugnale. Subito fo portato in castello dove è stato tenuto fin passata le 23 hore, et la si è dicto che ando N. S. per vederlo. Al hora predicta fo levato vestito alla ducale et accompagnato dali m^ri^ oratori Hispano et de V. Ex. con molti prelati et grande numero de altre persone et con molti frati inante. L'hano portato al populo a sepellire. Non ho anche inteso se li farano altre exequie; facendosi faro l'officio debito a me." This letter is erroneously placed in the year 1498 in the Milanese State Archives.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 390-91.

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planned long before and carried out with great skill.* The only person who could have told in which direction the Duke had gone was the groom, and he had been rendered incapable of saying anything. The time that had elapsed before the body was found was a great advantage for the murderers, enabling them to obliterate all traces which might have led to their discovery.† In Rome all sorts of wild rumours were flying about, which rapidly developed into still wilder tales. The consternation and distress in the Papal palace were unexampled.‡ The complete failure of the police to discover anything left a free field for the invention of any amount of myths. Suspicion fell first upon the Orsini and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had a short time before had a violent quarrel with the Duke. This, however, did not prevent many others from being suspected, amongst whom were Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, brother-in-law of the murdered Prince, Cardinal Sanseverino, the Duke of Urbino, the rebels of Viterbo, and Count Antonio Maria della Mirandola. Many believed that the Duke had fallen a victim to the jealousy of some Roman husband.§

On the 17th of June, the Governor of the City received

* In ogni modo si crede sia stato gran maestro, says the Florentine Envoy on the 17th June. See THUASNE, II., 669.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77, rightly lays great stress on this point.

‡ *La corte è sottosopra, *Letter from Carissimi, June 16, 1497. State Archives, Modena.

§ See, in addition to letter already referred to above, the Diario Ferrarese, 345; the Florentine Report in THUASNE, II., 669; and the *Report of P. Bilia to the Duke of Milan, Rome, June 16, 1497: *Qua appresso el vulgo è stato qualche oppinione che Monre Rmo non habbi facto fare questo, che è fora de omne rasone et verita; et il rispecto che li moveva era la ingiuria quale fu facta proximamente alla R. S. Sua de esserli impiccati alcuni servitori suoi. (*Cf.* SANUTO, I., 843.) Poi suspicono del Rmo S. Severino che credo sia medesimamente falso. State Archives, Milan.

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orders from the Pope to have all the houses on the banks of the Tiber thoroughly searched up to S^ta^ Maria del Popolo. The Palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who on the previous day had sent a confidential account to his brother in Milan of the event, was included in the investigation.* The Cardinal commended the action of the Pope, and remarked that he would have been still better pleased if the examination had been made the day before; he begged that the Governor would begin with his house. Out of considerations of personal dignity he absented himself from his palace for the time; he told the Milanese Envoy that the Governor of the City had informed him that amongst the Duke's papers, letters had been found from Fabrizio Colonna earnestly warning him against a Roman citizen in whom Gandia had great confidence.† On the 20th June, Cardinal Ascanio wrote to his brother: "Although all possible pains have been taken, as yet nothing certain has been discovered either as to the place of the murder or the person who did it. The Duke was last seen that night close to the cross in the street leading to S^ta^ Maria del Popolo; it is thought that the crime was committed somewhere near this cross, because both horsemen and others on foot were seen there. The uncertainty which prevails has given rise to many different conjectures. Some think it had to do with a love affair; the Duke of Urbino, the Orsini, and Cardinal Sanseverino have also been suspected. Again, it is said that some of my people

* This letter (to be found in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 390, n. 1, ed. 3; 396, n. 1, ed. 4) gives essentially the same account as that in the narrative in the text; though, as KNÖPFLER, Tod des Herzogs von Gandia, 449, justly observes, Ascanio was not likely to display any consideration towards the Vatican, his relations with the Papal court being at that time far from friendly.

† **P. Bilia to the Duke of Milan, Rome, June 17, 1497. State Archives, Milan.

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may have done it on account of the recent quarrel with the Duke. Finally, it has been asserted that either Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro or his brother Galeazzo is the murderer." At the end of his epistle Ascanio refers to letters from his brother saying that Giovanni Sforza had come to Milan, and that his brother Galeazzo had never left Pesaro. "Although it is incredible," he continues, "that either of them should have been guilty of such a cruel act, still I am glad that Giovanni has written here to prove that he and his brother are innocent. Now that it is known that he had gone to Milan and that Galeazzo had not left Pesaro, people here are starting fresh hypotheses, and seeking in all possible ways to find out the truth."*

In corroboration of this, there is a letter to Giovanni Bentivoglio of June 20th, 1497, which says "two days ago the brother of the Lord of Pesaro was openly spoken of as the assassin; now this is no longer believed. All sorts of contradictory opinions are held. But since every word and every judgment connected with this affair is beset with doubt and danger, I leave the matter to those whom it concerns. The Pope is deeply distressed at the loss he has sustained, and is minded to change his life and become a different man. He has gone to S. Peter's and intends to erect the Tribune for the High Altar there, according to the design of Nicholas V., which will cost 50,000 ducats; in S^ta^ Maria Maggiore there is also to be a

* See Appendix, N. 39, where this hitherto unknown *Letter is printed. I found it among the unclassified papers in the Milanese State Archives, which Gregorovius has almost completely neglected. Thus, a Venetian Report of the 17th June is entirely false, which states that Giovanni Sforza was in Rome, accompanied the Duke into a vineyard, there strangled him, and then threw the body into the Tiber, the motive being jealousy of Lucrezia. MALIPIERO, 490. This story is further developed by MATARAZZO, 71. *Cf.* KNÖPFLER, Death of the Duke of Gandia, 445 *seq.*

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new Tribune for the Papal Benediction, and already 2000 ducats have been set apart for this. Moreover yesterday in the Consistory he promised a reform of the Church, both in temporal and spiritual matters, and appointed a commission of six Cardinals and three Prelates for this purpose. Finally he announced his intention of equipping forty squadrons, but will have no Roman Barons among them. It is thought that he will give the command to Gonsalvo de Cordova, who is a truly able and worthy man. He has also promised many other excellent things; time will soon shew whether he is in earnest." *

In regard to the proceedings at the Consistory of June 19th, we have a detailed report of the Venetian Ambassador and a letter from Ascanio Sforza. It was attended by all the Cardinals in Rome, excepting Ascanio, and, in addition to the representatives of the League, by the Ambassadors of Spain, Naples, Venice and Milan. After the Cardinals had each severally offered their condolences, the Pope addressed them in a speech in which he freely gave vent to his grief. "The blow which has fallen upon us" he said, "is the heaviest that we could possibly have sustained. We loved the Duke of Gandia more than any one else in the world. We would give seven Tiaras to be able to recall him to life. God has done this in punishment for our sins, for the Duke had done nothing to deserve this mysterious and terrible death. It has been said that Giovanni Sforza is the criminal. We are convinced that this is not the case, and equally so, that neither his brother nor the Duke of Urbino are guilty; may God forgive the murderer. We, on our part, are resolved to amend our own life and to reform the Church. The reform of the Church will be put into the hands of six Cardinals and two

* See Appendix, N. 38. The levy of troops was rendered necessary by the threatening attitude of the Orsini and Colonna. *Cf.* SANUTO, I., 663.

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Auditors of the Rota. From henceforth benefices shall only be given to deserving persons, and in accordance with the votes of the Cardinals. We renounce all nepotism, We will begin the reform with ourselves and so proceed through all ranks of the Church till the whole work is accomplished." Six Cardinals were appointed on the spot to constitute the Commission of Reform.

When the Pope had finished his speech, the Spanish Ambassador Garcilaso della Vega stood up to apologise for the absence of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The Cardinal, he said, desired him to entreat his Holiness to give no credence to the reports that were going about that he was the murderer, and had assumed the leadership of the Orsini party. If the Pope permitted, he would come forward and defend himself. He had only kept away from to-day's Consistory out of fear of the Spaniards. The Pope replied "God forbid that I should harbour any such horrible suspicions of the Cardinal. I have always looked upon him as a brother and he will be welcome whenever he comes."*

On the same day, 19th of June, the death of the Duke of Gandia was officially announced to the Italian and foreign Powers. "We do not know," the letter says, "by whom the murder was committed, or what was its cause."† The loss of one whom he loved only too dearly was, he considered, a visitation from God and a warning to him to amend his life. The Powers replied at once with letters of condolence. The Emperor Maximilian expressed a hope that the Pope would persevere in his good resolutions and carry

* See the Report of the Venetian Ambassador printed in BROWN, I., 74-6, and in the new edition of SANUTO, I., 653-4; also in the Appendix, N. 37, a *Letter of Card. A. Sforza to the Duke of Milan, dat. Rome, June 19, 1497; and N. 40, a *Letter of P. Bilia of June 21, both in the Milanese State Archives.

† Brief to Venice in SANUTO, 661-2, and also to Milan, *ibid.*, 660-61.

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them out. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, between whom and the Pope negotiations for a reconciliation were in process,* and Girolamo Savonarola also expressed their sympathy.† In the anguish of the first shock Alexander had written to the King of Spain that he was thinking of resigning the Tiara. Ferdinand, who knew the Pope well, advised him to do nothing in a hurry and spoke of the healing hand of time.‡

On the 26th June, 1497, the Pope received the Envoys of the League and of Federigo of Naples; he assured them that he was anxious to do everything that was possible in the cause of peace and the well-being of Italy.§ On the following day, the Milanese Envoy wrote home that Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was much disturbed at the suspicions of which he was the object; he declared that nothing worse could have happened to him than the death of the Duke, which had put a stop to important negotiations which were just approaching completion. The

* BROSCH, Julius II., 77, doubts the statement of the Venetian Ambassador, who says that the project of a reconciliation between Alexander VI. and Giuliano was already on foot as early as June. The Ferrarese Envoy, however, also announces in a *Despatch dat. Rome, June 8, 1497: S. P. ad vinc. rev^mo s' è acordato con il papa; and would return to Italy. (State Archives, Modena.) In any case Gregorovius is mistaken (VII., 394, ed. 3, or in 400, ed. 4), in supposing that Giuliano's letter of condolence was the first step in these negotiations.

† The Venetian letter is in SANUTO, I., 662–3; *Letter of Maximilian, dat. Imst., July 24, 1497, in the Venetian State Archives (also in part in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 394, ed. 3, note 1); Savonarola's letter in PERRENS, App., n. 9; that of G. della Rovere in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, App., n. 14. I saw the draft of the *Letter of condolence from L. Moro, dat. Milan, July 1, 1497 (In summo dolore) in the Milanese State Archives.

‡ ZURITA, V., 125^b.

§ **Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 20, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

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Envoy adds in cypher that indications had at last been discovered which pointed to the Orsini as the authors of the murder, these were being followed up with all possible energy; the clearer they became, the greater the Pope felt was the necessity for caution, lest anything should transpire prematurely. In the same letter he mentions that Alexander was beginning to doubt whether it would not be better to send Cardinal Ascanio to Naples as Legate for the Coronation, instead of Cæsar.* Coupled with this, the fact that on June 21st, he had a long conversation with the Pope,† seems to prove that Alexander really did not believe in his guilt. On the other hand, all this may have been merely a blind. In any case the Pope soon changed his opinion. Venetian reports announce in July that Sforza and Alexander were now bitterly estranged, because it became certain that the former was the Duke's murderer. The Cardinal, on account of the strong feeling against him amongst the Spaniards, thought it prudent to leave Rome. He went first to Frascati and then to Grottaferrata and Genazzano. The Venetian Envoy thinks that he is now turning to the Colonna because the Orsini are trying to make friends with the Pope. The same writer reports that in August he came to Rome to attend the funeral of his friend Cardinal Lunati, and had a long interview with the Pope, and that every one believes Ascanio to have been the murderer of the Duke.‡

In a letter, partly in cypher, from the Cardinal to his brother, dated Genazzano, July 26th, 1497, the former refers to a previous communication of July 6th, in which he had

* **Letter of Stef. Taberna to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 21, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

† See in Appendix, N. 40, *Report of P. Bilia, June 21, 1497. *Cf.* Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, II., 672.

‡ SANUTO, I., 686, 689, 695, 710.

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told him of Alexander's expressed suspicions of the Orsini, on whom he would avenge himself if they proved to be well-founded. Some new results of the investigations would be communicated to the Duke of Milan, and the Pope would do nothing without his advice.* Later, in August, the Venetian Ambassador announces that Ascanio is in Rome and the Pope displays no hostile feeling against him, although it is held for certain that he had murdered the Duke of Gandia.† Alexander VI. could not have shared this opinion, for when he and Ascanio fell out in December 1498, this accusation does not appear in the violent recriminations which they hurled at each other, and it was not till July 1499, and for reasons quite unconnected with the tragedy of 1497, that the Cardinal finally left the Court.‡ In June 1498 he wrote to his brother that the new accusation lately raised against him, of his having been the intermediary between Prospero Colonna and Giovanni Sforza in the matter of the Duke's assassination, troubled him very little; which looks as if his conscience was clear.§ The charges made against the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza of

* **A. Sforza to L. Moro, July 26, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

† SANUTO, I., 737. This statement reappears in June 1498, though with an *ut dicitur*; SANUTO, I., 994. When Ascanio went to Loreto in September, it was said that he would retire to Milan; but in fact he returned to Rome; SANUTO, I. 796, 802. From a *Letter in cypher of Ascanio, dated Rome, 1497, Dec. 24 (State Archives, Milan), which will be again referred to shortly, we gather that he was in Rome and on very confidential terms with the Pope. KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 467, is evidently not acquainted with these documents, which shew that he is mistaken in supposing that Ascanio definitively left the Roman Court in September 1497, and consequently upset his inference. "These facts and Ascanio's voluntary exile, give grounds for suspecting that his hands were not clean from the blood of Gandia."

‡ See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

§ **Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, Rome, June 5, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

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having been implicated in the bloody deed seem much more likely to be true.*

Since the Spring of the year, the Tyrant of Pesaro had become completely estranged from Alexander on account of his refusal to agree to the dissolution of his marriage with Lucrezia, which the Pope desired.† In March he fled from Rome to Pesaro.‡ According to a Venetian account he had come secretly to Rome just at the time of the murder, but a Milanese letter states that he was then staying with Lodovico il Moro. On the other hand he had plenty of grievances both personal, and probably also political, and might very well have employed hired assassins; and "his violent conduct in Pesaro, in 1503, shewed him to be quite capable of such a deed."§ At the same time the fact that on the 19th June, Alexander VI. formally dismissed the charge against him, and that from that time he was held to be clear of suspicion, speaks in favour of his innocence.¶ In the whole course of the long negotiations about the dissolution of his marriage, while

* See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 95 *seq.*

‡ SANUTO, I., 569, this had been already printed by BROWN, I., 65. A report of June 14, in SANUTO, I., 656, says that Lucrezia had quarrelled with her husband and retired to the Convent of S. Sisto in the Via Appia. This shews that BALAN, 372-3, is in error when he says that Lucrezia did not leave the Vatican till after the murder of the Duke of Gandia. A *Letter from a Ferrarese Envoy, June 8, 1497, shews that this had already taken place, and that she was not on good terms with her father. He says *Madona Lucretia, figlia del papa, e moglie del S. de Pesaro s'è partita di palazo insalutato hospite et essene andata in uno monasterio de moneche chiamato S. Sixto et la se sta; alcuni dicono che vole esse monacha et etiam alcuni dicono molte altre cose que non sunt credenda litteris. State Archives, Modena.

§ KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 464-5. *Cf.* also HÖFLER, Don Rodrigo de Borja, 77-78.

¶ *Cf. supra*, p. 500.

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many other evil things were said of Giovanni Sforza, he was never accused of the murder.

On the other hand, the charge of being the chief instigators and contrivers of the crime was openly and persistently preferred against the Orsini.* "The Orsini certainly had ample cause for hating the Pope and the Duke. They had been the first to be attacked by Alexander in order to carve out of their estates a principality for his son, and found the House of Borgia. Their reply had been the victory of Soriano, and the peace in the end was a far from dishonourable one for them; but the relations on both sides remained hostile, and the Orsini could not but be aware that whenever a good opportunity presented itself the contest would be resumed. If the Duke, who was the chief cause of the attack upon them, were put out of the way, they might hope to be secure against the probability of its renewal." What happened was the exact contrary: Alexander, convinced that they were responsible for the murder, was bent on revenge. In December it was known that the destruction of the Orsini had been determined on; but at this point Venice intervened and compelled the Pope to desist from his purpose. He did not, however, relinquish it, and indeed could not, considering their attitude towards him. In February 1498, it was reported that they were plotting against his life. From Alexander's later action we gather that in pursuing the Orsini he believed that he was executing a just vengeance on the murderers of his son, and contemporary accounts from Rome fully confirm the truth of this view.†

* *Cf. supra*, p. 497, and CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 89.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 468–9. In his edition of ROHRBACHER, Kirchengesch., KNÖPFLER (279) considers it certain that the Orsini had determined on putting the Duke of Gandia out of the way. "This plan was so admirably carried out, that the hand that did the deed

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We do not possess the requisite materials for attaining to perfect certainty in regard to the guilt of the Orsini, and it always remains a possibility that the assassination had nothing to do with politics. The dissolute life of the Duke of Gandia was notorious in the city, and at first, it was very commonly believed that he had come by his death in some intrigue. It is quite probable that this natural explanation is the true one.* The investigations were pro-

was never discovered, and the guilt of it was fastened as a perpetual stain on the reputation of the family of the hated foe." HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77, draws attention to the mysterious death of Virginio Orsini in the prison of the Castel del Uovo in Naples and goes on to say: "His body was brought from Naples to Rome on the 26th April and thence taken to Bracciano (BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 365). It may be well imagined that this occurrence revived the hatred of the Orsini to the Borgia, and when they made away with the Duke of Gandia, their bitterly despised foe, they well knew who would be hardest hit by the stroke." In another place (81–82) he remarks "The question as to who plunged the dagger of the assassin that night into the heart of Alexander VI.'s favourite son is unmistakeably answered by the report of MARINO SANUTO in the following December (I., 827). Here he says distinctly that "the Pope had acquired the certainty that the Orsini had murdered his son." The Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, Dec. 22, 1497, in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 100, says the same thing. The epigram affixed to the Papal Palace, on the reconciliation between the Orsini and Colonna in 1498, which recommends the drowning of Alexander's offspring in the Tiber, was evidently a play upon the death of the Duke of Gandia, and an encouragement to proceed further along the same path. (See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.) In a **Report dated Rome, June 15, 1498, and written in cypher, A. Sforza informs his brother of the Pope's intended proceedings against the Orsini: essendo la S^ta Sua tanto accesa ad questa vindicta che piu non saria possibile dire. State Archives, Milan.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 494, and CREIGHTON, III., 258; HÖFLER (Rodrigo de Borja, 78), says "The detailed account of the murder given by André Bernaldez is very interesting, although the date May 29 is wrong. He expressly mentions the quarrel between Sforza and Don Juan, calls the

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longed for more than a year,* but brought to light nothing new. In consequence, the air was thick with rumours. Nothing stimulates the imagination so much as a mystery, and where no one knows the truth the most impossible things are believed. Every one who could in any conceivable way be supposed to have an interest in the Duke's death was suspected; amongst the names mentioned were not only the Orsini, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Giovanni of Pesaro, but even Gandia's brother Jofré. In the Consistory of June 19th, the Pope at once put aside all the other names, but made no remark when the Orsini were spoken of. This is certainly significant.† Probably the actual history of this ghastly tragedy will never be completely unveiled, but the more we study the facts, both preceding and subsequent to it, the more do they seem to tend towards the implication of this family. It may very well be that knowing the Prince's character, they sought and found in some love adventure the easiest and safest means of putting him out of the way; but the evidence against them is not strong enough to justify anything more definite than a well-grounded suspicion.

In all the reports written at the time, as far as they are known, there is not the slightest hint to be found of that which came a few years later to be almost universally believed, namely, that Cæsar Borgia was the assassin. The earliest accusation against him was started nine

mistress of the latter, Madama Damiata, designates the man in the domino as a go-between, and thinks that he endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from keeping the tryst which the latter with drunken persistency refused to relinquish."

* This is plain from the *Report in cypher from A. Sforza, to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 15, 1498, which shews that GREGOROVIUS, III., 395–6, ed. 3 (402, ed. 4), is mistaken.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 468; and HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79, have rightly noticed this.

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months later, and is found in a Report of the Ferrarese Envoy to Venice, which fact is noteworthy.* Many of the Orsini, and Giovanni Sforza who had been so deeply injured by Cæsar, had taken refuge in Venice, and the news soon spread from thence. Paolo Capello repeated it in his Report of September 1500, and Silvio Savelli in his pamphlet of November 1501. Even at that time, however, it had not yet acquired a very wide circulation. The Neapolitan poets, writing before 1500, though ascribing every imaginable vice to the Borgia do not mention fratricide in the lists; and even later the murder is ascribed to many other persons besides Cæsar; but the belief in his guilt continued to strengthen with time, until at last it came to be accepted as a certainty. When we remember the intense and universal hatred which Cæsar Borgia eventually aroused against himself, both in Rome and in the whole of Italy, we cannot be surprised that "one undeserved accusation should be added to the many which he so richly merited; and considering what the times were, it is equally easy to understand that it should be widely believed. Also, in those days court scandals passed quite as rapidly from one court to another as they do in our own day, and thus the rumour soon reached Spain, and there too, found many to credit it."† It was not, however,

* The passage is printed in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 161, note 1; and in ALVISI, 44, n. 1. In the Annal. Bonon., which extend to Oct. 1497, no mention is made of Cæsar, they agree with the Diario of S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 103, and numerous other contemporaneous reports, in representing the murder of the Duke as a result of his immoral life.

† KNÖPFLER, *loc. cit.*, 470–75; REUMONT, III., 1, 225; ALVISI, 44–5; BROSCH, Alexander VI., 370–72; NEMEČ, 124 *seq.*; HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79, very justly observes that probably the belief in Cæsar's guilt "has its root in the fact that, under quite different circumstances, and in order to make himself master of the Romagna, he

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generally adopted in Spain. Bernaldez, in his Chronicle narrating the murder of the Duke, naturally mentions the Cardinal, but does not in any way connect his name with the crime.*

There does not seem any sufficient reason which could have induced Cæsar to commit this unnatural crime at this particular juncture "when he was about in a signal manner to participate in the honours and dignities which the Pope was preparing for the Borgia family, by crowning the King of Sicily. In order to excuse or account for the atrocity which filled Spain and Portugal with horror, it has been said that Cæsar disliked and wished to escape from his ecclesiastical position, and that Don Juan stood in his way; but it is plain that on the Duke of Gandia's death, his son and not Cæsar would succeed to the title. It would also be necessary to shew that Don Juan was really an obstacle to his brother's plans, and that these could only be realised by getting rid of him. No proof of this, however, is forthcoming." On the contrary, it may be justly asked how could the Duke of Gandia, whose military incapacity had just been made patent in the campaign against the Orsini, in any way compete with such a man as Cæsar. His conduct also after the murder seems to prove his innocence. "He remained quietly in Rome and only left

contrived to have several of the smaller tyrants put out of the way." The terror inspired by Cæsar is mirrored in a remarkable letter from the Marchioness Isabella to her husband on July 23, 1502, in which the accusation of fratricide is mentioned. It is printed in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 137. There is also an ironical allusion to it in some poems edited by Renier, see Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, V., 140 *seq.* In the copy of the Comment. urb. of Rafael Volaterranus in the Innsbruck Library a 16th Century hand has added (f. CCXXXV^{b}) at the end of the account of the murder of the Duke of Gandia the words: Fuit autem Caesar frater.

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 78.

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it on the 22nd July, to accomplish his mission at Naples. Thus he was present throughout all the proceedings there from the 14th June to the 22nd July, and nothing in his actions or demeanour could be adduced to justify any suspicions against him. It is also incredible that the Pope, if he had believed him guilty, could have made him his brother's executor, and thus forced Donna Maria, the King of Spain's cousin, into close and frequent intercourse with her husband's murderer."*

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 79–80, who adds "when Gregorovius asserts that Roscoe's exculpation of Cæsar on such flimsy grounds does honour to the author's heart, but can only bring a smile to the lips of a judge, he seems to forget that a proof of guilt can hardly be sought in a moral impossibility, and that a judge, even admitting that this office is within the historian's province, is not justified in pronouncing a verdict of guilty in regard to so horrible a crime, unless the evidence is absolutely unimpeachable. We have to ask therefore what advantage Cæsar can be shewn to have derived from the murder of his brother that could not have been much more cheaply obtained? The question simply comes to this—is it conceivable that Alexander, who at that time depended entirely for support both in Spain and in Naples, on the House of Aragon, could have put such an insult on King Ferdinand as to force his cousin, the mother of the murdered Duke's children, into the most ntimate business relations with her husband's murderer? Further can we believe that the Pope who was then on the best possible terms with King Frederick of Sicily (Don Fadrique de Aragon) should have equally insulted the other branch of that House by sending as *legatus a latere* to crown him at Naples, a man who had just been guilty of fratricide? We cannot imagine Alexander VI. to have been capable of such effrontery as this, nor that the proud monarch of Spain, at that time on very friendly terms with the King of the Romans, and Don Fadrique would have been mean enough tamely to endure it, had there been the slightest suspicion of such a thing." See also the remarks of the same writer on p. 81–2, and in Die Katastrophe der Borjas von Gandia, 13. Unfortunately Höfler has overlooked KNÖPFLER'S Essay, Tod des Herzogs von Gandia, in which, especially on p. 455 *seq.*, several other weighty arguments against Gregorovius' view are put forward. Gregorovius'

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Whether the Duke of Gandia fell a victim to the revenge of the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza, or to his own profligacy, or to both, it is certain that Cæsar was not implicated in this crime. "But for Alexander VI.—the death of the son, the one whom he so dearly cherished, on whom all his hopes were concentrated, torn from him in such a horrible manner—the blow came as an unmistakeable summons to stop short in the course he was pursuing, and to change his life. In the first moments of anguish he seriously and earnestly resolved to take measures at once for the reformation of the Church, and the amendment of his own life; and in order to carry out the first of these intentions he appointed a Commission of six Cardinals, on the 19th of June. This was the turning point in his career. If he meant to fulfil the resolutions embraced in the hour of sorrow, to look upon himself as the Steward,

"Gründe der Wahrscheinlichkeit," are also here convincingly refuted. Even since the appearance of the 3rd and amended edition of Knöpfler's Essay, three years since, Gregorovius (396 *seq.*, and in the 4th ed., 404) has repeated his former statements without taking the slightest notice of Knöpfler's counter arguments. Nor does he mention BROSCH, Alexander VI., 370–72, who also brings forward strong reasons against accepting it. Brosch, who was certainly no apologist of the Borgia, here says "If we carefully examine all the arguments for and against, and lend an impartial ear to all the witnesses, we are forced to come to the conclusion that in the present state of our knowledge we can arrive at no decision." Long before this, REUMONT, III., 1, 225, had said the same thing. CREIGHTON, III., 258, knowing nothing of either Knöpfler or Brosch, arrives at a similar conclusion. Quite independently of these German historians, ALVISI, 44 *seq.*, LEONETTI, II., 234, and BALAN, 372, all agree in exonerating Alexander on this point; LUZIO (see *supra*, p. 509, note †); as also the French historians, MAURY, in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 87, and L'ÉPINOIS, 403, who express themselves in a similar sense. Amongst more recent historians no one, with the exception of GEBHART (Rev. des Deux Mondes, LXXXIV., 1887, 918), shares Gregorovius' opinion.

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and not the Lord of the Church, to put an end to simony, and to no longer make the advancement of his children the one aim and purpose of his Pontificate, if he in reality meant, as he had declared in that first moment, to be the Father of Christendom and live up to his exalted vocation, he had now received a stern warning to make no further delay. It was still possible for him, supported by the general demand for reforms, by a consistent course of eradicating abuses, above all that formed by the official sale of benefices in Rome, to set the current flowing in a better direction. The reform, however, would have to be steadily carried out step by step. It must begin with the Pope himself, and so pass on to the College of Cardinals, and gradually embrace the bishops and prelates, the priests and monks, and finally the whole of the laity."*

There is no doubt that in those sorrowful days of the Summer of 1497, Alexander VI. sincerely desired and intended to institute searching reforms. "The Reform Commission sits every morning in the Papal Palace," writes the Florentine Envoy on the 22nd June.† In July the Venetians were lost in amazement at the accounts which reached them of the proposed changes in Rome.‡ Such men as the pious General of the Camaldolese, Peter Delphinus, were full of joyful hopes that this terrible event might pave the way for a real amendment.§ In August it was reported that Alexander had commanded Jofré and his wife to leave Rome and take up their abode in the

* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 77–82.

† THUASNE, II., 670; GHERARDI, 171.

‡ SANUTO, I., 655, 844. The account on p. 654 is certainly false and obviously a later interpolation; that on p. 686 is equally incorrect. *Cf.* also MALIPIERO, 494.

§ See Delphinus' letter in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 5, 6; *cf.* MARTÈNE, Coll., III., 1158.

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Castle of Squillace, which belonged to the Prince; and on the 7th of the month the order was obeyed. It was also understood that for the future the Pope was resolved not to permit either his children or nephews to reside in his neighbourhood, and that even Lucrezia would be sent to Valencia.* Other councillors were added to the original six Cardinals, and those belonging to the Court who were absent were summoned to meet in November in order to deliberate on measures of reform.†

The amount of preparatory work done by Costa and Caraffa shews how thoroughly in earnest the Cardinals of the Commission of Reform were. On the one hand, the decrees and various schemes of reform of earlier Popes were collected, on the other, opinions were taken on the abuses to be remedied, especially those in the Papal Chancery. Proposals founded on the data thus obtained were then put forward, carefully worked out, and finally formulated into resolutions.‡ At last a comprehensive Bull of Reform was drafted,§ which began with the following words:

* *Heri se partite de qui il principe de Squilazo con la principessa per andare ad habitare al loro principato et se dici che la S. del papa non vuole piu tenirsi apresa [*sic*] figlioli on [*sic*] nepoti alcuni et che in brevi mandara etiam madona Lucretia, mogliere del Sig. de Pesaro ad habitare ad Valentia. Letter from Lod. Carissimi, dat. Rome, Aug. 8, 1497. State Archives, Modena.

† The authority for this fact, hitherto unknown, is an original *Letter from Cardinal Ippolito d'Este to the Pope, dat. Ferrara, Sept. 28, 1497: *Volentem impulit et currenti calcar adiecit. Stas V. superioribus diebus cum per breve suum debita a me reverentia susceptum et osculatum praecepit ut pro reformatione Romanae Curiae Kal. his Novemb. ad urbem me conferrem, etc.—he says he will come, but begs to be allowed to wait until the affair of the Archbishopric of Gran is settled. Cod. Lat. Cl. X., 177. Library of St. Mark, Venice.

‡ Details may be found in TANGL, 361 *seq.*

§ See in Appendix, N. 41, extracts from the document, of which I found two copies in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

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"By the providence of God we have been raised on the Watch-tower of the Apostolic See in order that in one measure we should exercise our pastoral office by removing what is bad and promoting what is good. Therefore with our whole soul we desire an amendment in morals, having observed a gradual deterioration in this respect. The ancient and salutary decrees by which Councils and Popes had endeavoured to stem the tide of sensuality and avarice have been violated. Licentiousness has reached an intolerable pitch; for the nature of man is prone to evil and will not always obey reason, but holds the spirit, in the words of the Apostle, captive under the law of sin. Even when we were only a Cardinal under Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., we strove to accomplish something in this direction, and also at the commencement of our Pontificate we desired to attend to this matter, but the very grave position in which we were placed by the arrival of Charles VIII. of France, obliged us to lay it aside until now. We mean to begin with the reform of Our own Court, which is composed of members of all Christian nations, and should be an example of virtue to all. For the inauguration of this most necessary and long desired work, we have selected six of the best and most God-fearing of the Cardinals; namely, Olivero Caraffa, Giorgio Costa, Antoniotto Pallavicino, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Francesco Piccolomini, and Raffaele Riario. With their assistance, after a careful review of the enactments of our predecessors and due consideration of the needs of the present day, in the plenitude of our Apostolic power we publish the following ordinances, to be binding for all time. We command that they be inviolably observed; but without prejudice to the validity of the decrees of our predecessors on the same subjects."

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The Bull begins with various ordinances relating to the Pope himself and his Court. Regulations on sacred Liturgy in the Papal Chapel then follow, which contain strict injunctions in regard to silence during the Offices; and the morals generally of the singers and other court officials are dealt with.

The enactments which follow against simony and reservations are still more stringent. A special section is directed against the alienation of any portion of the States of the Church. The Pope is also forbidden to give away any Church territories under the title of a Vicariate. All decrees contravening these enactments in any way are null, unless they have received the consent of the Cardinals. This section also includes regulations dealing with governors and castellans within the States of the Church, and in the same connection there is an important clause prohibiting promises to Princes of presentations to Bishoprics. In regard to the deposition and translation of Bishops, the existing legal provisions are strengthened.

The Bull then proceeds to the reform of the College of Cardinals. The most important points are that no Cardinal shall possess more than one Bishopric or draw an annual revenue from benefices exceeding 6000 ducats. Cardinals are not to retain Legations for more than two years, so as to fulfil their obligation of residence in Rome with punctuality. Stringent enactments are drawn up against simoniacal practices at Papal elections and against the worldly lives of the Cardinals. The canonical prohibitions against gaming and field-sports are confirmed. Visits to the Courts of secular Princes without a written permission from the Pope are also forbidden, together with any entanglements in the worldly affairs of Princes, taking part in tournaments or carnival sports, or attending representations of the Pagan drama. The households of Car-

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dinals are not to consist of more than eighty persons, of whom at least twelve must be in Sacred Orders, and they are not to keep more than thirty horses. Conjurors, strolling comedians and musicians must not enter their palaces; nor may they employ boys and youths as body servants. Residence at the Court was to be more strictly enforced. No funeral obsequies were to cost more than 1500 florins.

These regulations are in themselves enough to shew what abuses had crept into the College of Cardinals, but a deeper insight into the prevailing corruption is furnished by those relating to the papal officials, more especially such as had been guilty of extortion in the collection of taxes. The sale of offices was to be done away with. Detailed instructions are given in regard to the maintenance of the fabric of S. Peter's and the staff for architectural works.

The provisions dealing with expectancies and reservations, and those regarding concubinage reveal the prevalence of serious evils. Respecting the latter it is decreed that all priests of whatever degree must conform to the enactments of the Bull within ten days of its publication; failing this, at the end of a month the culprit will be deprived of his benefices and pronounced incapable of holding any others.

The Bull then goes on to forbid wharf-dues, and to regulate the corn supply of the city, but soon returns to ecclesiastical affairs. Amongst other things, solemn vows taken by children are pronounced invalid. Further rules are laid down in regard to the granting of tithes to secular Princes, the abuse of *commendams*, and irregularities in religious houses of men and women. The reform of the Apostolic Chancery is dealt with in great detail. The grave and manifold abuses in this department were to be put

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down with a strong hand. A secretary for example was not to accept anything beyond the prescribed fee however freely it might be offered. If he had done so he must either return the money or give it to the poor. Anything of the nature of bribery was strictly forbidden.

We see in all these prescriptions the result of Alexander's long experience in the vice-chancellorship. He knew what bitter feelings had been aroused in all parts of the world by the corrupt practices of the secretaries of the Court with which the whole of Christendom was in constant communication. The concluding part of the document was devoted to the reform of the Penitentiary.

Unfortunately, the Bull which contained all these excellent provisions never got beyond the draft stage. The work of reform was put off at first, and then forgotten.* Meanwhile, his distress and compunction had subsided, and it became evident that Alexander "did not possess the moral strength to give up his licentious habits. In such a case, where salvation could only be found in setting a noble example of a complete transformation of life, a passing resolve adopted in a moment of anguish and horror and quickly forgotten, was of no avail. The only alternative to the cloister would have been to have entirely broken with the past and, what was perhaps still more difficult, with his whole surroundings in the present; but he would not have been Rodrigo Borgia, he would not have been Pope Alexander† had he had the courage to make such a change." The old spirit of nepotism gradually revived and grew stronger than ever, and all desire for better things was stifled by the demon of sensuality. The latter state became worse than the former.

* ZURITA, V., 126; and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 270.

† HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 83. *Cf.* Die Katastrofe der Borjas, 15, and Aera der Bastarden, 55.

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The Pope now fell more and more under the influence and control of Cæsar Borgia.*

On the 22nd July, Cæsar had left Rome for Naples as Legate for the Coronation, with a large retinue.† There, his demands for money and favours of all sorts were so importunate that the Florentine Ambassador wrote "It would not be surprising if the poor King were driven to throw himself into the arms of the Turks to escape from his tormentor."‡ In the beginning of September, the Cardinal returned to Rome.§ Jakob Burchard says that at his reception in the Consistory, the father and son did not speak a word to each other.‖ It soon became known that Cæsar intended to resign his cardinalate and to marry.¶ It would appear that in December Alexander had not yet given

* In Feb. 1498, the Venetian Ambassador writes: El pontefice fa tutto nè in altro vigila che in dar stato a' soi fioli, zoè a questo Valenza e a don Jufredo. A remarkable report in ZURITA, 159–60, shews how completely the Pope in 1499, was under Cæsar's power. According to this author, who evidently had access to the Reports of the Spanish embassy, the Pope said, referring to Cæsar's journey into France, "that he would give a fourth part of his Papacy to prevent him from ever returning"—and then shortly after, when Alexander thought himself aggrieved, he said "that he would have taken other measures if only Cæsar had been there." *Cf.* RANKE, Germ. und Roman. Völker, 135; and Lord ACTON, *loc. cit.* 363.

† SANUTO, I., 698, and a *Letter from A. Sforza, dat. Genazzano, July 22, 1497. (Milanese State Archives.) In the *Exitus, 529, f. 211, there is an entry on July 18, 1497: solvit duc. 3000 auri de cam. R^mo dño. Card^li Valentino Legato ad coronationem Ill^mi Regis Frederici pro suis expensis. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 234.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 398, ed. 3 (404 in ed. 4), incorrectly names Sept. 4 as the date of his return; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 402, and the *Acta Consist. states the 5th or 6th. *Cf.* also a *Letter from A. Sforza to L. Moro, dat. Rome, Sept. 9, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 404.

¶ SANUTO, I., 787–92. See Vol. VI., chap. 2 of this work.

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his consent to this step ; or, if he had done so, it seems impossible to understand his having in that month bestowed on Cæsar the benefices, bringing in a revenue of 12,000 ducats which had been held by Cardinal Sclafenati who had just died. Nevertheless, the Venetian Ambassador, writing at this time, says that it was proposed to bestow on him the lordships of Cesena and Fano.* On December 24, 1497, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza announces to his brother in a report in cypher "I and King Federigo and your Highness's Envoys had a conversation with the Pope which lasted more than four hours. Briefly, the subject was the daily increasing efforts which Cæsar is making to obtain leave to resign his seat in the College of Cardinals. The Pope is anxious, if this is to be, that it should be carried out under the best pretext that can be found, and in such a manner as to give as little scandal as possible."† In this conversation another topic was also touched upon which was equally calculated to provoke unfavourable comments, and do no good to Alexander's reputation, namely, that of the annulling of Lucrezia's childless marriage with Giovanni Sforza.

The negotiations concerning this disgraceful affair had been going on ever since the Spring of 1497. At first Lucrezia seems to have stood by her husband ; but on the 14th of June we hear of a complete breach between the pair. At that time, the Pope, supported by Cæsar and the Duke of Gandia, declared that Lucrezia must not be permitted to remain in the hands of such a man ; the marriage they said had never been consummated and could and should be annulled.‡ Even the murder of the Duke of Gandia

* SANUTO, I., 832–33.

† **Extractus zifre rev. dom. Card. Sfortie ad ill. ducem Mediolani, dat. Rome, Dec. 24, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

‡ I have taken this hitherto unknown fact from a **Letter from Car-

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produced no abatement in the energy with which the case was prosecuted.* Accordingly, in August a new marriage was already in contemplation for Lucrezia;† but up to the end of December Giovanni Sforza offered a most determined resistance. At last, however, yielding to the strong pressure put upon him by his kinsmen Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio, he consented to declare in writing that the marriage with Lucrezia had never been consummated. On the 20th of December the dissolution of the marriage was formally pronounced and Sforza was required to return his wife's dowry to the amount of 31,000 ducats.‡ The injured man took his revenge by attributing to Alexander the worst possible motives. The annulling of this marriage gave so much scandal that people were prepared to believe anything that could be said by the enemies of the Borgia, and credited them with crimes "which the moral sense shrinks from putting into words."§

dinal A. Sforza, to L. Moro, dat. Rome, June 14, 1497. Milanese State Archives.

* *Cf.* Appendix, N. 37, *Letter from A. Sforza, of June 19, and a *Letter from the same Cardinal of June 26, 1497, both in the Milanese State Archives.

† *Zifra d. Vice-cancellarii (A. Sforza), dat. Rome, Aug. 20, 1497 : *Io presento tractarsi certa pratica fra N. S. et il principe di Salerno per dare dona Lucretia, fiola de S. Sta, al fiolo del principe cum certe conditione le quale quando fossero vere et se mittessero in effecto non credeva fosseno ad alcuno bono proposito ne de la Mta R. ne de Italia. Milanese State Archives.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 101.

§ GREGOROVIUS, *loc. cit.*, 101. In regard to the passage here quoted from the Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Costabili, CREIGHTON, III., 261, note 1, remarks : It will be observed that Giovanni did not accuse Alexander VI. in the past, but imputed a motive for his conduct in the future. This motive was shewn to be false by the fact that the Pope instantly set to work to provide a new husband for Lucrezia. Hillebrand also, who was no friend of the Borgia, says, "There is no proof

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At the same time, Alexander VI. cannot be acquitted of the charge that his conduct was such as to shock the public opinion of a profoundly corrupt age, to a degree hitherto unexampled. There seemed no end to the accumulation of scandals in the Borgia family. First there was the flight of Sforza from Rome; then came the mysterious assassination of the Duke of Gandia, next the dissolution of Lucrezia's marriage securing obvious political advantages, then Cæsar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and finally the abandonment of the scheme of reform, and the return of the Pope to his old way of living. Can we wonder that where the Borgia were concerned nothing was thought too horrible to be believed.* "I will make no comment on these matters" writes the Venetian Envoy in September 1497, alluding to the scandalous reports then current in Rome, "but it is certain that this Pope permits himself things that are unexampled and unpardonable."†

Meanwhile, the sensational tales of the doings of the Borgia family which amused the profligate upper classes, led the populace to believe that demoniacal agencies were at work. On the 14th June, 1499, strange noises were said to have been heard in S. Peter's and torches carried by no human hands appeared and vanished in all parts of the building; a seeress declared the bearers to be the prince of hell and his myrmidons. On December of the year following, the ghost of the Duke of Gandia was supposed to have appeared in the Castle of S. Angelo, moaning fearfully.‡ When, on the 29th of October, 1497, the powder

that they were guilty of the infamous crime of which they were accused." See Vol. VI., chap. 5 of this work.

* CREIGHTON, III., 261.

† SANUTO, I., 792–93.

‡ SANUTO, I., 656–57, 842.

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magazine in the Castle was struck by lightning, the alarm became more intense. The explosion destroyed the upper portion of the fortress, shattered the marble angels and hurled large stones across the water as far as the Church of S. Celso. "The reign of Pope Alexander," writes the Venetian chronicler Malipiero, "is full of startling and portentous events; his antechamber was struck by lightning, the Tiber overflowed and flooded the city; his son has been horribly murdered, and now the Castle of S. Angelo has been blown up." *

* MALIPIERO, 497; SANUTO, I., 814–15; Annal. Bononiens., 916; Diario di S. TOMMASO DI SILVESTRO, 133; LANDUCCI, 159; and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 411–12. See also LANGE, 27, 28.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

My purpose in this Appendix is to corroborate and supplement the text of my book: it has not been my intention to provide an original collection of authorities. In each number the sources are indicated with as much precision as possible. In order to economise space my explanatory notes are necessarily scanty. So far as the text is concerned, I have, as a rule, retained the original spelling of the Documents and Letters, which, for the greater part, I have before me in the original. I need not apologise for changes in the use of capital letters and punctuation. Whenever emendations have been made I have always mentioned the fact, but trivial mistakes and obvious errors in spelling have been corrected without remark. Whatever I have added of my own is indicated by brackets; incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a point of interrogation or a *sic*. Those parts which I have omitted when either copying or preparing for the press, as irrelevant to the matter in hand, are marked by dots (. . . .).

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1. CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA TO HIS BROTHER, LODOVICO MORO, REGENT OF MILAN.*

1484, Sept. 22, Roma.

. . . . Questa matina . . . . la S. de N. S. ha pronunciato et solennemente publicato li infrascripti legati videlicet li rev^mi sig.

CARD^LE DE MILANO, legato in Avignone.
EL CARD^LE DE GIRONA, „ Campagna.
EL CARD^LE SAVELLO, legato in Bologna.†
EL CARD^LE URSINO, „ la Marcha.

et io legato nel patrimonio.

[The original is in the Milanese State Archives, under the heading "Roma."]

2. CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA TO HIS BROTHER, LODOVICO MORO, REGENT OF MILAN.‡

1484, Oct. 22, Roma.

Many cardinals have to-day visited the Duke of Calabria. Afterwards he remained for an hour with the Pope. Io con Parma andassimo de la Sua S. dove era el card. Ragona et poco poso supragionse el vice-cancellero§ et S. Petro in Vincula‖ et tutti inseme andassimo ad casa del vice-cancellero che ne dedi

* See *supra*, p. 247, note *, on Burchard's inexact information. This letter solves the question raised by HAGEN, Papstwahlen, 10. Arlotti announces the nomination a day earlier in a *Despatch dated Rome, 1484, Sept. 21. *Questa matina sono stati publicati legati el card. Savello di Bologna, el card. Ursino de la Marca, el Vesconte del patrimonio, Milano d'Aviniono, Novara de Perusa, Geronda de Campagna. (State Archives, Modena.) According to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arcimboldi left Oct. 11 and Orsini on Dec. 22 for their respective posts.

† Innocent VIII. in a *Brief dated Rome, 1484, Sept. 25, informed the Bolognese of Savelli's nomination as Legate to their city. (The original is in the State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.) In the following year Savelli was superseded by Ascanio Sforza. See the *Brief to Bologna of Aug. 19, 1485. *Lib. brev. 18, f. 252. Secret Archives of the Vatican and State Archives, Bologna, Q. 3.

‡ See *supra*, p. 249, 367 *seq.*

§ Card. Borja.

‖ Card. Giuliano della Rovere.

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[*sic*] cena,* la quale fu honorevole et ben ordinata et sumptuosa. La casa era apparata molto superbemente et haveva la prima sala tutta ornata de tapezarie historiate in cercho et Areto. Ad la sala uno altro salotto circondato tutto de altra tapazaria [*sic*] molto bella con tapedi in terra ben correspondenti ali altri ornamenti con uno lecto et cap[o] celo tutto parato de raso cremesile et qui haveva una credenza tutta piena de vasi de argento et oro, molto ben lavorati ultra li altri piati, scudelle et altri vaselli che erano in grandissimo numero et cosa molto bella da vedere; et subsequente ad questo li erano due altre camere, l'una parata de nobilissimi razi et tapedi in terra con uno altro lecto et cap[o] celo de veluto Alexandrino et l'altra molto piu ornata de le predicte con uno altro lecto coperto de brochato d'oro et la coperta fodrata de sibilline et franze d'oro tanto ornato quanto fusse possibile con una tavola in mezo coperta de veluto Alexandrino et scrane † ornatissime ben correspondente a le altre cose.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan; Cart. gen. fasc. 1483–1490.]

3. Innocent VIII. to C. Bandinus. ‡

1485, Oct. 12, Romae.

Cesario Bandino de Castro Plebis commissario nostro. Confisi de prudentia et diligentia et fide et in multis rebus probata industria te commissarium nostrum mittimus ad conducendum dilectum filium nobilem virum Robertum de Sancto Severino et eius copias que per loca S. R. E. transiture sunt. Dat. Romae XII. Octob. 1485, Pontif. nostri anno secundo.

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 17 b. § Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* This is also mentioned by Leostello, 43.

† Sedie.

‡ See *supra*, p. 256.

§ At the same place are also to be found the following Briefs referring to the same subject:—f. 18 b.: Gubernatori Cesenae, dat. ut. s. (Oct. 12) is to meet Roberto Sanseverino and provide for his troops; f. 20: Roberto de Sancto Severino, dat. ut s. (Oct. 16): Nicolaus Bucciardus noster sec. carn. affinis will tell him some news—he may trust him; f. 32: Duci Ferrarie dat. ut s. (Oct. 28): thanks him for having granted a free passage through his dominions to Rob. Sanseverino; f. 33 b.: Roberto de Sancto Severino, dat. ut s. (Oct. 29): Nerius Acciaiolus will give him some information.

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4. Innocent VIII. to Roberto Sanseverino.*

[1485, Oct. 30, Rome.]

From Roberto's letter the Pope gathers that he has arrived at Cesena†: de quo vehementer sumus letati. Et quoniam dicis te per unum diem velle ibi commorari et quiescere, deinde raptim venire ad Nos, hortamur nobilitatem tuam quanto possumus studio ut statim huc venias quia hoc adeo importat, ut nihil supra.

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

5. Innocent VIII. to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.‡

1486, May 11 [Rome].

The Pope praises the Cardinal's energy. Here in Rome nothing has happened: mediocriter omnia se habent: quid futurum incertum habemus. The Duke of Lorraine has not yet arrived. He asks the Cardinal to persuade the Duke to come.

[Lib. brev. 19, f. 363. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

6. J. P. Arrivabene to the Marquess of Mantua.§

1486, Aug. 11, Roma.

In questhora IIII de nocte s' è conclusa e stipulata la pace in presentia de li r^mi^ Mons. de Napoli, Milano, S. Angelo, e Vesconte col mandamento solum de esso Cardinale Vesconte quanto sia per lo stato de Milano.‖

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 256.

† See Sigismondo de' Conti, I., 238.

‡ See *supra*, p. 261.

§ See *supra*, p. 264.

‖ See The *Despatch of Arlotti, dat. Rome, 1486, Aug. 12 : Io non dico altro per questa excepto che questa nocte passata a hore quatro fu conclusa la pace. Deo laus. State Archives, Modena.

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7. BONFRANCESCO ARLOTTI TO ERCOLE, DUKE OF FERRARA.*

1490, Sept. 26, Roma.

Illmo mio Sre. In questa hora XXI. s' è levato rumore subito et insperato chel papa è expirato licet est in expirando per cataro sopravenuto, essendosse prima ditto hyeri a questa matina chel staseva ben et ami per bocha del cardinale Beneventano, el qualle cussi credeva, ymo diceva lo dovesse per parte scrive[re] a V. Exa Hora questo accidente ha inganato la brigata et in gratia de V. Illuma S. me recomando. Raptissime. El conte de Pithilgiano è venuto et alogiato ala campagna qui fuora de Roma. Per lo simile li cardinali veneno a fuora. Scrivendo limbasiatore Veneto me fa dire ut supra et che se tene non serra vivo de matina; dio ce aiuti quia angustie sunt undique.

26 Settembre, 1490.

E. V. Illu. D.D.

SERVULUS B. Episcopus Regiensis

propria manu.

[A tergo:] Illmo principi et exmo Dno D. Herculi Estens. duci Ferr. etc. Dno meo colmo.

Orator ducis Ferrarie faciet diligentiam,
subito, subito. Ferrarie.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

* See *supra*, p. 281.

[8. REPORT

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8. Report from Milan on the balance of parties in the College of Cardinals.*

[Beginning of year 1491, Rome.]

Nomina Cardinalium:		*Voces qui adherebunt Aschanio:*	
Episcopi:	Vicecanc.[1]	Vicecanc.[1]	Questi li metto per certi.
	Napoli.[2]	Napoli.[2]	
	S. Marco.[3]	Conti.[11]	
	Balua.[4]	Parma.[12]	
	S. Petro ad vincula.[5]	Aleria.[14]	
	S. Maria in porticu.[6]	Savello.	
Presbyteri:	Ulixbona.[7]	S. Maria in porticu.[6]	
	S. Angelo.[8]	S. Anastasia.[15]	De questi ne credo bene, pur non affirmo.
	S. Clemente.[9]	Sena.[17]	
	Rechanate.[10]	S. Georgio.[18]	
	Conti.[11]	Ursino.	
	Parma.[12]	*Voces S. Petri ad Vincula:*	
	Benevento.[13]	S. Marco.[3]	
	Aleria.[14]	Balua.[4]	
	S. Anastasia.[15]	Ulixbona.[7]	
	Zenova.[16]	S. Clemente.[9]	
Diaconi:	Sena.[17]	Rechanate.[10]	
	S. Georgio.[18]	Zenova.[16]	
	Savello.	S. Angelo.[8]	
	Collona.	Benevento.[13]	
	Ursino.	Collona.	
	Aschanio.		

* See *supra*, p. 377.

[1] R. de Borja.

[2] Caraffa.

[3] M. Barbo died March 11, 1491. (See Contelorius, 61.) I therefore assigned this memorandum to the beginning of the year 1491, at which time the Pope was in ill health; see *supra* p. 281. It, however, might equally have been written some time in the autumn of 1490 when the Pope was also ill, or, if it is thought necessary to insist upon the allusion to Card. G. de Medici it may have been drawn up at the beginning of 1490.

[4] de La Balue.

[5] Giuliano della Rovere.

[6] Batt. Zeno.

[7] Costa.

[8] Michiel.

[9] Domenico della Rovere.

[10] Basso della Rovere.

[11] Joh. de Conti.

[12] Sclafenatus.

[13] L. Cibò.

[14] Ardicino della Porta.

[15] A. Pallavicino.

[16] Fregoso.

[17] Piccolomini.

[18] Raffaele Riario.

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Lo figliolo de Lorenzo * non credo habii ad intrare in conclave: assay sera che l'admettano per Cardinale. La sorte per quello che io posso iudicare sera sopra Ulixbona † o vero lo Card^le de Aleria ‡ et piu presto de ambe dui verra sopra Ulixbona per molte ragione salvo se il caldo de q[uest]o ill^mo stato non aiutasse Aleria.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. Collection of documents without a date. A later hand of the 19th Century has written on this one: 1490–1500.]

9. Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to the Duchess Eleonora of Ferrara.§

1492, Aug. 4, Rome.

Illustrissima Madama mia . . . A questo pontificato molti concorrono et per lo primo Aleria || per la parte de Ascanio, et certamente etiam per luniuersale et omnium desiderio per la summa bonta soa; ¶ item Neapolitanus ** abenche il Re li obsta molto, nisi sit fictio, ad cio che qual' chuno declina in lui per indignatione concetta contra sua Maesta che voglia dare lege in electione suprema; quando pur se intenda esser il vero chel Re non voglia Napoli, molti che haveuano drizate il pensiero in altri lo convertirano in lui; quid dicam nescio, vulgo et scripto dicitur chel homo è una mala bestia. Heri publice se disse che' Ascanio se voleva fare papa com pregare ciascuno seorsum che li volesseno dare la voce soa morta id est dopoi la prima, et il signore Ludouico hauere scritto per Tottavilla al castellano de Sancto Angelo con grandissime promissione de capello rosso et altre buone conditione, chel volesse fare del castello la volunta del dicto Ascanio; plena est tota civitas et Romana curia hoc rumore seu fama, non se crede pero per li gravi, tutavia non se discrede. Il vice-cancellero segui per potentia de partidi, il può contentare la brigata de molte digne cose: primo com la cancellaria, ch'è uno altro papato, la temporalita chel ha de doe cita videlicet cita Castellana et Nepe com rocha Suriana, ch'è una aquila fra le terre de la chiexia, una abbatia a l'Aquilla de valuta de 1000

* Giov. de' Medici, see *supra*, p. 356.
† Costa.
‡ Ardicino della Porta.
§ See *supra*, p. 380.
|| Ardicino della Porta.
¶ See Thuasne, I., 577.
** Caraffa.]

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ducati, ad Albana appressa a Roma una altra simile, in nel Reame due magiore, il veschovato de Porto 1200, l'abbatia de Sublacho pur in le porte de Roma com 22 castelli de valuta de 2000. In Spagna sine fine dicentes XVI. veschovati dignissimi et optimi li ha senza le abbatie et molti altri boni et degni beneficij; primo li ha il veschovato de Valenza de valuta de XVI^{m} ducati, quello de Cartagina VII^{m}, quello de Maiorcha VI^{m}, labbatia de Valdina appressa a Valenza com molti et molti vassalli 2000. Segui etiam la concurrentia il Savello, Ulisbona* inter primos, item Siena, † et nunc Sancto Angelo; ‡ aliqui loquuntur de Januense § chenon cade in mente a la brigata et ancha se parla molto et tutavia de San Clemente, ‖ et cosi de Sancta Maria in portico; ¶ tuti questi se sono molto armati in casa loro, ne vana voce le case loro fossono poste a' saco come gia è stato facto, idest de quello è facto papa interdum maliciose se cridara papa il tale et non è il vero se fa ad effectum per havere piu preda: et demum unus accipiet bravium. Et potria essere forte Spiritu Sancto chel tocharia al patriarcha de Venetia, **el qual entro heri, et hodie post missam exequiarum il fu receuto dal sacro collegio come cardinale; il Savello et Columna li andorno obviam in questa matina a la casa soa a condurlo a San Pedro. In secretis se parla anche de San Pedro in vincula †† et come ho dicto solum unus ex tot concurrentibus accipiet bravium, nisi cadat ex scissura et per scissma inter plures, come già è stato fatto, et quasi temporibus nostris; ordinato è che la nova del futuro pontifice debia esser a Milano fra XL. hore, farò la diligentia mia, si aliter erit non mea culpa. . . . Romae, 4 Augusti, 1492.

Excellentissime dominationis vestre humiliter servus

JOANNIS ANDREAS Episcopus Mutinensis.

[A tergo:] Illustrissime ac excellentissime domine domine Eleanore da Aragonia ducisse Ferrarie mihi domine singularissime.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena; Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci degli Oratori Estensi a Roma.]

* Costa.
† Piccolomini.
‡ Michiel.
§ Fregoso.
‖ Domenico della Rovere.
¶ Zeno.
** Gherardo; see *supra*, p. 376.
†† Giuliano della Rovere.

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10. Valori to Florence.*

1492, Aug. 11 [Rome].

Magnifici domini mei observandissimi etc. Le S. V. per la mia de VI. haranno inteso come e s^ri^ car^li^ intrarono in conclave. Dipoi non ho scripto alle S. V. aspectando ad ogni hora di havere nuovo pontefice; et vedendo soprastare alla electione più che il consueto, mi è parso spacciare la presente chavalcata benchè pocco habbia da dire. Da poi che e s^ri^ car^li^ intrarono in clausura per qualche inditio si è inteso come hanno facto due squittini mercoledì et giovedì mattina et stamani hanno facto il terzo, et benchè sia difficil cosa intenderne il vero, pure si ritrahe che tra loro sono in discordia non pichola; et non di mancho il car^le^ di Napoli et di Lisbona hanno più voti che nessun altro. Questo è quanto partichulare si intende. Il conclave, come sanno le S. V. è secretissimo et con grandissimo ordine è ghovernato. Hoggi si è cominciato ad extremare loro il victo nè si darà più che una sola vivanda et da lunedi in là, in caso non habbino facto la electione, non si darà loro altro che pane, vino et acqua, secondo che è ordinato per i sacri canoni. Et i prelati, noi ambasciatori et baroni et cittadini Romani che siamo alla custodia del conclave seguiremo questo ordine, nè per alchuna spetie di discordia sia intra loro car^li^ haviamo guirato mai mutare sententia, et l'autorità che in questo caso haviamo sopra e car^li^ useremo come ci è concessa; et in questo modo saranno constrecti provedere di nuovo pastore sanza molto indugio. La terra è quietissima, nè se intende nè vede cosa da fare tumulto et questi s^ri^ baroni, maxime il S. Virginio, sino a qui non si potrebbono portare meglio, nè mostrarsi più uniti alla conservatione di queste cose. Il palazo et il borgho di San Piero sono benissimo guardati: nel borgho continuamente stanno armate alla guardia due squadre di gente d'arme, oltre a l'altre fanterie, et ogni x. hore si mutano. Il Conte di Pitigliano et li altri conductieri della Chiesa sempre sono a cavallo; et però non è da dubitare d'alcuna alteratione in questo tempo del conclave. Due giorni fa arrivorono ad Hostia cinque ghalee Genovesi, le quali per quanto mi habbi decto il mag^co^ m. Stephano Taverna, ha mandate il S. Lodovico

* See *supra*, p. 381.

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a stanza del r^mo Mon^re Ascanio per potersene servire in ogni suo caso; per non esservi su molto numero di fanti, qui ne è tenuto poco conto. Dicemi ancora il p^to M. Stephano che per aventura decte ghalee anderanno ad unirsi con la armata della M^tà Reg^a, non ne essendo di bisognio qui. Non voglio lassare di dire alle S. V. che il dì inanzi che e car^li intrassino in conclave cavorono della heredità del papa argenti per XII^m duc. e quali si distribuirono fra XIII. card^li che dovevono havere dalla Chiesa per diverse cagione. M. Camillo Pandoni mandato dalla M^tà del Re arrivò qui due giorni sono, nè per ancora escie di casa perchè è alquanto indisposto d'una gamba. Com questa sarà un piegho di lettere di M. Piero Alamanni. Altro non ho da dire alle S. V. alle quali del continuo mi raccomando.

Ex custodia conclavi die X. Augusti, 1492, hora XV^ta.

servus PHY. VALORIUS or.

Magnificis dominis octoviris practice reipublice Florentine, dominis meis osservand.

Florentie.

[The original is in the State Archives, Florence. Riformagioni. Otto di Pratica. Carteggio. Responsive. No. 8, f. 428.]

11. AMBROSIUS MIRABILIA* TO BARTHOLOMÄUS CALCHUS.†

1492, Aug. 13, Rome.

He has received from the new Pope la referma di questo officio for six months more per la via del . . . . Mons. Ascanio, quale è stato causa luy solo de farlo papa‡ como sono certo la V. M. ne sia pienamente informata et per tale cosa la Sua Ill. et R^a S^ria ne ha acquistato tanto credito et reputatione ch'el non se poterebe dire ne scrivere in modo che è reputato non solum il primo apresso alla Sua S^ta, ma è reputato come papa. Last night the conservators and 800 citizens on horseback, carrying torches went in procession to the Pope. Yesterday the whole town was piena de fochi et altri falodi. §

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

* "Eques ac alme urbis senator." † "Ducalis primus secretarius."

‡ See *supra*, p. 390, and also SANUDO, Spediz., 57, and PISTOJA'S sonnet in the Arch. Veneto, XXXV., 209.

§ See *supra*, p. 392.

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12. Thadeus Vicomercatus to Milan.*

[1503], Aug. 18, Venice.

A messenger has arrived from Rome: Poi disse chel se diceva per Roma anchora publicamente che la voce del r^mo^ mons^re^ el patriarcha † di questa terra era stata causa chel p^to^ mons^cr^ r^mo^ vice-cancelliere fosse electo in papa et che ad dare la voce sua al vice-cancelliere era inducto per via de tributi da quelli mando questa S^ria^ seco et maxime dal secretario di questa S^ria^ havendo lhori operati in questo acto tutto el contrario de quanto havevano in commissione da lei. A council was held upon this yesterday.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

13. Pope Alexander VI. to the Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.‡

1492, Aug. 26, Rome.

Pope Calixtus III. required money to carry on the war against the Turks. To obtain this he sold to him (in minoribus) then Card. Vice-Chancellor, domum seu domos positas in urbe in regione pontis prope ecclesiam S. Blasii, in qua vel quibus publica secca § ab antiquo tempore teneri et exerceri consueverat et que manifestam ruinam minabantur, cum suis confinibus ac curia, aula, cameris, terrenis, orto, puteis et cisternis. The price was 2000 flor. auri. Et deinde cum sicut evidentia facti notorie demonstrabat refectione ipsius domus, quam a fundamentis de novo quasi per totum reedificaverimus, maximum sumptum feceramus et in apparatu classis maritime, quam Pius II. . . . contra Turchos movere intendebat, unam galeam optime dispositam et armatam expensis nostris in eadem classe mittendam paraveramus,‖ thus Pius II. ratified Calixtus III.'s sale. Paul II. did the same q[uia] nos domum predictam sublimi et egregio opere reedificari feceramus et in hiis magnam pecunie quantitatem exposueramus. Innocent VIII. also confirmed it. He (Alexander VI.) now gives this palace to Card. A. Sforza: attendentes quod tu in dicta urbe nullam propriam habitationem habes et con-

* See *supra*, p. 385.
† Card. Gherardo.
‡ See *supra*, p. 382.
§ Zecca, *i.e.* Mint.
‖ See Pastor, Gesch. Päpste, II., 247, ed. 2 (German).

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siderantes quod propter tuam erga personam nostram precipuam devotionem ac singularia per te nobis impensa obsequia plurima a nobis meruisti volentesque propterea vicem gratitudinis impendere. Dat. Laterani, 1492, Sept. Cal. Sept. P. N. A. I°.

[Conc. Regest. 869, f. 35. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

14. Giacomo Trotti to the Duke Ercole of Ferrara.*

1492, Aug. 28, Milan.

I have seen the Venetian Envoy to-day, who is dissatisfied with the Pope's Election. Venice is not pleased with the Election; at the same time it does not blame the Venetian Cardinal Gherardi, to whose efforts the success of Alexander was due (il suo carle patriarcha è stato quello che l'ha facto pontefice) asserendo che cum simonia et mille ribalderie et inhonestate si è venduto il pontificato, che è cosa ignominiosa et detestabile † et che Sua Magtia se persuade che quando Franza et Spagna intenda tale exhorbitantie recusara darli la obedientia et che bene Sua Bne cum presenti ha gratificato multi cardinali che etiam gli ne sono rimasti dece senza gratification alcuna et malcontenti.

[The original is in the State Archives, Modena.]

15. Pope Alexander VI. gives the Bishopric of Valencia to Cæsar Borja.‡

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Dilecto filio Cesari electo Valent. He, the Pope, had till then held the see of Valencia. Since, by his election, it had become vacant, he thought of Cæsar, the electus Pampilonen. quem tunc in decimo septimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutum f. rec. Innocentius, papa VIII. predecessor noster ecclesie Pampilonensi ord. Sti Augustini . . . administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus . . . constituit et deputavit ac quam primum dictum vicesimum septimum annum attigisses ex tunc eidem ecclesie Pampilonensi de tua persona providit teque illi prefecit

* See *supra*, p. 385, 394.

† The words from "cum" to "detestabile" are from Gregorovius, Lucrezia, 43.

‡ See *supra*, p. 398.

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in episcopum et pastorem. . . . Having discharged laudabiliter, the charge of the above-named Bishopric, and being about eighteen years old (et ad presens in decimo octavo vel circa * tue etatis anno constitutus), he gives to him the Bishopric of Valencia. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Sept.

[Conc. Regest. 772, f. 158. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

16. Pope Alexander VI. nominates Juan Borja to the Cardinalate.†

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Dil. filio Joh. tit. S. Susannae presbytero cardinali. He reminds him of the stipulation in the election-capitulation in regard to the creation of new Cardinals, that only truly virtuous men were to be elected: attendentes quod tu, qui ecclesie Montis regalis ordinis S. Benedicti hactenus laudabiliter praefuisti . . . habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris deliberatione matura de illorum unanimi consilio et assensu he nominates him to the Cardinalate. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Septemb.‡ P. N. A. I°.

Signed by:—

Ego Alexander catholicae ecclesiae episcopus manu propria.

Ego Oliverius episcopus Sabinen. S.R.E. card. Neapolit.§ manu propria.

Ego Joh. episcopus Portuen. card. S. Angeli.‖

„ G. episcopus Alban. card. Ulixbon.¶

„ Hier. episcopus Prenest. card. Rachanat.**

* This word "about," of course, makes this passage useless for determining the exact date of Cæsar's birth; but, on the whole, it seems to favour the year 1475—given *supra*, p. 364, note §, rather than that of 1476.

† See *supra*, p. 398.

‡ See *supra*, p. 398. Raynaldus, who made use of the same volume of Registers as I do, erroneously gives ad an. 1492, N. 30, the date as "Cal. Septemb." in quoting a passage from the Decree. The original clearly gives it as "Pridie Cal. Sept." Not only the extracts in Cod. XXXII., 242 of the Barberini Library, Rome, but also the **Report of Boccaccio of Aug. 31, 1492, state that the nomination did really take place on the 31st of Aug. State Archives, Modena.

§ O. Caraffa.

‖ Giov. Michiel.

¶ G. Costa.

** Girolamo Basso della Rovere.

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Ego D. tit. s. Clementis.*
„ P. „ s. Sixti.†
„ Jo. „ s. Vitalis.‡
„ Jo. Ja. card. Parmen.§
„ L. tit. s. Cecilie.‖
„ A. „ s. Prax.¶
„ F. Card^lis Senen. ** manu propria.
„ R. tit. s. Georgii camerarius.††
„ Jo. B. card. Sabellis.
„ Jo. card. de Columna.
„ B. „ de Ursinis.
„ As. Mar. vice-cancell.
„ F. card. Sanseverinus.

Collationata L. PODOCATHARUS.
vis. M. DE THEBALDIS.

P. TUBA.

[Conc. Regest. 869, f. 51. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

17. POPE ALEXANDER VI. TO JOFRÉ BORJA.‡‡

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Ganfrido de Borgia clerico Romano notario. The Pope gives to Jofré Borja then about twelve years old (in XII. anno etatis vel circa constitutus) the parrochialis ecclesia de Incha, Maioricen. dioc., quam dil. filius Caesar electus Valentinus, quem hodie administratorem ecclesiae Valentinae per assumptionem nostram . . . vacantis in spiritualibus et temporalibus usque ad certum tempus de fratrum nostrorum consilio constituimus et deputavimus ac deinde de persona sua illi providimus, ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica in commendam obtinebat. Dat. Romae, 1492, prid. Cal. Sept.

[Conc. Regest. 772, f. 57b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* Domenico della Rovere.
† P. Fregoso.
‡ G. Conti.
§ Sclafenati.
‖ Lorenzo Cibò.
¶ A. Pallavicino.
** Fr. Piccolomini.
†† Raffaele Riario.
‡‡ See *supra*, p. 365, 408.

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18. Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1492, Aug. 31, Rome.

Ill^mo S^r mio. Domenica passata fu coronato nostro S^re cum mazor pompa e cum mazor triumpho che sia mai stato coronato pontifice a nostri tempi. Tute le strade per le quale andò Sua S^tà erano coperte di panni et aparate de panni de razo, che durò circa dua miglia; per le strade furono fatti di molti archi triumphali molto sumptuosi e belli cum canti e soni; fu a questa coronatione tuti li baroni de Roma, El S^r de Camerino, li Baglioni, quasi tuti li principali da Perusa. La Matina Sua S^tà disse la messa a bona ora in Sancto Pietro, poi procedette a la coronatione secondo usanza e fu consumato tuto quello dì in canti soni et altre feste; e Sua S^tà dette de molti denari segondo el consueto. La sera circa due ore di notte Sua S^tà tornò a palazo acompagnato quasi da tuti li Card^li cum infiniti dopieri: e cosi fu finita la festa; ma so ben dire a la Ex^tia V. che tuta la corte era morte [*sic*] di stracchà per haver havuto tuto quello di molte incommodità da polvere, sole et altri fastidii; pensi la Ex^ia V. che cose hè a cavalcare otto o diece milia cavalli tuto uno dì per una terra stretti a quello modo. El Card^le Ursino a havuto la possessione de Suriano, forteza de le piu importante che sia in questo stato. El Card^le Colonna a havuto la possessione de la abatia de Sublaco, che a 14 forteze fra le terre sue e vicine a Roma. El Card^le Savello per ancora non a havuto la possessione de Civita Castellana, forteza etiam importantissima, che li era stata promessa, et quasi ognuno crede non la debba più havere; de le altre cose li erano state promesse fin qui pare non ne venga alcuna a luce: una abatia che li era stata promessa nel Reame o inteso chel Re a scritto chel non li darà mai la possessione; ne di quella ne di altra cosa chel habia nel paese suo; uno episcopato li era stato promesso in Spagna, e parmi pure che li oratori del re habiano ditto che la M^tà Sua non li darà mai la possessione; in summa finqui non intendo che Sua S. habia havuta cosa alcuna. Io non scriverà altrimente a la Ex^ia V. quello habiano havuti il altri Card^li perche seria una cosa infinita; molte altre forteze sono state distribuite fra loro, ma

* See *supra*, p. 390, 391, and Hagen, Papstwahlen, 23 *seq.*

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non essendo Romani post mortem suam tornaranno a la sede apostolica . . . . Rome ultimo Augusti, 1492.

E. Ex. V. ser^or^ FLORAMONTUS BROGNOLUS.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

19. POPE ALEXANDER VI. TO JOFRÉ BORJA.*

1493, Aug. 6, Rome.

Dil. filio Janfrido de Borgia, domicello Romano: Illegitime genitos. . . . Attendentes igitur quod sicut habet fide dignorum assertio nosque etiam novimus tu, qui defectum natalium pateris de nobis tunc episcopo Portuen. S. R. E. vice-cancellario genitus et de muliere vidua, defectum huiusmodi honestate morum et vite aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter recompensas, he legitimates him *motu proprio*. Dat. Romae, apud S. Petrum, 1493, octavo idus Augusti, P. N. A. I.°

[Conc. Regest., 869, f. 85b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. STEFANO TABERNA† TO MILAN.‡

1493, Sept. 24, Rome.

. . . Si intende che S. P[ietro] in V[incula], quale è a Marino et giucava quando hebbe la nova de la creatione demonstrò grave commotione di animo et nondimeno volse fare prova de perseverare al giocho, ma la perseverantia fu di brevissimo spatio et levandosi si ridusse et recluse solo in la camera sua et cominciò ad exclamare et mugire, et l'altri heri li sopravenne la febre, de la quale era stato libero alchuni giorni et cominciava ad rihaversi, de la quale febre non si è poi mundato. Napoli anche demonstrò mirabile alteratione de animo, ma la coperse meglio. S. Angelo sta pur grave et non li fu lassato intendere la creatione. Da Genova et Conti, quali erano qui et seguirono la dureza de Napoli, si tiene cosi poco conto in questa corte che de la actione

* See *supra*, p. 365.

† Taberna sprang from a noble family in Milan; he was from 1495–1499 Bishop of Parma; died 1499. See UGHELLI, II., 135; Arch. Stor. Ital., XVIII., 2, 28.

‡ See *supra*, p. 418. This report is of great importance in regard to the Creation of Sept. 1493; BROSCH, 55, has not realised its significance.

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loro non si è parlato. Non si sa anche* . . . de la mente cum la quale stano li cardinali absenti, quali sono stati oppositi, ma si conjectura che li sera molto doluto la perdita et maxime ad Ulisbona et Siena, qual aspirano al papato, possendo conoscere assay al loco, dove si trovano, se misurerano la perdita loro et la victoria che li oppositi soy; è veramente cosa da non possere ben scrivere la reputatione et la gloria quale ha portato in corte questo prospero successo alla Cels. V. et Monsre Rmo. . . . Lo Arcivescovo et Cardinale de Valentia è ancora fora di Roma et N. S. ge lo lassa ex industria perche li cardinali novi lo visitino de fora infra li quali il Farnesio ha facto principio questa mattina essendo andato a Caprarola . . . per visitarlo. The others will also visit him, possibly also A. Sforza.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. By mistake the report has been placed amongst the papers of the year 1495.]

21. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.†

1493, Sept. 28, Rome.

. . . Questi cardinali oppositi continuano pur in segni de malo animo verso N. Sre et Napoli non si reduce benche la Sua Sta servi verso lui modi mansueti perche si reconoscha. Ulisbona ha licentiato molti de la famiglia sua et si dice che si vole segregare et andare ad stare a Monte Oliveto in Toschana. S. P[ietro] in vinc[ula] è del animo consueto. Genua et Conti li seguano. Di Sena non si ha altra noticia. Queste cose fano pur star N. Sre in qualche suspensione et dubio che le potesseno reuscire ad qualche schandalo et pero la Sua St sta in expectatione de intendere sopra epse el consilio et iuditio de la Ex. V.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

22. Stefano Taberna to Milan.‡

1493, Sept. 28, Rome.

Report on the Cardinals of the opposition. S. P[ietro] in vinc[ula], quale al nuntio de la creatione si infirmò de febre, non

* Obliterated. † See *supra*, p. 419. ‡ See *supra*, p. 418.

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è ancora libero. Ad Napoli è venuto uno [*sic*] febre intensa talmente che . . . non è senza periculo. Di Ulisbona si affirmo ogni hora più che anderà ad Monte Oliveto. Ascriveno la causa de questa loro secessione a la promotione de lo arcivescovo di Valentia et al essere stati neglecti dal papa.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

23. Stefano Taberna to Milan.*

[1494], March 8, Rome.

. . . Quanto alle cose occurente la Cels. Vest. vederà in le lettere de Mons^re^ Ill^mo^† il discorso havuto per la Sua Sig. Rev. cum N. S. et la resolutione de S. S^ta^; li rimedii opportuni pareno ‡ *il stringer la pratica de S. Petro in vincula col re de Franza et vedere se è bene che se* cominci ad parlare de fare demonstratione sopra il *spirituale.*

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.]

24. Alexander VI. to Franciscus de Sprats, Papal Envoy to Spain.§

1494, March 22, Rome.

Sicut per alia brevia nostra tam ad. . . . Hispanie reges . . . quam etiam ad te . . . scripsimus, nos accepimus responsum a car^mo^ . . . Carolo Francorum rege christianissimo ad breve nostrum Sue Maiestati directum super negotio Turchorum et bello Neapolitano, cuius etiam responsi copiam cum instructionibus ad oratores suos destinatis in prefatis brevibus nostris inclusum tibi misimus. Eodem igitur responso in consistorio nostro cum ven. fratribus nostris S. R. E. cardinalibus communicato, de unanimo ipsorum consilio denuo per aliud breve nostrum rescribimus ipsi christianissimo regi, ut intendat nobiscum institute expeditioni in infideles, ommisso bello Neapolitano . . . , suadentes non minus, ut si quid ius in eo . . . pretendat, illud via iusticie et non armis prosequatur, sicut videbis ex tenore ipsius brevis nostri, cuius exemplum presentibus inseruimus. Id etiam istis seren^mis^ regi et regine per

* See *supra*, p. 424. † Asc. Sforza.

‡ The words printed in italics are in cypher.

§ See *supra*, p. 423. On Sprats, see also Pieper, Nuntiaturen, 44.

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alium [*sic*] alligatum breve significamus . . . , ut omnia, que hic aguntur in hoc negotio, suis maiestatibus innotescant. Eis itaque exhibito dicto brevi, quanta poteris instancia et dexteritate illas nomine nostro rogabis, ut in hoc velint pro suo catholico animo nobis adesse et apud christianissimum regem prefatum oportunis modis partes suas interponere, ut idem rex Francie acquiescat monitis nostris. . . .

[Conc. A loose sheet in Minute Brevium, Tom. I. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Regent of Milan.*

1494, April 24, Rome.

Extractus zifre vice-cancellarii. Rome, 1494, Aprile 24.

La V. Ex. ha inteso questi giorni la praticha facta cum S. P[ietro] in V[incula]. In questhora il S. Prospero Colonna me è venuto ad trovare et factome intendere de S. P. in v. li ha mandato ad dire per M. Facio suo fidatissimo servitore che heri sera ad 4 hore de nocte montato in uno brigantino bene armato et se è partito per andare in Francia per fare quanto el Re de Francia et V. Ex. vorano et che lassa Hostia et tutte le altre sue cose in mano del suo sig. Prospero et sig. Fabritio per disponerne como io ordinarò cum animo deliberato de volere fare quanto saperò ricercare et molte altre parole cordiale el amorevole verso la Ex. V. et me de la qual cosa essendo del supremo momento et importantia che a me è parso volando con la celerita de la stafeta pagata avisarne la Ex. V. la quale prego che senza dilatione voglia respondere che provisione se harano ad fare che Hostia non sii pigliata. . . . Ultra cio me pare che la Ex. V. volando mandasse ad Genoa o vero in altro loco dove S. P. in v. potesse desmontare et farli fare ogni amorevole demonstratione et offerirli con quelli boni modi et termini che V. Ex. sapera fare. . . . All this has hitherto been kept most secret; it is to continue so. Romae, 24 Aprile, hora 22, 1494.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.; erroneously placed in the Fasc. August, 1492.]

* See *supra*, p. 424.

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26. GIORGIO BROGNOLO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1494, April 26, Rome.

. . . Zobia proxª passata † circa a le XXII. hore nostro Sre fu avisato chel pto San Pedro in vincula la nocte precedente era partito da Hostia in uno bregantino cum vinti persone, lassata essa Hostia ben fornita de homeni, arteliarie, victualie et altre cose necessarie in modo chel si intende inter cetera che li homeni che sono drento da la rocha hanno da vivere per dui anni. La Stà de Nostro Sre inteso questo subito mandò per li oratori regii, a li quali dette comissione che ne scrivessero a la Mtà del Rè, preghandola a volerli essere favorevole a levare questa terra de mano de questi inimici, alegando quanto disturbo la ge porria dare. Fu scripto etiam al Conte da Pitiliano che senza dimora venisse qua, dove giunse heri sera al tardo; tutta via se mette a ordine arteliarie et gente lezere per mandare a Hostia. . . Rome xxvi. Apis, 1494.

Ex. V. seror GEORGIUS BROGNOLUS.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

27. POPE ALEXANDER VI. TO FABRICIO COLONNA.‡

1494, May 24, Rome.

Alexander PP. VI.§ Dilecte fili, salutem et apost. benedict. Quoniam tua cura et opera arx nostra Ostien. nobis restituta est, juxta promissionem per te nobis factam et conventionem inter nos initam tenore presentium tibi promittimus nihil innovare contra te super Gryptaferatta, sed quod possis eam tenere eo modo quo

* See *supra*, p. 424. DELABORDE, 347, n. 5, writes: "La date de la fuite de La Rovère doit être antérieure à celle que l'on trouve dans Sanuto et dans la plupart des historiens. Elle était, en effet, déjà connue de Ludovic le More le 23 Avril. Ludovic à D'Aubigny et aux autres ambassadeurs français. Vigevano, le 23 Avril, 1494, Arch. de Milan." I however still believe the night of April 23rd to be the true date, this being the one given, not only in the above despatch and elsewhere (*e.g.* ALLEGRETTI, 823), but also in the letter in cypher of Sforza to L. Moro cited *supra*, No. 25. The fact, that L. Moro, in the letter quoted by Delaborde, mentions the flight on the 23rd April, can be easily explained by supposing him to have had earlier secret information.

† 24th April.

‡ See *supra*, p. 425.

§ On the left is the autograph: "Alexander ppa. manu propria."

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impresentiarum tenes, etiam si quod absit ven. frater noster carlis S. Petri ad vincula contra nos malignaret dummodo tu malignationis ipsius particeps non fueris. Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscat. die. XXIIII. Maii, 1494, Pont. nostri anno secundo. Lapsu termini in conventione contenti non obstante.

B. FLORIDUS.

[A tergo:] Dil. filio nob. viro Fabritio de Columna domicello Romano.

[The original is in the Colonna Archives, Rome. Collection of Briefs, N. 41.]

28. GIORGIO BROGNOLO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1494, Nov. 29, Rome.

Ne la ultima mia de XXIV. presentis scrissi a la Ex. V. quanto mi occorse et maxime circa el progresso de questi Franzosi li quali ogni dì si vanno piu aproximando in qua ne fin qui li è stato facto una resistentia al mondo; vero è chel Sre Virginio parti de qui quatro zorin fa cum le gente sue per andarsene a Viterbo de comissione del Pontefice, ma o sia stato per volunta o per impotentia o per qual si voglia altro rispecto Sua Si. ha tardato troppo, perche la nocte inanti che quella dovesse giungere introrono dentro da Viterbo gran numero de Franzosi: chi dice IIm cavalli: chi piu chi mancho, in summa el pto S. Virginio è restato a Sutrio insieme col carle dal Frenese el quale anche non è sta [*sic*] voluto acceptare dentro da Viterbo cum le fanterie. El Pontefice havea posto dentro de la rocha de Viterbo el sre Jacobo Conte,† el quale intendendo la venuta de Franzosi non li ha voluti aspectare et se ne fugito et abbandonata essa rocha. E seguito un altro caso, el quale benche non habia quel fondamento ch'io iudicai al principio nientedimeno non è passato senza gran scorno del Pontefice: non heri l'altro venendo Ma Hadriana et Ma Julia cum unaltra sua sorella da uno suo castello nominata Capo de Monte per andare a Viterbo dal carle suo fratello essendo vicini a la circa uno miglio si incontrorono in una frotta de Franzosi a cavallo et da essi furono prese et conducte a Montefiaschone cum tutta la compagnia loro, che erano perho da XXV. a XXX. cavalli; el papa subito che hebbe la novella mandò uno

* See *supra*, p. 444, and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 358, ed. 2.

† Thus SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, 81, requires correction.

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suo camarero fidato a Marino per dolersi de questo caso cum Aschanio, et quale subito ritorno cum tal commissione che hozi se inteso le p^te^ m^e^ cum tutta la comitiva loro esser' state relaxate senza che li sta usato una desonestà al mondo, cussi ne la robba come ne le persone. Questa relaxatione cussi subita arguissi che questo sia stato uno caso fortuito et non pensato come la brigata dubito al principio. Io sone [*sic*] de parere che fra pochi dì questa terra habia ad essere piena de Franzosi; vero è che dentro da Roma si ritrova fina adesso circa 150 homeni darme et tutta via ne veneno de li altri; dicono fin a la summa de XV. squadre et dua miglia fanti; nientedimeno ogni uno conclude che aproximandosi la M^ta^ del Rè in qua cum la persona et gente, sue che non li habia ad esser, uno obstaculo al mondo.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

29. GIORGIO BROGNOLO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.*

1495, Jan. 4, Rome.

. . . La M^ta^ Sua come scrissi alhora è alogiata in San Marcho, dove è sempre stata fin a questo dì: ne mai è andata dal Papa, el quale sta pur in palazo et spesso va dal palazo al Castello per la via coperta dove attende a fortificarsi più ch'l po havendo totalmente deliberato de non darlo a la M^ta^ del Re p^to^ come fin qui ge ne stato facto una mirabile instantia et tutta via si fa, credo bene per opera de quelli che vorriano vedere più focho cha [*sic*] legna; el Papa è conducto a questo che le contento de dare al p^to^ Re per segureza sua Civitavechia, la quale ha porto et è loco important^mo^, ma de Castello Sanctangelo non vole sentire. Se questa dureza et pertinacia persevera da lun canto et dal altro io dubito che in fine desordine habia a seguire.†

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

30. GIORGIO BROGNOLO TO THE MARQUESS OF MANTUA.‡

1495, Jan. 6, Rome.

. . . Tutto questo populo di Roma è tanto mal contento quanto si potesse dire: grandissime extorsione si fanno, homi-

* *See supra*, p. 453.

† The text is in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 369, ed. 2.

‡ See *supra*, p. 454; and BALAN, 334, n. 6.

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cidij infiniti, ne si sente altro che stridi et lamenti: et quando la cosa resti qui la brigata se ne harria a contentare, ma certamente io vedo questa chiesia in pegior termini che forsi la fusse mai per ricordo de homo vivente. Altro non mi occorre, etc. Roma, 6 Januarij, 1495.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. Giorgio Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1495, Jan. 8, Rome.

. . . Questo affirmo bene a la Ex. V. che le impossibile che uno exercito cussi grosso possi stare longamente dentro da Roma dove cominza à mancare la robba ne se ne trova per denari. Hozi per uno pocho de differentia che è stata fra alcuni Franzosi et Suiceri tutto el campo del Re è posto in arme in modo che lera una cosa stupenda a vedere tanto numero de persone armate che erano per tutte le strade.

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

32. Floramonte Brognolo to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1495, Jan. 22, Rome.

Ill^mo S^r mio. Per lultima mia di 16 di questo la Ex. V. haverà inteso lacordo seguito fra N. S. e la M^tà re del Franza, e cosi pare che tuta via el Pontifice si sforzi di satisfare universalmente a tuti questi Franzosi, perche expectative, riserve, indulgentie e tute le gratie sono poste a mano, in summa tute le gratie sono le loro; non se intende ancora per certo la partita de la prefata M^tà. Heri matina N. S. publicò card^le uno cusino di Mons^r de Ligni, el quale di continuo sta apresso a la M^tà del Re et ha grandis^o credito; poi Sua S^tà fornito el concistorio cantò una messa solenniss^a in sancto Pietro, dove intervenne la M^tà del Re e tuti questi s^ri Franzosi, poi li fu mostrato la Veronica, el ferro de la lanza che feri Cristo et la testa di S^to Andrea, preterea il Papa dette la benedictione solenne, come si fa a la pasqua et li altri di ordinarii. . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 454. † See *supra*, p. 460.

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33. Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.*

1496, Febr. 15, Rome.

Dilecto fili etc. Quia intendimus Deo concedente inpresentiar. creare cardinales dilictum filium Ioannem de Borgia electum Melfiensem nepotem et legatum nostrum Neapoli existentem et aliquos prelatos domesticos antiquos familiares nostros : postquam circumspectio tua cuius presentiam valde optaremus est absens, rogamus illam ut circa huiusmodi creationem cardinalium votum tuum aut in pectore nostro aut in aliquo cardinale ut † . . . vice-cancellario de quo confidere possis per tuas litteras remittere velis, in qua re circumspectio tua nobis vehementer complacebit. Et hac de causa mittimus ad te presentem tabellarium quem statim cum opportuno responso ad nos remittas. Dat. Romae ap. S. Petrum sub. annulo pisc. die xv. Februarii, 1496, Pont. nostri anno quarto.

B. Floridus.

[A tergo :] Dil. fil. nostro Jo. sancte Marie in Dominica diacono Carli de Columna.

[The original is in the Colonna Archives, Rome; Collection of Briefs, N. 34.]

34. Pope Alexander VI. creates four new Cardinals.‡

1496, Febr. 19, Rome.

Bulle "Romana ecclesia." The Pope habita super hiis cum venerab. fratribus deliberatione matura de illo[rum] consilio, peritia et assensu nominates Bartolomeo Martini, Bishop of Segovia; Juan de Castro, Bishop of Girgenti; Juan Lopez, Bishop of Perugia; and Juan Borja, "electus [episc.] Melfitensis," who is at present Nuncio at Naples, to be Cardinals. Dat. Romae, 1495 [st. fl.], XI. cal. Martii, Pontif. nostri A° 4°.

Ego, Alexander, Cath. Ecclesiae Episcopus.[1]

Do. s. Clementis.[2]

Io. Ia. card. Parmen.[3]

* See *supra*, p. 492. † What follows is destroyed. ‡ See *supra*, p. 492.

[1] I give the names of the Cardinals as found in the Registers, although there the usual order has not been observed.

[2] Domenico della Rovere. [3] Sclafenati.

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L. s. Cecilie.[4]
A. card. s. Praxedis.[5]
Io. ,, Montisregalis.[6]
Io. s. Sabine card. s. Dionysii.[7]
Io. Ant. card. Alexandr.[8]
B. card. s. + in Jerusalem.[9]
O. episc. Sabinen. card. Neapolit.[10]
Io. ,, Portuen. ,, s. Angeli.[11]
G. ,, Alban. ,, Ulixb.[12]
H. ,, Prenest. ,, Rachanat.[13]
F. card. Senen.[14]
R. s. Georgii Camerarius.[15]
As. Ma. card. Sfortia.
F. card. de Aragonia.
C. s. Marie nove diac. card. Valen.[16] Manu propria subscripsi.
Iul. s. Sergii et Bachi.[17]
D. s. Nicolai inter imag.[18]
A. s. Cosme et Damiani.[19]
B. s. Ciriaci.[20] Collat. L. PODOCATHAR.

[Conc. Regest. 873, f. 361–64. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

[4] Lorenzo Cibò.
[5] Ant. Pallavicino.
[6] Juan Borja.
[7] Jean de la Grolaie.
[8] Giov. Antonio Sangiorgio.
[9] B. Carvajal.
[10] O. Caraffa.
[11] Giov. Michiel.
[12] G. Costa.
[13] Girol. Basso della Rovere.
[14] Fr. Piccolomini.
[15] Raffaele Riario.
[16] Cesare Borja.
[17] Giul. Cesarini.
[18] D. Grimani.
[19] A. Farnese.
[20] B. Lunati.

35. POPE ALEXANDER VI. TO LODOVICO MORO, DUKE OF MILAN.*

1496, July 24, Rome.

Ut nihil intermitteremus, quod ad Italicam quietem et communia pericula propulsanda pertineret . . . intelligentes carmum in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum Romanorum regem in Italiam adventare, de venerab. fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium consilio dil. filium nostrum B[ernardinum] tit. S. Crucis

* See *supra*, p. 484.

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in Hierusalem presbyterum cardinalem nostrum et Apost. Sedis legatum de latere ad prefatum regem destinandum duximus et nunc proficiscenti iniunximus, ut primum nobilitatem tuam adeat sibique quemadmodum federis nostri necessitudo requirit per nos commissa aperiat aliaque nomine nostro eidem nobilitati tuae referat. He may fully trust this Legate.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

36. Letter from an unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio.*

1497, June 17 [Rome].

Heri scripsi alla S^ria V. del sinistro caso de la morte del Duca de Gandia, l'autore de la quale fin qui non si sa, ma si conclude luy esser stato gabato da uno che prima parechie volte camufato et scognosciuto li haveva parlato sotto specie come se stima de far li haver qualche cosa electa et che meritasse el pretio alla quale bisognasse andar solo et secreto. . . . El papa in tutto el di de heri non dete audientia a persona, ma stetese solo et serrato in camera. . . .

[Copy in the State Archives, Milan.]

37. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.†

1497, June 19, Rome.

Ill^me etc. N. S^re ha facto questa mattina consistorio in lo quale cum sapientiss^o et gravissimo discorso ha dimonstrato che quantunche il caso del duca di Candia li sia de extremo dolore per la perdita facta et per la qualita de la morte et per lo amore immenso quale gli portava, il quale era magiore che a tucte le altre cose sue coniuncte insieme, nondimeno era per tollerarlo cum paciencia et ringratiare N. S. Dio del tucto existimando che questo successo fusse per il miglio et che N. S. Dio havesse cum questo flagello grandissimo voluto casticare la Sua S^ta et advertirla de la fragilita humana et attendere cum paterna cura allo offitio suo pastorale havendoli levato questo, il qual teneva lo intellecto de la B^ne Sua offuscato et lo distraheva in diversi desiderii, li quali

* See *supra*, p. 409. † See *supra*, p. 521.

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cum questa morte erano tucti finiti in Sua S^ta^ et confessava che la non havea piu carne ne sangue ne parenti ne affecto et che la non curava piu cosa alchuna humana et era proposito suo firmissimo de recognoscere cum le bone opere la visitatione, quale gli havea facto N. S. Dio et attendere cum summo studio et vigilantia al bene de la religione christiana et al honore de questa s. sede et al offitio de bono pontefice ne essere per desiderare o ricerchare piu da li principi o dal sacro collegio cose non juste, honeste et sancte ordinando et comandando alli r^mi^ s^ri^ cardinali che non gli consentessero ne la obedissero mai se non in cose bone et sancte et che similm^te^ non voleva essere ricerchata ne pregata de cose se non licite et honestiss^e^ subgiungendo che per dar principio cum effecto alla bona mente sua la deliberava de attendere cum summa diligentia alla reformatione delle chiesa et allo asetto de lo stato suo temporale per contenerlo in quiete et removere tucti li scandali, alli quali effecti la B^ne^ Sua fece ellectione de sei r^mi^ car^li^ di omne ordine, cioe de doi episcopi li quali sono Napoli et Ulisbona, et di doi preti, quali sono S. Praxeda et lo Alex^o^, et doi diaconi, quali sono Sena et S. Giorgio, alli quali impose che convenissero sollicat^te^ in palatio et examinassero cum omne solertia tucte quelle cose che ad una sancta reformatione de la chiesa et allo asetto del stato temporale ecclesiastico apartenesse et che la Sua S^ta^ voleva esser la prima reformata ne recusaria alcuna qualita de reformatione et cusi intendeva reformar li altri ne lassare questa reformatione senza una perfecta conclusione et effecto como alchuni altri pontefici, li quali li haveano dato principio et l'haveano lassata et che per lo asetto et pace del stato temporale examinassero tucte le cose necessarie et q^te^ gente darme bisognava tener per che la Sua S^ta^ non mancharia in alchuna parte et expedissero presto il tucto usando molte altre sapientiss^e^ et religiosissime parole de la substantia predicta. Propose poi in fine S. S^ta^ il facto del matrimonio del S. de Pesaro cum la fiola monstrando che li dolesse haverne causa de parlare perche haveria desyderato questo matrimonio fusse stato perpetuo et tochando la Sua S^ta^ che non era consumato epso matrimonio per im[potentia] et obstando anche il matrimonio p^o^ de la fiola ne parendoli che alchu[na] honesta volesse che la cossa stesse in questi termini ne anche parendoli honesto che la Sua B^ne^ ne fusse judice ne havea voluto parlare al sacro

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collegio et voleva commectere la causa de iustitia ne la quale se havesse ad procedere sinceram^te^. Alla Ex. V. sempre me racommando. Romæ, XIX Iunii, 1497.

Fr[ater] filius et s^or^ As. Ma. Carlis
Sfor. vicec[omes] S. R. E. vice-cancell. etc.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan; erroneously placed under date 1498.]

38. An unknown person to Giovanni Bentivoglio.*

1497, June 20, Rome.

. . . Sono duy giorni che publicamente se dice l'auctor di questa cosa,† esser stato el fratello del S. de Pesaro; hora non pare chel si creda et sono ci diverse opinione, ma perche ogni discorso et iuditio in questa materia è difficile et periculoso ne laxaro el pensero a chi tocha. El papa in su questo caso dimonstro essersi molto resentito et in tuto disposto ad volere mutare vita et essere un altro homo da quello è stato; è andato in S. Piero et ha disignato di volere fare la tribuna del altare magiore secondo el designo de papa Nicola, ove spenderia meglio de 4^m^ duc^ti^; similmente vol fare uno bel palco a S. Maria Magiore et gia ha sbursati 2^m^ ducati. Preterea heri in consistorio dixe de volere reformare la chiesa nel temporale et spirituale et ad questo effecto elesse VI. cardinali che havessero ad veder le cose reformande et come se havessero ad reformare, li quali furno duy primi vescovi cardinali cioè el card. di Napoli et el card. di Ulixbona, duy primi preti cioè el card. de S Anastasia et el card. Alexandrino, duy primi diaconi cioè el card. de Sena et el card. de S. Giorgio, duy auditori de Rota cioè M. Felino de Ferrara et M. Guglielmo de Pereriis et lo vescovo de Capazo suo secretario, li quali questa matina hano cominciato fare congregatione per questo ad palazo. Preterea luy dixe nel dicto consistorio come luy voleva fare gente darme infin in XL. squadre el non voleva si conducesse nessun barone Romano. Stimasi che fara capitano Gonsalvo Ferrando volenthuomo et veramente da bene e promette de fare molte altre cose laudabile et virtuose; se sia simulatione o inspiratione lo demonstraranno li effecti et l'opere subsequente.

[Copy in State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 500. † Murder of the Duke of Gandia.

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39. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.*

1497, June 20, Rome.

Ill^me etc. Essendo stata usata diligentiss^a investigatione sopra il caso del duca di Candia de bo. memoria non si è sino adhora trovato cosa alcuna certa ne del loco dove sia stato extincto ne per chi mane sia facto. Fu veduto lultima volta passati le 3 hore de notte in uno loco, dove è una croce sopra la via, quale va ad S. M^a del populo et ha . . .† uno in croppa col quale era etiam stato veduto in altro loco et credesi si . . .† sotto qualche fictione fraudolente lo habii conducto alla morte . . .† si crede sia facta in qualche loco salvaticho propinquo alla croce predicta, perche furno etiam in quelle circumstantie vedute homini a cavallo et a pede quali se tene facessero leffecto; la incertitudine del caso ha generato diverse conjecture essendo stato dicto chel porria esser proceduto de persone offese per causa de femine et anche [è] stato parlato delo ill. duca de Urbino per le cause successe quando se fece lo accordo et è stato dicto delli Ursini per le guerre passate; ci à anche stato nominato el rev car^le S. Sanseverino per rispecto delle cose delli Ursini et anche è stato dicto che possevano essere stati homini de casa mia per quello che successe li dì passati della morte de uno homo del duca di Candia et de uno mio balestrero quale fu impiccato; ultimamente fo dicto con qualche affirmatione che era stato lo ill. S. de Pesaro o vero il fratello et che uno depsi doveva esser stato veduto con alcuni cavalli longo da qui XX. miglia et essendo una consuetudine in Cathalonia presertim in Barzelona et Valentia che quando è ferito o morto uno li parenti di quello vano ad ferire et amazare li parenti di quello che ha offeso etiam che in epsi non fusse saputa ne colpa alcuna del delicto et essendo fra el S. de Pesaro et casa nostra el parentato che è, sono proceduto con qualche respecto doppo il caso acio che li parenti et servitori del duca in la acerbita del dolore non havesseno commisso qualche sinistro effecto. Il perche N. S. mi ha facto parlare da alcuni r^mi s^ri car^li con molte paterne et affectionate parole demonstrative del amore che la Sua S^ta mi porto et de la cura quale ha havere del bene et salute mia et che da nessuno deli soi, quando bene il caso fusse proceduto dal S^or de

* See *supra*, p. 499. † Missing.

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. . .* dal fratello, non mi havesse pero ad essere facto se non honore . . .* che venuto ad parlare il mag^co^ Garcilasso et dicto che per provedere in tucti li modi che la consuetudine de Cathelonia non mi potesse in omne evento far prejudicio li pareva de dovere essere da N. S. et tore la fede de la Sua S^ta^ et come ambasciatore obligarmi anchora la fede deli soi S^mi^ Re che da nissuno parente ne servitore del duca mi sara facto se non honore, il qual modo è stato adimpito questa matina et se li sono trovati presenti li amb^ri^ della S^ma^ lega et del S^mo^ Re Federico, li quali erano andati per visitare N. S. e questo modo è stato judicato el piu expediente existimandose che quando se intenda la fede de N. S. et delli S^mi^ Reali de Hispania mi sia obligata, nissuno sia si ardito che facesse desordine dal quale mi pare anche, dovere stare con lo animo piu quieto perche sono poi venute le lettere della Ex. V. et dal r^mo^ legato, le quali significano come il p^to^ S. de Pesaro era venito a quella et anche se ha qualche aviso chel fratello non debbe esser partito da Pesaro e benche sia cosa incredibile che ne dal uno ne da laltro fusse reuscito uno facto tanto crudele, nondimeno laudo che epso S^re^ scrivendo qua demonstri la sincerita sua et del fratello et quanto siano alieni da cose de simile natura significando alla Ex. V. lo esserse intesa la venuta del p^to^ S^or^ de la et che il fratello non debbe esser partito da Pesaro ha facto renovare la varieta de le conjecture da unde possi esser nato questo [caso] terribile et tutavia se investiga per trovare il vero. A[lla Ex. V. mi ricoman]do Romae, XX. Junii, 1497.

ASC[ANIUS].

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

40. PAULUS BILIA TO LODOVICO MORO, DUKE OF MILAN.†

1497, June 21, Rome.

Ill^mo^, etc. Heri‡ N.S. contra la opinione de ogniuno hebbe concistorio dove intervenero tutti li s^ri^ car^li^ excepto el s. Vicecancellero. Quello che in epso fu trattato secundo se è inteso è che la S^ta^ Sua con certo preambulo del amore suo cordiale verso el duca de Candia et quanto li havesse passato el core

* Missing.

† See *supra*, p. 503.

‡ More accurately, the day before yesterday, June 19.

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questo suo accerbo caso dimonstro ricognoscere le vicisitudine humane et ringratiando Dio de tale cognosimento disse che la dispositione sua era de reformare insieme con la vita sua etiam le cose de la chiesia et attendere in lavenire con summa cura a satisfare al peso qual sustene e per dare principio a questo effecto forno electi sei de li s^ri^ car^li^ cioe Napoli, Ulisbona, Sena, S. Zorzo, Alexandrino, et S. Anastasia et con loro M. Philino et uno altro de li auditori de rotta quali insiemi [*sic*] habbino ad examinare diligentemente tutto quello che a bono et optimo pastore è conveniente et sopra tutto in le cose de iusticia ha dicto volere havere precipua consideratione. El s. Vice-cancellero non ando a questo concistorio per le stranee parole et de mala natura quale erano reuscite da quelli de casa de N.S., del duca et de Valentia e havendone la S. Sua R^ma^ facto fare querela con N. S. excusando el non esser andato sopra questo la S^ta^ Sua dimonstro sentirne displicentia grand^ma^ et cossi fece Valentia et mandorno a pregare Mons. R^o^ chel non volesse risguardare a parole de gente senza rasone et quali sono vincte da passione et dolore. Finito el concistorio vene el rev^mo^ S. Severino et stete circa una hora con el S. V^ro^ fratello. Dopoi venero li m^ci^ oratori Hispano et de V. Ex. quali fecero intender alla R^ma^ S. Sua che N.S. desiderava vederla et parlarli et cossi per satisfarli se prese ordine de andarli hogi, como poi si è facto circa le 19 hore in la quale epso R^mo^ Mon^re^ Vice-cancellero se transferse a palatio accompagnato da tutti li m^ci^ oratori salvo el Venetiano che non cera; arrivati alla camera dove era il pontefice Mons. intro solo et noi altri expectassimo in lanticamera ne prima uscite Mons. che alle 24 hore et con la S^ria^ Sua uscirno li r^mi^ Valentia et Perosa et essendo poi per descender scontro el Borgia col quale Mons. stete etiam un pezo in rasonamento. Arrivati a casa la R^ma^ S. Sua me domando et disse che li rasonamenti havuti con N.S. erano stati longhi ma per la magior parte in lamenti singulti et expressione de excessivo dolore quale sustene N.S per el caso del duca et che havendosi la S^ta^ Sua firmato ne la mente sua de fare reuscire per qualunche modo el divortio tra el S. de Pesaro et mad. Lucretia lo haveva caricato et pregato chel volesse scrivere alla Ex. V. acio che lei sia quello che trovi qualche bone expediente a questa cosa de la quale separatamente Valentia li ha etiam parlato instantissimamente dimonstrando che

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senza questo effecto nisuno de loro sia per rippossare mai de animo con dire che facto el divortio el papa la mandara in Hispania, como credo che largamente dovera havere scripto la Sua R. Sria. Questo è quanto heri et hogi è accaduto etc. Romae, die XXI Junii, 1497.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

41. Scheme of Reform of Pope Alexander VI.*

[1497, June–July.]

In apostolice sedis specula divina dispositione locati, ut iuxta pastoralis officii ministerium evellenda vellamus et plantanda plantemus, circa reformationem morum toto mentis versamur affectu. Animadvertimus enim mores ipsos sensim ab illa veteri disciplina defluxisse et perfractis sacrorum conciliorum sum-

* See *supra*, p. 514 *seq.* Raynaldus seems in 1497 to have been acquainted with the above document: he, however, makes no precise mention of it. The proposals contained in the scheme for the Reform of the Cardinals were widely circulated in MS.; they may be found in Cod. Capponi, LXXXII, n. 26 (National Library, Florence); in Cod. I. 41 of the Borghese Library (now in the Secret Archives of the Vatican); in Cod. Ottob., 2519 (Vatic. Library); and elsewhere, and they were published by Chr. G. Hoffmann, Nova script. ac monument. collectio, I., 520–522 (Lipsiae, 1731). In 1880, Leonetti, III., 245 *seq.* (*cf.* 213) gave from "un codice della Vaticana," a more precise but by no means adequate account of the whole scheme. By this, no doubt, Cod. Vatic. 3884, f. 73 *seq.* is meant, from which Tangl, 402 *seq.* gives the preface and the proposals in regard to the Chancery. Leonetti has overlooked Hoffmann's publication, and Tangl has failed to notice both Hoffmann's and Leonetti's. Tangl, 402, remarks on the Cod. Vatic. 3884 (which was written at the time of Julius II., see Tangl, p. lxxiii): "The manuscript is often faulty, and in parts is so much injured as to be unintelligible. In such cases the constitutions of former Popes have been used to reconstruct the text, and also parts of the Conclusa from Cod. Vatic. Lat. 3883, may have been employed." I found a much better, possibly the oldest copy of the Scheme of Reform, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Arm. XI, vol. 88, under the title: Reformatio officialium Ro. cur. per Alex. VI. In this volume the pages are not numbered, and it contains a duplicate copy with a few insignificant variations. The concluding formulas and the date are also missing here as in Cod. Vatic. 3884. I reserve the main part of the paper for a future publication, which will be founded on the MS. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and I only give here the interesting introduction which often is quite incomprehensible in Tangl, with the titles of the different parts.

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morumque* pontificum priscis et salubribus institutis, quibus libido et avaritia erat cohercita, in licentiam prorupisse non amplius tolerandam; in malum enim prona est natura mortalium et appetitus non semper rationi obtemperat, sed iuxta apostolum mentem captivam populumque ducit in legem peccati. Semper quidem optavimus, ut huiusmodi licentia novis constitutionibus restringeretur, sepe apud felicis recordationis Pium II., Paulum II., Sixtum IIII., et Innocentium VIII., nostros predecessores, dum in minoribus essemus et cardinalatus fungeremur honore, operam dedimus, in principio quoque nostri pontificatus hanc curam cunctis aliis voluimus anteponere; sed difficillimis ex adventu in Italiam carissimi in Christo filii nostri Caroli regis Francorum Christianissimi [cum] exercitu potentissimo negotiis involuti in hunc diem differre coacti sumus. Cepimus autem reformationem a curia nostra Romana, que ex omnibus nationibus Christiane professionis coadunata benevivendi exempla aliis prebere debet. Rem igitur tam sanctam, tam necessariam longo tempore a nobis optatam ad effectum perducere cupientes de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium collegio sex delegimus probatissimos et in primis Deum timentes Oliverium videlicet Sabinensem et Georgium Albanensem episcopos, Antoniottum tituli s. Praxedis et Johannem tituli ss. Nerei et Achillei, presbiteros, Franciscum quoque s. Eustachii et Raphaelem s. Georgii diaconos cardinales, quorum ministerio adiuti consilioque et prudentia freti recensitis omnibus temporum superiorum constitutionibus rerumque et temporum qualitate diligenter pensatis constitutiones et ordinationes infrascriptas, quas constitutionis perpetue vigorem obtinere volumus ac decernimus, auctoritate apostolica edidimus, quas iubemus inviolabiliter observari, ceteris tamen constitutionibus predecessorum nostrorum super his editis in suo robore permansuris.

De summo pontifice et eius familiaribus.
Sermones in capella.
Cantores.
Silentium in capella.
Magistri caeremoniarum.
Servientes episcopo in capella celebranti.

* In the text "sacrorumque" (in both copies).

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De honestate cantorum.

Contra magistrum capellae negligentem.

Censor supra palatinos et monitio ad ipsos.

De relationibus consistorialibus pro provisionibus ecclesiarum.

Invocatio Eugenianae et Paulinae contra simoniacos.

Reservationes non dentur.

Coadjutoriae non dentur.

Papa non alienet bona ecclesiae.

De gubernatoribus et castellanis terrarum et arcium ecclesiae.

Pro ecclesiarum provisionibus nihil promittatur principibus.

Episcopus neque privetur neque transferatur contra jura.

De cardinalibus et eorum redditibus.

Dimittant terras et arces ecclesiae.

Invocatio constitutionum Egidii in terris ecclesiae.

Legati resideant et sint biennales.

In conclavi nulla corruptio.

Cardinalis domino temporali veresimiliter affecto non det pro eo votum.

Ludus et venatio cessent.

Familiares LXXX., equitaturae XXX.

Propinae cardinalibus honestae [in the second copy "propinae pro Card. honestae"].

Musici, histriones, adolescentes procul.

Cardinales stent in curia.

Funus cardinalis.

De secretariis. Brevia habeant signaturam in gravibus.

Secretariorum taxa moderata.

Bullae per cameram non passim expediantur.

Datarius non fiat ante data.

Compositiones.

Supplicationes simul signatae [in the second copy "mittantur" is added].

Si est signata alterius supplicatio datarius et referendarius non petant.

Solum datet.

Non extrahantur ex fillia.

Generalia de officialibus. Nihil ultra taxam exigatur.

Laicis non dentur officia rem divinam concernentia.

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Officia rem divinam concernentia [in the second copy "non vendantur" is added].
Officiales palatii testificentur libere.
Officia inutilia.
Gubernator.
Auditor camerae.
Ordinationes in curia.
Notarius ordinantis.
Ordinandus.
Supplicationes ordinandorum.
Fabrica basilice principis apost.
Non passim absolvendos violatores eccᵉᵃᵉ libertatis.
Expectativae.
Reservationes superius dictae contra episcopos desertores.
Contra concubinarios.
Bona naufragii nemo occupet.
Annona urbis copiosa.
Contra extractiones frumentarias.
Religiones.
Contra apostatas.
Graduationes de licentia.
Professio infantium nulla.
Cardinalis non sit consiliarius principum.
Oratores annales.
Officiales non sit oratores.
Decimae principibus non concedendae.
Paenae juris in premissis salvae.
Regulae signaturae gratiae.
Ad incompatibilia et uniones.
Commenda.
Monasteria.
Uniones perpetuae.
Derogatio juris patronatus.
Regulae immobiles.
Testamenta pia non mutentur.
Stent requisita a fundatoribus.
Fructus in absentia.
Cum illegitimi. [Cum illegitimis scil. filiis presbyterorum et aliis illegitime natis nunquam dispensetur nisi. . . .]

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Nulli detur altare portatile nisi sit qualificatus et tunc per bullam.

Facultas absolvendi in casibus episcopis reservatis omnibus firmiter denegetur.

Pensiones.

Monasteria non extinguantur.

Observantia non sit coacta.

Pro volentibus apostatare nihil detur, neque * monialibus claustrum horrentibus.

Gratificatio nulli neque regressus.

Coadjutoriae.

Regulae signaturae justitiae.

Commissiones beneficiales Rota tantum.

Commissio rejecta non reproponatur.

Extra signaturam non porrigantur papae commissiones.

Quatenus tollatur jus quesitum.

Proemium cancellariae cum membris suis.

Constitutionum innovatio.

Exordium ad X. additiones Alexandri VI.

Innovatio constitutionum rotae.

De auditoribus qui vel patres sunt vel fratrem seu patrem habentibus.

Per episcopatum desinat esse auditor.

Auditores non sint oratores.

Favoribus non assumantur [scil. auditores].

Stipendia auditoribus.

Non tarda subscriptio neque propinae inhonestae.

Registra custodiantur.

Registra non edantur, scribant notarii.

Stent auditores domi.

Commendationes potentum postergent.

Auditores non litigent.

Contra rapinas notariorum et eos qui causas venantur.

Merces tabelliorum moderata.

Scribant per se ipsos notarii.

Juramentum paupertatis.

Notarii Rotae resideant.

Non paciscantur pro quota litis emendo causas.

* At "neque," a new heading.

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Sine licentia Rotae nullus in ea procuret.
Registrum Supplicationum.
Additiones Alexandri VI.
De officio custodis cancellariae.
Corrector cancellariae.
Protonotarii participantes.
Abbreviatores de prima visione.
Abbreviatores de parco maiori.
Scriptores cancellariae.
Sollicitatores.
Magistri registri bullarum.
Magistri plumbi.
Barbati.
Secretarii cardinalium et vice-cancellarii.
Conservator constitutionum cancellariae.
Poenitentiaria.

[Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

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INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. V.

Acciaiuoli, Zanobi, 202.
Adorno, Caterina Fieschi, St., 88.
Aegidius of Viterbo, 131, 173, 270.
Agazzari, Stefano, St., 86.
d'Albergati, Niccolò, Cardinal, Bishop of Bologna, 84, 86.
Alberici, Maria degli, St., 87.
Albert, King of Poland, 416.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 17, 72, 73, 104, 113, 120, 199.
,, Niccolò degli, 61.
Alberto de Cataneo, 341.
,, da Sarteano, 175.
d'Albret, Alain, 298.
Albrici, Maddalena, St., 87.
Alemannus, Jacopo, St., 88.
d'Alessandro, Antonio, 409, 422.
Alexander VI., Pope, 4, 42, 44, 54, 63, 85, 90, 98, 124, 170, 187, 212, 231, 235–238, 263, 315, 335, 362, 365–367, 378, 383–385, 385–398, 402, 405–431, 435–438, 450, 453, 454, 457–461, 464–471, 474, 475, 482–487, 490–508, 512–514, 518–522.
„ Bishop of Forli, 55.
Alfonso of Calabria, King of Naples, 116, 235, 249–252, 256, 259, 261, 263, 286, 412, 421–423, 425, 427, 430, 435, 437, 441, 442, 461, 462, 469.
Alidosi, Francesco, Cardinal, 171.
Allegretti, Allegretto, 89.
Allosio, Enrico de, Cardinal, 84.
d'Alviano, Bartolomea, 489.
,, Bartolomeo, 149, 489.
Amadeo, B., 87.
Amideus, Jerome, 159.
Andrea of Modena, St., 87.
,, Montereale, B., 87.
,, Peschiera, B., 87.
,, Trebizond, 330.
Angela Felix, B., 87.
Angelico da Fiesole, B., 81, 87, 98.
Angelina, B., 86.
,, di Corbara, St., 58.
Angelo of Chivasso, B., 88.
,, d'Orte, Bishop, 296.
Anhalt, Prince of, 444.
Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, 286, 298.
Antoniasso, Romano, 54, 243.
Antoninus, St., Archbishop of Florence, 28, 29, 34, 40, 57, 84, 87, 98, 112, 113, 173.
Antonio ab Ecclesia, B., 87.

Digitized by Google

Antonio of Bitonto, 175.
„ Rimini, 175.
„ Stronconio, B., 87.
„ Vercelli, 102, 151, 175.
d'Aragon, Francesco, 255.
„ Giovanni, Cardinal, 236–238, 253, 355.
„ Luigi, 285, 286, 318.
Arbues, Pedro, St., 346.
Archangelo of Calatafimi, B., 87.
Archimboldi, Cardinal, 247, 355.
Ariosto, 120–123, 132, 139, 151.
Arles, Archbishop of, *see* Cibò, Niccolò.
Arlotti, 235, 236.
Arrivabene, Giov. Pietro, 330, 352.
Attavanti, Paolo, 176.
d'Aubusson, Pierre, Cardinal, 297, 298, 355.
Aversa, Gasparo, Count of, 402.

Babenberg, St. Leopold of, 339.
Baccio da Montelupo, 200.
Baglione, Giampaolo, 114, 165.
„ Family of, 274, 284.
Bajazet, Sultan, 289, 291, 294, 297, 303, 311, 313, 316, 428.
Baldini, Baccio, 200.
Balue, Jean de La, Cardinal, 260, 263, 268, 276, 277, 283, 298, 354, 362, 368.
Bandello, 119, 173.
Barbaro, Ermolao, 335.
„ Francesco, 30.
Barbo, Ludovico, 173.
„ Marco, Cardinal, 85, 232, 234–238, 330, 335, 362.
Barletta, Gabriele, 106, 132, 151, 176.
Barotti, Odino, B., 86.
Barozzi, Pietro, Bishop of Cividale, 84, 334.
Bartolomeo di Spina, 159.
Baschi, Perron de, 286, 412, 414.
Bassand, Giovanni, 87.
Basso, Girolamo della Rovere, Cardinal, 384.
Beccadelli, 119.
Becchi, Gentile, 394.
Becchietta, 7.
Belcari, Feo, 14, 15, 47, 51, 52.
Bellacci, Tommaso, 86.
Bellini, Gentile, 37.
„ Giovanni, 79.
Bembo, Pietro, 142.
Benedetto, Fra, 200, 434.
„ da Majano, 7, 73.
„ da Rovezzano, 75, 76.
Benincesa, St., 86.
Benivieni, Girolamo, 47.
Bentivoglio, Giovanni, 90, 110.
Bernaldez, André, 510.
Bernardino, Pietro, 215, 216.
„ of Bustis, 175.
„ da Feltre, B., 41, 88, 109–111, 175, 177.
„ of Siena, 86, 101, 106, 112, 132, 151, 175, 177.
„ di Mastro, Antonio, 54.
Bernardo of Scammaca, B., 88.
Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, 292.
Bertini, Antonio, 84.
Bertoni, Giacomo Filippo, B., 87.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 84, 153.
Bibbiena, Cardinal, 124, 157.
Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 12, 19, 31, 108.
Biondo, Gasparo, 330, 352.
Boccaccio, G., 119, 134.
„ Giov. Andrea, Bishop of Modena, 379, 398.

Digitized by Google

Bocciardo, Giorgio, 428, 440.
Bojardo, 120.
Bolognini, Antonio, Bishop of Foligno, 47.
Bon, Bartolomeo, 38.
Bonaventura, Fra, 224.
Boniface IX., Pope, 59.
Bonimperto, Matteo, 84.
Bonvisi, Giovanni, B., 13, 87.
Borgia, Family of, 114, 521, 522.
„ Cæsar, Cardinal, Bishop of Valencia, 4, 98, 101, 163, 170, 363–365, 396, 398, 399, 403, 404, 408, 414, 416, 417, 425, 450, 453, 454, 457, 462, 493, 503, 508–512, 519, 520.
„ Girolama, 364.
„ Jofré, 363, 365, 399, 408, 412, 423, 425, 508, 513.
„ Juan, Duke of Gandia, 363, 413, 414, 425, 487–491, 493–512, 520, 522.
„ Juan, Cardinal, Archbishop of Monreale, 396, 398, 423, 425, 454.
„ Juan, Cardinal, 492, 493.
„ Lucrezia, 91, 363, 365, 399–402, 410, 505, 514, 520–522.
„ Pedro Luis, 364.
„ Rodrigo, Cardinal, *see* Alexander VI.
Borsiano, Luca, Bishop of Foligno, 316.
Botticelli, Sandro, 198, 200, 201.
Bottuni, Trojano de', 267.
Bourbon, Charles de, Cardinal, 355.
Bourchier, Thomas, Cardinal, 355.
Bourdeilles, Elias de, Cardinal, 85.
Bramante, Donato, 74, 76.
Bresse, M. de, 469.
Briçonnet, Cardinal, 455, 459.
Brochardo, Antonio, 157.
Brognolus, F., 391, 454.
Brunellesco, 52, 61, 62, 69–71.
Buggiano, 71.
Buonarotti, *see* Michael Angelo.
Buonfigli, Benedetto, 39.
Burchard, Jakob, 129, 237, 238, 411, 446, 448, 450, 496, 519.
Buti, Lucrezia, 197.

Cagnalo, Niccolò, 400.
Cajetani, Francesco, 84.
Cajetano, Cardinal, 85.
Calafata, Eustochia, 88.
Calandrini, Filippo, Cardinal, 241.
Calixtus III., Pope, 64, 84, 233, 362, 392, 395, 397.
Cambi, Ser., 119.
Cammelli, Antonio, 474.
Canale, Carlo, 363.
Caoursin, Guilleaume de, 302.
Capello, Paolo, 509.
Capistrano, Giovanni, St., 87, 175.
Capranica, Angelo, Cardinal, 85.
„ Domenico, Cardinal, 84.
Caraffa, Alessandro, Archbishop of Naples, 84, 422.
„ Giovanni Pietro, 84.
„ Oliviero, Cardinal, 85, 327, 378–381, 384, 418, 452, 454, 514, 515.
Carpaccio, 38.
Carrieri, Matteo, B., 87.
Carvajal, Bernaldino Lopez de, Cardinal, 84, 328, 377, 387, 416, 469, 484.

Digitized by Google

Castellani, Castellano, 47.
Castellano, Pierozzo, 52.
Castiglione, Baldassaro, 32, 116, 120.
Castro, Juan de, Cardinal, 492.
Catanei, Tommaso, Bishop of Cervia, 250.
Cataneis, Vanozza dei, 131, 363, 365, 493.
Caterina of Pallanza, B., 87.
Catherine of Bologna, St., 87.
,, of Siena, St., 59, 90, 212.
,, of Sweden, St., 339.
Cattaneo, Alberto de, 341.
Centelles, Juan de, 402.
Cerretani, 190, 214.
Cerveriis, Bartolomeo de, B., 87.
Cesarini, Giuliano, Cardinal, 84, 416, 452.
Charles VIII., King of France, 5, 190, 212, 260, 261, 276, 278, 286, 294, 295, 297, 298, 310, 378, 414, 416, 421–423, 425–428, 431–453, 455–472, 474, 475, 482, 515.
Cheregato, Lionello, Bishop of Traù, 293–295, 297, 483.
Chigi, Agostino, 130.
Cibò, Family of, 239, 270.
,, Aran, 239.
,, Battistina, 285, 286, 318.
,, Franceschetto, 240, 265, 269, 270, 274, 282, 299, 300, 352, 354, 405.
,, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, *see* Innocent VIII.
,, Lorenzo, Cardinal, 323, 355, 384, 450.
,, Maurizio, 274.
,, Niccolò, Archbishop of Arles, 316.
,, Teodorina, 240, 285.
Ciuffagni, 70.
Civitali, 73–75.
Clement VII., *see* Medici, Cardinal Giulio de'.
Coleta, St., 86.
Collenuccio, Pandolfo, 442, 492.
Colomba of Rieti, B., 59, 88.
Colonna, Family of, 229, 232, 237, 246–248, 257, 281, 406, 421, 427, 430, 431, 436, 437, 441, 445, 463, 483, 494, 503.
,, Fabrizio, 231, 379, 425, 427, 451, 498.
,, Francesco de, 256.
,, Giovanni, Cardinal, 231, 236, 237, 257, 268, 383, 412, 451, 455.
,, Prospero, 231, 379, 427, 445, 451, 504.
,, Vittoria, 33.
Columbus, Christopher, 57, 321.
Commines, Philippe de, 116, 437, 455–457, 466.
Conradino, B., 86.
Contarini, Antonio, 117.
,, Gasparo, 159.
,, Zaccaria, 432.
Conti, G., Cardinal, 234, 235, 384, 419.
,, Giacomo, 232.
,, Sigismondo de', 247, 283, 302, 305, 310, 313, 320, 323, 330, 338, 352, 386, 417, 437, 463, 465.
Contughi, Cesario de', 176.
Corneto, Adriano, 144–146.
Corniola, Giovanni delle, 200.
Correggio, 198.
Cortesius, Paul, 143.
Corvinus, Mathias, King of Hungary, 255, 262, 273, 275, 289, 296, 310, 336.
Cosmico, Niccolò, 133, 136.
Costa, Giorgio, Cardinal, 235, 236, 316, 328, 377–381, 384, 419, 514, 515.

Digitized by Google

Credi, Lorenzo di, 200.
Cristoforo di Castrano (*alias* Magrino), 303, 304.
,, of Milan, B., 87.
Croce, Giorgio de, 363.
Cronaca, 200.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 84.

Daniello da Venezia, B., 86.
Dante, 57.
Dati, Agostino, 30.
,, Antonio, 54.
,, Giuliano, 52.
Datini, Francesco, 13.
Delfino, Pietro, 358, 391, 513.
Demetrius Chalkondylas, 356.
Domenica of Urbino, B., 88.
Domenichi, Domenico dei, 149.
Domenico of Arignano, 363.
,, of Viterbo, 351.
Dominic, St., 112.
Dominici, Cardinal, 47.
,, Giovanni, B., 13, 25–29, 86, 120, 176.
Donatello, 69–71, 197, 199.
Donato, Niccolò, 335.
Doria, Lazzaro, 256.
Dorothea of Marienwerder, 340.
Dschem, Prince, 275, 282, 294, 297–304, 306–313, 317, 428, 437, 448, 453, 457, 465.
Duglioli, Elena dall' Olio, B., 88.

Eck, John, 65.
Erasmus, 138, 171.
Ercolano of Plagario, B., 86.
Eroli, Bertrand, Cardinal, 85.
Espinay, André de', Cardinal, 355.
d'Este, Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, 115, 123.
,, Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, 115, 122, 216, 434, 442.
d'Este, Ippolito, Cardinal, Bishop of Gran, 115, 170, 336, 337, 416, 417.
,, Isabella, 123.
d'Estouteville, Cardinal, 362.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 42, 43, 58, 62, 84, 94.
Eustachio, Fra, 200.

Faber, Felix, 174.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul III.), 416, 417.
,, Giulia, 410, 417, 444.
Fedele, Cassandra, 33.
Federigo of Aragon, King of Naples, 405, 407, 412, 413, 431, 435, 493, 495, 519.
Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, 260, 263, 289, 314, 315, 338, 346, 411, 416, 456, 462, 466, 475, 502.
,, of Aragon, Prince of Capua, 285–287, 430, 446–448, 462, 463, 474, 482, 483, 488.
Ferretti, Gabriele, 87.
Ferrante, King of Naples, 4, 115, 249–255, 264, 265, 267–269, 272–286, 290, 298, 311, 314, 315, 340, 378, 379, 381, 392, 393, 404, 405, 407–410, 412, 414–416, 418, 420, 421, 469.
Ferrucci, 75, 200.
Fiammetta, 131.
Fiandini, Ambrogio, 159.
Ficino, Marsilio, 153–155.
Fiera, Bartolomeo, 159.
Fieschi, Obbietto, 248.
Filarete, Antonio, 62, 199.

Digitized by Google

Filippino, Fra, 81, 201.
Filippo d' Aquila, St., 87.
Florez, Antonio, 293, 297.
Foppa, B., 7.
Foresta, Bartolomeo, B., 88.
Foscari, Pietro, Cardinal, 355.
Francesca of Mantua, B., 88.
„ Romana, St., 59, 86.
Franceschi, Piero degli, 38.
Francesco of Caldarola, B., 88.
„ da Meleto, 221.
„ da Montepulciano, 219, 220.
„ di Paolo, St., 88, 98.
Francia, Francesco, 90.
François de Luxemburg, 469.
Frederick III., Emperor, 260, 279, 289, 291, 296–305, 339.
Frederick Casimir, Cardinal, Archbishop of Cracow, 416.
Fregoso, Paolo, Cardinal, 380, 398, 419, 470.
Fuchsmagen, Johann, 329.
Fulcheri, Damiano, B., 87.

GALATEO, Antonio, 138, 139.
Gambacorti, Chiara, B., 86.
„ Pietro, B., 86.
Gambara, Veronica, 33.
Ganay, M. de, 459, 460.
Garibi, Girolamo, B., 88.
Gemma of Sulmona, B., 86.
Gerace, Marquess of, 422.
Geraldi, Giglio Gregorio, 125.
Geremia, Pietro, B., 87.
Gherardi, Jacopo, 269.
Gherardo, Maffeo, Cardinal, 356, 376, 385.
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 69–72, 96.
„ Vittorio, 72.
Ghirlandajo, 197.
Giacomo da Volterra, 330.
„ di San Genesio, 248.
Giorgio, Giovanni Antonio de S., Cardinal, 416, 454, 515.
Giorgio de Croce, 363.
Giovanna, Abbess, 198.
Giovanni da Empoli, 23.
„ „ Montecatini, 136.
„ „ Napoli, 176.
„ „ Prato, 175.
„ di Bartolo, 70.
Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio, 125.
Giuliano da Majano, 72, 73.
Giulio Romano, 45.
Giustiniani, Lorenzo, St., Patriarch of Venice, 41, 47, 84, 87, 173.
Gonsalvo de Cordova, 482, 491.
Gonzaga, Family of, 116.
„ Cecilia, 33.
„ Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, 301, 326, 472, 473.
„ Sigismondo, Cardinal, 171.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 7, 197.
Gratiano da Villanova, 291.
Griffi, Pietro, Bishop of Forli, 84.
Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal, 416.
Grolaie, Jean Villier de la, Cardinal, 376, 416, 452, 469, 470.
Guicciardini, 4, 392.
Guido de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne, 298–300.
Guidobaldi, Duke of Urbino, 483, 488–491, 497, 498.
Guzzoni, Boccolino, 262, 266, 291, 294.

HARFF, Arnold von, 55.
Haro, Diego Lopez de, 411.
Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, 295.
Hieronymus of Bergamo, 216.
„ Siena, 222–224.
Hugonet, Philibert, Cardinal, 355.

ILORIS, Francesco, Cardinal, 170.

Digitized by Google

Imperia, 130.
Infessura, 243, 325, 350, 359, 389, 407, 411.
Innocent III., Pope, 42, 43.
„ VI., „ 233.
„ VII., „ 58, 239.
„ VIII., „ 42–43, 54, 55, 93, 98, 111, 112, 123, 153, 170, 232, 236–242, 243–254, 258–270, 272–291, 293, 297–300, 303–313, 315–332, 336–343, 345, 347–350, 352–355, 357, 358, 365, 375, 376, 387, 422.
Institoris, Heinrich, 348.
Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Spain, 260, 456, 466.
Ivani, Antonio, 30.

Jacopo da Bergamo, 12.
„ da Bitetto, B., 88.
„ da Pietrasanta, 325.
„ da Volterra, 352, 366.
„ della Marca, St., 87, 175, 340.
James of Portugal, Cardinal, 84.
John II., King of Portugal, 338.
„ IX., Abbot of Citeaux, 340.
Jovius, Paul, 143.
Julius II., *see* Rovere, Cardinal Giulano della.

La Balue, *see* Balue.
Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, 310, 341, 404, 416.
La Grolaie, *see* Grolaie.
Lamberti, Niccolò, 69.
Landini, Cristoforo, 149.
Landucci, Luca, 19–21.
Lapaccino, Filippo, Fra, 200.
Lendinari, 73.
Leo X., *see* Medici, Cardinal Giovanni de'.
Leonardo da Vinci, 80.
Leopold, St., *see* Babenberg.
Licci, Giovanni, B., 88.
Lippi, Aurelio Brandolino, 176.
„ Filippino, 327, 401.
„ Filippo, Fra, 173, 197.
Lombardi, Natulo, 84.
Lopez, Juan, Cardinal, 445, 492.
Loredano, Antonio, 133.
Lorenzi, Giovanni, 330.
Lorenzo da Pietrasanta, 324.
Louis of Orleans, 435.
Louis XI., King of France, 94, 251, 356.
Lucia of Narni, B., 59.
Lunati, Bernardino, Cardinal, 416, 445, 452, 458, 459, 488, 503.
Luther, Martin, 65, 171.

Macconi, Agostino dei, 200.
Machiavelli, 4, 23, 98, 100, 124, 125, 137, 159–169, 221.
Macinghi-Strozzi, Alessandra, 12, 105, 127.
Maggi, Sebastiano, B., 88.
Magistri, Johannes, 295.
Magrino, *see* Cristoforo di Castrano.
Maino, Giason del, 394.
Malatesta, Family of, 114.
„ Roberto, B., 86.
„ Sigismondo, 98, 101, 137, 199.
Maldente, Francesco, 351.
Malipiero, 523.
Manfredi, Family of, 114.
„ Galeotto, 273.
„ of Riva, Hermit, 86.
Mansi, Pietro, Bishop of Cesena, 305.

Digitized by Google

Mantegna, Marquess of, 473.
„ Andrea, 7, 198, 301, 325–327.
Marco of Modena, B., 88.
Margaret of Burgundy, 286.
Margherita of Ravenna, B., 88.
„ of Savoy, B., 87.
Mari, Teodorina de', 240.
Maria Enriquez of Aragon, 364, 413, 511.
Mariano, Fra, 183.
Marsciano, Angela di, St., 86.
Marsus, Petrus, 329.
Martin V., Pope, 58, 62, 84, 94, 111.
Martini Bartolomeo, Cardinal, 492.
Martino di Brozzi, 214.
„ of Vercelli, B., 88.
Maruffi, Silvestro, Fra, 193.
Marullus, 138.
Masaccio, Angelo, B., 87.
Masiis, Latimus de, 389.
Massimi, Domenico de', 477.
Masuccio, 119.
Matteo da Girgenti, B., 86.
Maximilian I., Emperor, 276, 278, 279, 286, 291, 295, 296, 305, 310, 311, 416, 421, 427, 444, 456, 465, 466, 475, 483, 484–486, 501.
Mazzoni, Guido, 79.
Medici, Family of, 19, 116, 190, 195, 209, 270, 438, 439.
„ Cosimo de', 92, 191.
„ Giovanni de', Cardinal (afterwards Leo X.), 44, 45, 58, 63, 85, 112, 124, 149, 155, 157, 217, 219, 222, 225, 270, 356–358, 384, 398, 438.
„ Giulio de', Cardinal (afterwards Clement VII.), 45, 157, 222.
Medici, Lorenzo de', 4, 20, 33, 47, 51, 52, 92, 105, 111, 116, 135, 164, 186, 187, 255, 266, 269, 270, 272, 273, 275, 283, 317, 330, 338, 343, 356–361.
„ Maddalena de', 265, 270.
„ Nannina de', 105.
„ Piero de', 392, 394, 405, 407, 437, 438, 439.
Mendoza, Pedro Gonzales (Gundisalvo) de, Cardinal, 85, 379.
Mari, Teodorina dei, 240.
Michele da Carcano, 175.
„ da Milano, 102, 106, 132.
Michael Angelo Buonarotti, 76, 79, 133, 200, 201, 221, 376.
Michele di Barga, B., 87.
Michelozzo, 71, 72.
Micheli, Giovanni, Cardinal, 263, 334, 335, 380, 384.
Mino da Fiesole, 73, 74.
Mirabilia, Ambrosius, 392.
Mirandola, *see* Pico della.
Mocenigo, Pietro, Doge of Venice, 117.
Moles, Cardinal, 234, 235, 237, 247, 355.
Montefeltre, Family of, 116.
Montorio, Count, 251.
Montpensier, 468, 483, 484.
Morelli, Giovanni, 15–17.
Moreno, Bartolomeo, 319.
Morton, John, Cardinal, 416, 469, 471.
Mugello, Agostino di Paolo del, 200.

Nanni d' Antonio di Banco, 69.
Nardini, Stefano, Cardinal, 85, 234, 247, 355.

Digitized by Google

Neyrot, Antonio, B., 87.
Nicholas V., Pope, 19, 58, 63, 95, 233, 499.
Nider, Johannes, 347.
Nifo, Agostino, 159.
Nogarola, Isotta, 33.

Oddi, Family of, 274.
Ogliati, Girolamo, 100.
d'Oldo, Jacopo, 86.
Oliva, Alessandro, Cardinal, 85.
Orsi, Checho, 272.
Orsini, Family of, 230, 231, 235–237, 246–248, 254, 267, 406, 407, 424, 447, 487–491, 494–497, 498, 503–512.
,, Bartolomeo, 149.
,, Battista, Cardinal, 238, 247, 258, 290, 362, 368, 382, 398, 452–454.
,, Carlo, 490.
,, Giovanni Giordano, 488.
,, Giulio, 446, 490.
,, Niccolò, Count of Pitigliano, 276, 283, 424, 446.
,, Paolo, 259.
,, Rinaldo, Archbishop of Florence, 255.
,, Virginio, 230, 232, 236, 257–259, 264, 267, 282, 283, 379, 393, 405–408, 413, 415, 421, 422, 430, 436, 444, 482, 484, 487, 488.
Orsolina da Parma, B., 86.
Osanna of Mantua, B., 59, 88.

Pacifico da Ceredano, B., 87.
Polazzi, Lazzaro de', 62.
Pallavicini, Antoniotto, Cardinal, 356, 383, 454, 515.
Pandolfini, Niccolò, 84, 279.
Pandone, Camillo, 379.
Panezio, Battista, 176.
Paolo, Domenico di, 200.
,, Romano, 72.
Particappa, Mariano, 54.
Passarella, Jacopo, 84.
Paul II., Pope, 43, 85, 94, 109, 112, 136, 151, 170, 233, 241, 322, 339, 387.
Paul III., 149.
Pechinolli, Angelo, 337.
Peraudi, Raymond, Cardinal, 85, 291, 292, 295, 296–304, 416, 443, 452, 454, 457, 458, 461, 492.
Perugino, 7, 200, 201, 243, 327.
Petrarch, 99, 142, 148.
Petrucci, Antonello, 115.
,, Pandolfo, 114, 198.
Philip of Luxemburg, Cardinal, 460.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius, *see* Pius II.
,, Francesco, Cardinal, 235, 243, 274, 378–381, 384, 436, 438, 493, 515.
Pico della Mirandola, Antonio Maria, 497.
,, Federigo, 216.
,, Gian Francesco, 216.
,, Giovanni, 151, 154, 342–344, 389.
,, Lodovico, 216.
Piero di Cosimo, 6, 198.
Pietro Lombardo, 74.
,, of Molino, B., 88.
Pinelli, Battista, 84.
Pinturicchio, Bernardino, 325–328.
Pitigliano, Count of, *see* Orsini, Niccolò.

Digitized by Google

Pitti, Jacopo, 219.
Pius II., Pope, 43, 58, 84, 93–95, 109, 112, 114, 148, 233, 323, 362, 387.
„ III., Pope, 98, 149.
„ VI., „ 326.
Plethon, Gemistos, 152, 153.
Podio, Auxias de, Cardinal, 85.
Podocatharo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 248.
Poggio, Antonio, 119, 152, 197.
Poliziano, Angelo, 133, 183, 190, 329, 330, 356.
Pollajuolo, Antonio, 7, 321, 325.
Pomponazzi, Pietro, 156–159.
Pomponius Laetus, 122, 133, 139.
Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, 115, 120, 134, 138–140, 150, 264, 284, 315, 379.
Pontelli, Baccio, 73, 74, 323.
Porcaro, Stefano, 100.
Porta, Ardicino della, Cardinal, 355, 356, 377, 378–381, 384.
„ Fra Bartolomeo della, 81, 197, 200, 201.
Portius, Hieronymus, 388.
Potenza, Count of, 422.
Prato, Francesco de', 200.
Publio, Gregorio, 140.
Pulci, Antonia de', 33.
„ Antonio, 52.
„ Bernardo, 52, 99.
„ Luigi, 117, 135.

Quercia, Jacopo della, 69, 70, 199.

Rangoni, Gabriele, Cardinal, 85, 355.
Rappaccioli, Benincasa, B., 86.
Raphael Sanzio, 7, 79, 80, 96, 151.
Raffaele da Volterra, 356.
Ravida, Lodovico, B., 88.
Renata of Valois, 123.
René, Duke of Lorraine, 260, 263.
Riario, Family of, 271.
„ Caterina, 229, 230, 231, 271.
„ Girolamo, 229, 230, 232, 235, 236, 271, 272.
„ Ottaviano, 271.
„ Pietro, Cardinal, 105.
„ Raffaele, Cardinal, 123, 230, 232, 237, 238, 272, 315, 354, 362, 375, 384, 515.
Riccio, Andrea, 199.
Rienzo, Cola de', 100.
Rita di Cascia, B., 87.
Robbia, Giovanni della, 201.
„ Luca della, 62, 71, 72.
Roberto da Lecce, 84, 101, 106, 113, 132, 149, 151, 173, 175, 177–179.
Rodericus de Sancta Ella, 172.
Rosellino, Bernardo, 71.
Roverella, Cardinal, 85.
Rovere, Domenico della, Cardinal, 237, 380, 384, 471.
„ Giovanni della, 237, 242, 424, 491.
„ Giuliano della, Cardinal (afterwards Julius II.), 43, 44, 45, 58, 85, 96, 98, 112, 124, 139, 141, 171, 200, 225, 231, 232, 237–242, 250, 252, 257, 260–263, 266, 267, 283, 316, 319, 326–328, 362, 367–369, 377–381, 384, 398, 405–409, 412, 413, 415, 418, 419, 421, 423–426, 431, 432, 434, 442, 451, 454, 456–458, 461, 467, 470. 491, 502.
Rucellai, Bernardo, 19, 105.

Digitized by Google

Rucellai, Giovanni, 17–19.
„ Pandolfo, 19, 202.
„ Rugio, Abbot, 408.

SALUTATI, Benedetto, 105.
Sancia, Daughter of Alfonso of Calabria, 412, 414, 425, 513.
Sandonius, Niccolò, 84.
Sanese, Matteo, 70.
Sangallo, Antonio da, 45, 63.
„ Giuliano da, 74, 75, 406.
Sannazaro, Jacopo, 139, 141.
Sanseverino, Federigo, Cardinal, 356, 368, 376, 384, 444, 445, 447, 452, 497, 498.
„ Roberto, 250, 256–258, 261.
Sansovino, Andrea, 201.
„ Jacopo, 76.
Sanuto, 133, 442, 483.
Santa Croce, Family of, 179.
Sarto, Andrea del, 39.
Savelli, Family of, 421, 436, 441.
„ Bernardino, 272.
„ Giovanni Battista, Cardinal, 231, 236, 237, 247, 257, 263, 268, 282, 362, 380, 383, 398, 412, 451, 454, 457.
„ Piero Giovanni de', 256.
„ Sylvio, 509.
Savonarola, Girolamo, 81, 93, 94, 111, 181–197, 200–214, 371, 434, 438, 439, 472, 481, 502.
Schedel, Hartmann, 395.
Sclafenati, Cardinal, 362, 384, 476, 520.
Scopelli, Giovanna, B., 88.
Serafina of Pesaro, B., 87.
Sermini, Gentili, 119.
Sforza, Ascanio, Cardinal, 236–238, 247, 260, 285, 362, 366–368, 377, 380–382, 391, 392, 396, 398, 402, 405, 406, 408–412, 415, 418, 423, 426, 427, 431, 436, 442, 445, 448, 450, 451, 454–456, 458, 459, 471, 493, 497–504, 508, 520, 521.
„ Bianca, 421.
„ Caterina, 91, 435.
„ Francesco, Duke of Milan, 4.
„ Gabriele, 84.
„ Galeazzo, 499.
„ Giovanni of Pesaro, 402, 410, 497, 499, 504–506, 508, 509, 520–522.
„ Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, 110, 404, 435.
„ Lodovico il Moro, 4, 236, 276, 280, 391, 394, 404, 406, 408, 412, 414, 421, 425, 431, 434, 435, 441, 456, 475, 521.
„ Ottaviano, Bishop of Lodi, 435.
Signorelli, Luca, 198.
Silvestro da Siena, 175.
Sinibaldi, Falcone de', 323.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 42, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 85, 93, 109, 112, 149, 152, 170, 172, 229, 231, 232, 233, 235, 241, 250, 268, 314, 334, 339, 356, 365, 367, 387.
Soranzo, 117.
Spagnolo, Battista, 141.
Sprenger, Jakob, 348.
Strasciano da Siena, 130.
Strozzi, P., B., 329.

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Sture, Sten, 396.

Taberna, Stefano, 423.
Tavelli, Giovanni, B., Bishop of Ferrara, 86.
Tintoretto, 38.
Titian, 38.
Tomacelli, Family of, 239.
Tornabuoni, Lorenzo, 21.
„ Lucrezia, 33, 47.
Torquemada, Cardinal, 41, 43, 84.
Toscanelli, Paolo, 149.
Trapezuntius, Andreas, 352.
Trithemius, 292, 293.
Trivulzio, Gianjacopo, 216, 264, 266, 268.
Turini, 71, 72.
Turriani, Antonio, B., 88.
Tuttavilla, Girolamo, 354.

Urbino, P. Paolo, 202.
Urceus, Codrus, 137.
Usodimare, Gherardo, 285.

Valentini, Elena, 87.
Valla, Lorenzo, 98, 119, 135, 136, 139.
Valle, Family of della, 179.
Varano, Giulio Cesare, 276.
Varchi, 61, 169.
Vasari, 198, 325–327.
Vecchietta, 71, 73, 74.
Vega, Garcilasso de la, 501.
Vegio, Maffeo, 30.
Veronica da Binasco, St., 88.
Verrocchio, 73, 74, 199.
Vespucci, Giorgio, 202.
Vettori, Francesco, 119, 160.
Vicentino, Pietro, Bishop of Cesena, 268.
Vincenzo of Aquila, B., 88.
Visconti, Cristina, B., 87.
Vitale of Bastia, B., 88.
Vitelli, Paolo, 149.
„ Vitellozzo, 91, 490.
Viti, Timoteo, 29.
Vittorino da Feltre, 29.

William I., Margrave of Hesse, 328.

Ximenes, Francis, Cardinal, 85.

Zacchi, Gasparo, 84.
Zanino de Solcia, 136.
Zeno, Battista, Cardinal, 378, 381, 384.
Zerbi, Gabrielle, 329.
Zorgi, Girolamo, 476.
Zurita, 411, 493.

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